

Map of the
PERSIAN EMPIRE,
as described by
HERODOTUS.



✓
HERODOTUS,

1200
142
TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK, FOR THE USE OF
GENERAL READERS;

WITH SHORT EXPLANATORY NOTES.



BY ISAA TAYLOR.

LONDON:
HOLDSWORTH AND BALL,

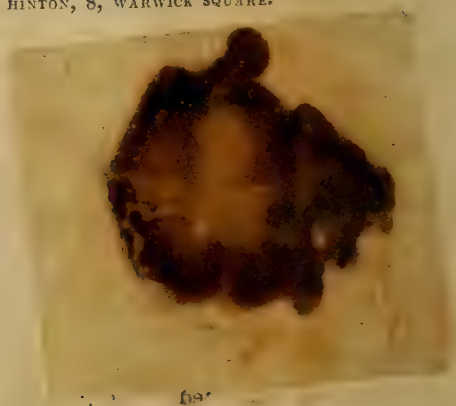
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P R E F A C E.

THE rapid and extensive diffusion of general knowledge, which at the present moment is taking place, brings with it naturally a higher estimate both of the quality and quantity of information that should belong to a good education, and necessitates also some changes in the methods of study. While the lower classes are becoming familiar with subjects of which, a few years ago, many in the middle ranks of society had scarcely any knowledge, these, if they would retain their relative position in the scale of intelligence, must pursue the several branches of learning considerably beyond the limits of a scanty initiation, or a meagre acquaintance with elements, and must have recourse to works of a more elaborate kind. This process of advancement has already strikingly displayed itself in the department of history; and of late immense masses of original documents have been brought from their concealments, given to the public, and eagerly perused, which formerly were scarcely known, except to a small class of students.

The spirit of quickened curiosity will, no doubt, soon pervade every department of this, as well as of other studies; and ere long, a common course of historical reading must include the perusal—not merely of modern compilations; but of the principal historians of antiquity. That an acquaintance with the original writers is the only efficient and satisfactory method of becoming correctly and familiarly informed of the condition of mankind in remote times, will not be

questioned by any one who is competent to give an opinion on the subject. Compilations must always have their use ; and if no more is desired than a mere knowledge of events, conveyed in the pleasing amenities of modern style, and accompanied by a few necessary explanations, then the English reader need wish for nothing better than what he already possesses in this kind.

But whoever turns from the pages of even the most exact modern writers, to those of the ancient historians, will feel as if he had actually traversed the interval of centuries.—Nothing reminds him of the great changes which have taken place in the sentiments and manners of mankind during the intervening ages : the style, the opinions, the allusions, are all in harmony with the period to which the narrative belongs. Even those defects of method, and those trivial digressions, or excrescences of style, which the modern compiler carefully excinds from his well-digested pages, contribute very perceptibly to assist the imagination in its efforts to realize the interesting scenes of ancient story. In truth, during a continued perusal of these original works, the impression spontaneously formed upon the mind is so strong that it requires more effort, often, to dissolve the illusion, than to maintain it.

The history of Greece, during the prime period of its splendour, has been transmitted to modern times in a form as admirable as the subject is interesting.—The mode well becomes the matter ; and to the charms of style, the Greek historians add the substantial merit of authenticity : a praise, by the way, which can in a very small degree be allowed to those of Rome. The poems of Homer, who deserves to take the first place among historians, as well as the first among poets, depict the early stage of Grecian advancement on that course in which they were to surpass all other nations of ancient, if not of modern times. An interval, not illustrated by any extant contemporary writer of history, then occurs, during which many great changes took place in national manners, and in the institutions and political situation of particular states. The hiatus is, however, to some extent, filled up by the allusions and incidental notices of the writers about to be named, who, while shedding a flood of light upon their own times, illumine, more or less clearly, the preceding ages, and enable

the inquirer to trace back the course of events with tolerable satisfaction. At length, two or three compilers of annals, whose collections have long since perished, prepared the way for the introduction of a new style of historical composition; and just at the moment when the signal events of the Persian invasion might still be gathered from the lips of many who had shared in the glory of repelling the barbarian; and when time enough had elapsed to give to a historian the advantage of a calm review of evidence, a writer appeared peculiarly fitted by the qualities of his mind for compiling a narrative of facts so extraordinary that, if recounted by a writer less eminent for simplicity and ingenuousness of manner, they could hardly have gained credence.

HERODOTUS, with an ardour in the pursuit of knowledge very rarely equalled, when in early life he devoted himself to the task of collecting the scattered materials of universal history, did not think himself qualified for the work, until he had visited every country to which the Greeks of his time had access;—every where examining documents, conversing with the learned, and collating connected evidence. The fruits of his industry we have before us; and it may confidently be affirmed that, after every exception has been admitted which the most sceptical criticism can substantiate, there will remain, in the nine books of Herodotus, a mass of information more extensive, important, and instructive, than is to be found in any other author of antiquity. Unaffected, unambitious, mellifluous, perspicuous, in his style; bland, candid, and gay, in his temper; laborious in his researches; judicious, for the most part, in his decisions; and apparently free from sinister intentions and national prejudices—he holds up a mirror in which is seen, without obscurity, or distortion, the face of nature—the wonders of art—the revolutions of empire, and the characters of statesmen. This great writer brings down the history of Greece to the end of the year 479, before the Christian era, when the Persians were compelled for ever to abandon their long-cherished hope of crushing liberty in its birth place.

The history of Greece is then taken up by the contemporary and rival of Herodotus—Thucydides, whose account of the first two and twenty years of the Peloponnesian war

stands yet pre-eminent among works, ancient and modern, of the same class, for those substantial excellencies which make history the best teacher of political and military wisdom. Far less various, amusing, and attractive than Herodotus, he is more vigorous, more grave, and much more fraught with that solid instruction which those seek for who have to qualify themselves for public life. To Thucydides succeeds Xenophon, not inferior to either of his predecessors. His history of Greece—which however is the least finished of his writings—brings the series of events to the battle of Mantinæa, B. C. 363. From this date, the history of Greece is to be gleaned, in the first place, from the orators, philosophers, and dramatic writers of the times; and then from the compilers of a later age; especially from Diodorus of Sicily, Plutarch and Arrian.

But, from the three admirable writers first named, whose entire works do not exceed the compass of as many volumes, the substance of ancient history may be acquired:—and acquired, while taste is gratified and cherished, the imagination enriched by the painting of splendid scenes and splendid characters, and the understanding invigorated by converse with writers who, in intellectual energy, have never been surpassed.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that some serious difficulties have hitherto stood in the way of a popular use of the ancient historians. Not indeed that there has been a lack of translations—or, in some instances, of able translations; but these, without perhaps an exception, have been executed for the benefit of a comparatively small class of readers; and they are, in several important respects, absolutely unfitted for general perusal. At the time when the existing versions of the classical historians were executed—or we might even say at a much later period, that demand did not exist which is now in activity for works of this kind. Goldsmith's *Histories of Greece and Rome* were deemed to convey an ample measure of historical information to all but those who were to receive a finished education; and it was for the convenience, almost exclusively of the learned, that such translations were made. But the improvements that are taking place in education create a want which those early translations

can by no means supply, and though left in possession of their fair fame, they cannot be made to subserve a purpose never contemplated by their authors, and for which they are utterly unsuited. These assertions may be substantiated in the instance of the celebrated work now offered to the English reader.—

Herodotus has been known to the English public till of late through the medium of two translations only.* The first was that of Littlebury, published nearly a century ago. Whether actually derived from the Greek cannot be ascertained; but if so, it must have been done under the guidance of a faulty Latin version, and in fact abounds with misinterpretations of the author's meaning. Indeed it is but fair to say that the requisite means for fully understanding Herodotus were not, at that time, in existence; and nothing less than the most extensive learning, and the utmost industry, could then have ensured a tolerable measure of success in so difficult a task. Besides its many errors, the version of Littlebury is extremely unattractive in its style—is deformed by uncouth expressions, and, if considered as a popular work, is liable to the capital objection of admitting many gross phrases.

Beloe, whose translation of Herodotus has passed through several editions, is believed to have made more use of Larcher's French than of the Greek original. Be this as it may, while his version is much more vague and paraphrastic than that of his predecessor, Littlebury, he has fallen into almost as many errors.—The rule of translation, which he quotes with approbation from Lord Bolingbroke, is one that admits of very wide deviations from the original, both in the rendering of words, and in the construction of sentences; and it has led him to give such a version of the most *antique* of the ancient historians as might, apart from its subject, be

* There is extant an English translation of the first two books, dated 1584. A literal translation of Herodotus by a "Graduate of the University," and apparently intended to assist those who wish for such aid in reading the Greek, issued from the Oxford press four years ago; and another, by Peter Edmund Laurent, more recently: neither of them, whatever may be their merits, meets the intention of the present translation.

mistaken for a neat and smooth compendium of modern history. A certain facility of style recommends the work; but no one who refers to the original can allow it the praise of presenting a veritable resemblance of Herodotus: it is moreover burdened with a mass of notes, a large proportion of which are absolutely impertinent to the subject; and are in themselves scarcely amusing. Beloe also, like Littlebury, admits phrases which must interdict the perusal of his translation in a family.

After grappling with the great and almost innumerable difficulties which belong to a task of this kind, I am far too sensibly impressed with their magnitude and amount to indulge the hope of having obtained complete success. Instead of professing any such hope, I will merely say that I have diligently availed myself of every kind of aid that has come within my reach; and have most scrupulously laboured to put the English reader as fully in possession of the sense and style of Herodotus, as the idioms of our language would admit: loose and paraphrastic renderings I discard; and would rather sometimes seem uncouth, than not retain the significant turns and emphatic phrases of my author.* Indeed the analogies between the Greek and English languages are so many and striking, that they often invite an absolutely literal rendering. Or even when the construction of the Greek is unlike that of our own tongue, the difference is not so great as to necessitate an entire departure from the ancient model; while, by retaining these Hellenic forms, the reader is per-

* Larcher, whose translation will, of course, be consulted by every one who wishes to make himself master of Herodotus; and whose notes comprise the substance of all that is most important in the commentaries of his predecessors, seems to make no attempt at a characteristic rendering of the original: on the contrary, he sedulously modifies and modernises whatever is most antique, and most *Grecian* in his author. His version is in fact an annotator's paraphrase—comprising and amplifying every particle of his author's meaning. It ought in justice to be remembered, that the genius of the French language is infinitely remote from that of the Greek, and can never adapt itself to the style of the great writers of antiquity. A French Homer, or a French Herodotus, is as like the original as the Hector and Cæsar and Cato of the stage in the last century were, in their costumes, like the warriors of Greece and Rome.

petually reminded of the age and country, the history of which he is reading. Thus in our authorized and excellent version of the Scriptures, innumerable forms of speech are admitted which, though they are far from being properly English, harmonize well with our modes of expression; and at the same time preserve that air of antiquity which could not be lost without immense damage to the moral influence of the writings.

In adapting my author to the purposes of general perusal—in making the history of Herodotus a family book, it was indispensable to modify some phrases, and even to omit a few sentences which, if rendered as former translators have done, must have restricted the work, as hitherto it has been restricted, within a comparatively narrow circle. In effecting these somewhat difficult modifications, the least possible deviation from the original has been admitted; and I think I may confidently say, that not a phrase has been dropped which any right-minded reader would wish to have been retained. No assurance of this kind can, I am aware, be satisfactory to a prurient taste; but those whose taste is unhappily of that sort, would find exceedingly little to gratify it in Herodotus: and it is not to be endured that, in deference to the corrupted habits of mind of some persons, an author so instructive and entertaining should be confined to the shelves of scholars, solely on account of a few blemishes which belong, not so much to the author, as to his age, and which himself, had he lived in our times, would have been most careful to avoid.

Herodotus professes his fondness for the digressive style (see pp. 279, 551) and in fact, a large portion of the work consists of matter almost entirely foreign to the course of the narrative, and which, though managed on a profound principle of combination,* might, without injury to the story, be

* The history of Herodotus has been not improperly called an Epic in prose: he evidently keeps the Homeric poems in view as a model; and it would be not difficult to exhibit a systematic arrangement of parts much more artificial than a common reader may on a first perusal suppose. In this respect Herodotus was a more accomplished master of the art of composition than Thucydides, or even Xenophon, and is perhaps without a rival.

separated from it. Many of these digressions are in themselves highly interesting and important, and contain the results of those exact and laborious researches on subjects of all kinds which our author prosecuted in the course of his extensive travels. They will, therefore, not less than the history itself, command the attention of the intelligent reader; and the more so as the truth and accuracy of most of these descriptive passages have of late been established by the concurrent testimony of modern travellers. But a considerable number of our author's digressions are of a kind that can scarcely interest any except the learned; and a few must be acknowledged to possess scarcely the slenderest claim upon the perusal of a modern reader. As these extrinsic portions of the work, whether more or less important in themselves, are perfectly separable from the narrative, and in fact divert and embarrass attention, and may with great advantage be read apart, they are distinguished throughout by crotchets, and a smaller type. By this means, moreover, the bulk of the volume has been considerably diminished. In effecting this plan, a perfect uniformity was not practicable; for there are some digressions which, though not in themselves very important, could not properly be separated from the narrative: on the other hand, some portions of the history, those relating to the early affairs of Greece, for instance, though not less important than the main narrative, are not at all connected with it, and are inserted by Herodotus with so little regard to the order of time, that they tend to create confusion, unless the reader is already familiar with Grecian history.

Each book is, in the present translation, subdivided into sections of convenient length, so far as the subject contained in them would admit; at the same time, in the hope that the translation may be used by those who wish for aid in the perusal of the Greek, there is subjoined, at the corner of each page, a reference to the sections of the Greek text. By means of these the intermediate sections may always be ascertained without difficulty. For the most part, two sections of the Greek text belong to each page of the translation.

No ancient author more invites annotation than Herodotus; for his various descriptions of countries and nations,

and his innumerable allusions, are susceptible of abundant illustration, and this sort of comment has in fact been largely, yet not too copiously, bestowed upon him,* and will continue to be bestowed; for hardly a traveller returns from Greece or from Asia, without bringing some notices which serve to establish or explain our authôr's assertions; so that the declaration of Boerhaave is even more proper in our own times than it was in his; that "*hodiernæ observationes probant fere omnia magni viri dicta.*" But it must be obvious to every one, that illustrations of this kind, attended as they must always be, with the discussion of many doubtful points, can never be condensed within a small compass; and must, at the least, exceed the bulk of the text. They are therefore necessarily excluded by the plan of the present work, in which the convenience of general readers, chiefly, is consulted. On the other hand, there are innumerable explanations of names and terms which, though they may be needed by the unlearned reader, he will much more commodiously obtain by consulting a classical dictionary—that of Lempriere, for example, than by referring perpetually to notes: and even, in the most condensed form, such notes must have filled many sheets. There are, however, some lesser obscurities which demand explanation in passing: these are either subjoined to the page, or reserved to the end of the volume. It should be added that as, after a few sheets had gone to press, it was found that the work would exceed first calculations, all means that might save space were adopted, and the references to the after Notes avoided: these are not numerous, and will be readily found as they occur. The final Notes are preceded by a few general hints, applicable to a multitude of passages, and which therefore it may be well to peruse in the first instance.

The Maps will, it is hoped, be found to contain all the names

* Major Rennell's elaborate work, *see* p. 719, deserves always to be singled out from the mass of commentaries on Herodotus: I must however be allowed to express regret that this learned, though in the common acceptation of the term, *unlearned* writer, has relied implicitly upon the correctness of Beloe's translation. In not a few instances the Major's acute and ingenious reasonings would have been materially modified had he used a better version, or consulted the original.

most important to the intelligence of the narrative. In his account of the twenty Satrapies of the Persian Empire, pp. 235—237, and elsewhere, when speaking of the countries and nations of Asia, Herodotus introduces some names which either occur in no other ancient author, or which are not so described as to afford the means of determining their locality. Conjectural reasonings have been advanced by annotators, with the view of settling these doubtful points; but such hypotheses rest, for the most part, on exceedingly slender grounds, and I have thought it more candid to omit the names altogether, than to insert them, almost at random.* Some also of the less important names mentioned in the history have necessarily been omitted in Maps on so small a scale. The towns, especially of Thessaly, Phocis, Doris, Bœotia, and Attica, could find space only on a map of large dimensions.

When the first sheets went to press, I hesitated on the question of the orthography of Greek names; and almost determined to abandon entirely the latinized forms, and to adhere uniformly to the Greek: But in a work intended for general readers, I felt reluctant to deviate so greatly from common usage, although supported by the example of a few highly respectable modern writers. Nothing in fact can be much more absurd than, when two languages are before us, both equally accessible, and when the one has quite as near an affinity to our own pronunciation as the other, to derive the names belonging to the one from the modes of the other. The consequence of this practice has been to introduce innumerable anomalies, and a great degree of uncertainty where, if the other method had been observed, few need have existed, and a ready means would have been at hand for determining every doubt. A reformation in this respect will certainly take place ere long; especially as the Latin language is fast ceasing to be the medium of acquiring a knowledge of Greek.†

* The name Pactyica, is perhaps an exception to the rule here professed, of admitting none, the locality of which is doubtful; there are however strong, if not conclusive reasons, for placing it where it stands in the map, on the western side of the Indus.

† By what terms the dæmons of Grecian mythology are designated, is indeed a matter of extremely small importance; yet as these names

Besides the many anomalies which common usage has introduced into the orthography of Greek names, some diversity has sprung up in the hands of the copyists of Herodotus; so that, in not a few instances, the same name is differently spelt in different parts of the history. Moreover, in a work of considerable extent, and so replete with proper names, in the orthography of which an error, if once admitted, easily escapes detection, it is perhaps excusable that a few should, even after a careful revision of the sheets, be found to exist. These oversights, it is hoped, are not numerous, or very important: the most considerable are named in a list of corrections, and great care has been taken in preparing and revising the Index, with the view of its forming a standard, wherever diversity or error in the body of the work may be detected. Where a number of references are made under a word, if one of them contains that kind of specific information which a reader consulting an index is likely to require, he will find it indicated by the direction—*see page, &c.*

For such particulars as are to be collected from ancient authors, relative to Herodotus and his writings, I beg to refer the reader to a volume recently published, in which the genuineness and authenticity of the history are established in illustration of a general argument. Yet, in consigning my translation of this celebrated work to the perusal of a class of readers hitherto little acquainted with its merits and importance, I cannot refrain from reminding them that,

have become indissolubly associated with those of the illustrious men whose unhappiness it was to reverence such divinities, and must therefore by this connexion be held in perpetual remembrance, it would be as well to give them their original appellations. No good reason can be assigned why Zeus, Hera, Aphrodita, Athena, Ares, Hephaistos, Poseidon, Dionysos, Artemis, Hermes, &c. should be called Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Minerva, Mars, Vulcan, Neptune, Bacchus, Diana, Mercury. These needless translations serve only to remove from our familiarity a language incomparably more worthy of the labour of acquisition than the one which, till of late, has stood as interpreter to every people of Europe. This injurious intervention is fast falling into disuse, and its complete removal will probably be attended by a much more widely diffused acquaintance with the worthier tongue, than has hitherto been thought desirable.

besides a fund of information on a great variety of subjects, more or less interesting, it contains a narrative, undoubtedly authentic, of the great conflict to the successful issue of which the modern nations of Europe are directly indebted for their own possession of all that is valuable in philosophy, poetry, art, and civil liberty. More than once within the limits of authentic history, and once even in our own times, there has stood in opposition on the field of war, on the one side the enslaved myriads of a brutal despotism, and on the other, the champions of intelligence and liberty: and the chance of battle—rather should we say the disposing hand of Him who rules among the nations, has in an hour determined the fate of mankind for many succeeding ages. On these memorable occasions, if lawless ambition had triumphed, the spark of mind must have been extinguished, and the germ of improvement destroyed. Such a crisis for the human family was brought to its issue in the fields of Plataea and in the straits of Salamis. There the light of knowledge, the splendours of art, and the substantial benefits of freedom, were preserved from threatening destruction for the advantage of all succeeding times. It may even be added that, although the divine wisdom might doubtless have found other means of accomplishing its designs, yet was it in fact by the preservation of the independence of Greece, when almost crushed beneath the Asiatic hordes, that the western world was held in preparation for the diffusion of Christianity. To affirm that true religion is dependent absolutely upon the previous existence of knowledge and liberty were absurd, and contrary to facts. Nevertheless it is certain—and it forms a bright article in the correlative evidence of the truth of the system contained in the Scriptures, that Christianity has ever loved to walk in the track of intelligence; and has shrunk away from the haunts of ignorance and oppression. This association seems so intimate, so natural, that when we contemplate the vast regions of the earth that are still oppressed by ferocious despotisms, shrouded by ignorance, and defiled by impure superstitions, it is hard to resist the belief that the three evils must be dispelled together; and that whether religion,

science, or liberty, is to lead the way, the companion blessings shall presently follow on the same path.

It would seem a chimerical alarm to anticipate another universal crisis of civilization ; or to suppose that, at a second Thermopylæ, the myriads of Asia are again to press upon the little band of the champions of freedom.—This may never be. Nevertheless it is a fact, highly deserving of consideration, that the proportion of the civilized to the uncivilized mass of the human family is scarcely, if at all larger now than it was in the age when Themistocles headed the one party, and Xerxes ruled the other ;—that the uncivilized millions of mankind have not advanced a step in the path of improvement since that age ; but have rather retrograded ; and perhaps it might be added that these millions are now almost as much at the disposal of the enormous ambition of a semi-barbarous power as they were when the bones of every people of Asia whitened the way between Athens and the Hellespont.

By the same Author.

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EPITOME OF THE HISTORY.

THE principal subject of the work is the deliverance of Greece from the danger which so long threatened it of subjugation by the Persian kings. But to render the narrative of the invasion of Greece fully intelligible, it was necessary first to describe the rise and advancement of that vast empire, with the collected forces of which the Greeks had to contend. This design leads the author back to the most remote age of Asiatic history; yet, in order to open the path before his readers gradually, he commences, not with the history of the more distant nations, but with that of a kingdom with the affairs of which the Greeks were in some measure acquainted: accordingly,

BOOK I,

After a short exordium referring to the ancient animosities between the people of Asia and of Greece, opens, p. 3, with the history of the **LYDIAN KINGDOM**, commencing with the story of Gyges, ancestor of Cræsus, who usurped the throne of his master, Candaules. Then follow the reigns of Ardys, Sadyattes, and Alyattes (6—8) interrupted by the story—half fabulous, of Arion (9). The history of **CRÆSUS** succeeds (10) whose conquests in Asia Minor are described (11). The mention of the growing splendour of Sardis, capital of Lydia, introduces an account (perhaps founded on facts) of an interview between Solon, the Athenian legislator, and Cræsus (12—15); which is followed by the story of the death of Atys, son of Cræsus (15—19).

Cræsus, aroused from his sorrow by the growing power of the Persians under Cyrus, consults the oracles of Greece, Asia, and Africa (19—23); and obtains an answer which impels him to invade the Persian territory. He first solicits aid from the Greeks: this circumstance

introduces a digression (23) containing the early history, first of the Athenians, under **PISISTRATUS**—called the tyrant; and then of the Lacedæmonians, (27—30) under **LYCURGUS**, the legislator. Having formed a treaty with the Spartans, **Cræsus** invades Cappadocia (31) and is presently opposed by **Cyrus** (34) who compels him to retire to Sardis (35) and following his retreat, defeats him under the walls of the city (37). **Cræsus**, shutting himself up there, is made prisoner, and becomes a pensioner upon the bounty of the Persian kings (38—44). Our author then gives a brief account of **Lydia**, and of the manners of the people (44—46).

The history of **Cyrus** is introduced by that of the **ASSYRIANS**, and of the **MEDES**, under **Dejoces** (46—49) to whom succeeds **Phraortes**, **Cyaxares**—during whose reign the Scythians invade Media (50) and **Astyages**, of whom **Cyrus** was the grandson, by his daughter **Mandane**. The story of the birth and education of **CYRUS** (51—60) is of very doubtful authenticity. **Cyrus** having attained manhood, moves the Persians to revolt from the Medes under **Astyages**, succeeds in his rebellion (60—64) and thus transfers the supreme power in Asia from the Persians to the Medes. **Herodotus** then describes very particularly the manners, religion, and customs of the Persians (64—68).

Cyrus having conquered **Lydia**, reduces all the Greeks of Asia Minor to obedience: of these, both **IONIANS** and **ÆOLIANS**, some account is given (68—72) introductory to a narrative of the successes of **Harpagus**, the Persian general, in overcoming the several settlements of the Greeks on the continent (72—84).

Meanwhile **Cyrus** in person had vanquished the whole of Upper Asia—the countries between the **Euphrates** and the **Indus**. Of these conquests **Herodotus** particularizes only that of **Assyria**; and first describes **BABYLON**, the capital of that country, with its prodigious buildings, mentioning some particulars of its history (84—90) and then narrates the extraordinary means by which the city was captured (90—92) and describes the wealth and manners of the **Babylonians** (92—96).

Cyrus, after reducing **Babylon**, carries his arms against the **MASSAGETES**, a people of eastern **Scythia**; in which expedition he perishes, with a large part of his army (97—103). In this narrative are inserted an account of the **Caspian sea**, and its tributary rivers (97) and a description of the manners of the **Massagetes**.

BOOK II,

Announces the accession of **CAMBYSES**, son of **Cyrus**, who resolves upon attempting the conquest of **EGYPT**, of which country the history and description occupies the entire book. This copious description

is introduced by notices of the antiquity of the people, and their superior attainments (104—106). After giving a general survey of the country, its aspect, and extent (106—108) our author describes the NILE, and mentions the various opinions that have been given concerning its inundations, and its rise (108—119). An entertaining account of the manners and superstitions of the Egyptians follows (119—131); then a description of the animals peculiar to the Nile and its banks, including the Crocodile, the Hippopotamus, the Phoenix, &c. (131—135). The habits and usages of the Egyptians are then more minutely described (135—143); after which a sketch of the remote history of Egypt is given, including the names of its sovereigns—Menes, Nitocris, Moeris, SESOSTRIS, Pheron, Proteus, Rampsinitus, Cheops, Chephren, Mycerinus, Asychis, Anysis, Sethon (143—167). This sketch—probably containing some particles of truth, includes a disquisition concerning the people of Colchis (145); another relating to Helen and the Trojan war (149—153) and a description of the PYRAMIDS (157—159); of the temple of Bubastis (163); with conjectures on the Egyptian and Grecian mythologies (166, 167).

The middle period of Egyptian history rests on better evidence, and commences with the reigns of the twelve kings, the constructors of the LABYRINTH, near the lake of Mœris (167—170). These were supplanted by one of themselves—PSAMMITICHUS, assisted by certain Ionians and Carians (171—174): he was succeeded by Necho, and he by Psammis. Our author here describes the magnificent temple of Latona (173), and introduces an anecdote of the Elians. The later period of Egyptian history commences with the reign of Apries, dethroned by his general AMASIS (176—185). The distinctions of caste are described (178), the temple of Minerva (179), with a digression relating to the Greeks of Asia (183) and to the people of Cyrene (184).

BOOK III,

Resumes the narrative of the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses, and the preparations for it, including a treaty with the Arabians (186—190). PSAMMENITUS, son of Amasis, opposes the Persians, is vanquished, insulted, and put to death by Cambyses (190—194) who conducts himself outrageously towards both the living and the dead (194) and madly undertakes an expedition against the Ethiopians, whose manners are described (195—199). On his return he mortally wounds Apis, commissions Prexaspes to murder his brother, Smerdis, and commits other violences (200—206).

A digression contains the story of POLYCRATES, tyrant of Samos, and that of PERIANDER, tyrant of Corinth (207—216).

While Cambyses lingered in Egypt, his throne was usurped by two Mages, whom he had left in charge of his palace. The news of the conspiracy occasions his death, at Ecbatana in Syria (217—221). The Mages, successful in their enterprise, enjoy dominion six months; but their fraud is at length discovered, and themselves slain by seven confederate princes (221—229), who hold consultation on the form of government to be established, and at length confer the supreme power upon one of their number—DARIUS, son of Hystaspes (229—234). The first care of the new king was to distribute the empire into twenty prefectures—called Satrapies, of which, and the tribute rendered by each, a particular account is given (234—238) followed by a miscellaneous description of the produce of several countries, especially of India, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Europe (238—244).

Intaphernes, one of the seven princes who had conspired against the Mages, on pretext of an outrage committed in the palace, is put to death with his family (245). The story of Polycrates is resumed, and his tragical fate narrated, to which succeeds that of his destroyer Orætes (246—250). Darius, at the instigation of his wife, despatches a Greek physician, named Democedes, and who eludes him, to explore the coasts of Greece, preparatory to an invasion of that country (251—257); and presently afterwards reduces Samos, and confers the island upon SYLOSON, brother of Polycrates (257—262). Meanwhile the Babylonians revolt and are invested: after a long siege Babylon is taken by the self-devotion of ZOPYRUS (262—267).

BOOK IV.

After the capture of Babylon, Darius undertakes an expedition against the SCYTHIANS, the narrative of which is introduced by a copious and authentic account of the geography of the country, of the manners and superstitions of the people, and of the nations beyond them (268—301, and 307—313) including a digression on the geography of the three continents (282—286).

Darius advances against the Scythians through Thrace, by bridges constructed over the Ister (301—307) and after a long pursuit of the enemy, who constantly retires before him, is at length compelled to retreat precipitately, having lost a large part of his army (313—325).

About the same time a Persian army penetrated as far as Barca and Cyrene, in Libya, at the solicitation of PHERETIMA, wife of Battus. Our author first gives the history of those colonies (325—336) and then a description of Libya, and its various nations (336—346). The Persians accomplish by stratagem the cruel revenge of Pheretima, who soon afterwards herself perishes miserably (346—349).

BOOK V.

After the return of the army from Scythia, the Persians, under Megabazus, extend their conquests in THRACE, of which country the several nations are described (350—353). Darius takes occasion to vanquish and transport the Pæonians from Europe to Asia (353—356); and sends ambassadors to Amyntas, king of Macedonia; these, in revenge of their insolence, perish by the hand of Alexander, son of the king (356—358).

HISTIEUS, tyrant of Miletus, who in recompence of his services had received a government in Thrace, is recalled, and detained in honourable captivity at Susa, whence he finds means to instigate a revolt of the Ionian states, under the management of his nephew ARISTAGORAS. This rebellion, after a long struggle, destructive to the Greeks of Asia, is quashed, and its authors, Histæus and Aristagoras, meet their fate (359—421). The narrative of the Ionian war includes digressions relating to—Sparta, and its king Cleomenes, to whom Aristagoras applied in vain for aid (367—374); then to Athens, where he was more successful. The Athenian factions, under the Pisistratids and the Alcæonids, are described (375—384) as well as the war between Athens and Ægina (385—390,) and the attempts of the Lacedæmonians against the liberties of the former (390—397). The Athenians, at the solicitation of Aristagoras, send a force to aid the Ionians, and conjointly with them, burn SARDIS, which event determines Darius to invade Greece, and serves as a pretext for all the outrages afterwards committed by the Persians under Xerxes (397—409). The Ionians are joined by the Cyprians, who however share the same fate (401—405).

BOOK VI,

Continues the narrative of the Ionian war, terminated by the fall of Miletus (409—417). The Samians, who had taken part in the rebellion, escaped from the vengeance of Persia by settling themselves at Zancle in Sicily (419).

The victorious Persians reduce Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, and the towns of the Chersonese, which hitherto had been governed by MILTIADES, an Athenian (423—425) who, on this occasion, returns to Athens (426). These successes encourage Darius to make an attempt upon Greece; but the army sent out under the command of MARDONIUS, penetrates no further than Macedonia, and retires with dishonour (427, 428). Heralds are now despatched to try the dispositions of the several states of Greece, some of which render the customary tokens of submission to the Persian monarch; thus Greece became divided against itself.

A long digression contains the history of the rivalries of the Spartan kings, DEMARATUS and CLEOMENES, issuing in the banishment of the former, who took refuge at the Persian court; and in the death of the latter by his own hands (430—443). The affairs of Ægina lead LEOTYCHIDES, the successor of Demaratus, to Athens, where he recounts the story of Glaucus (444—448).

Meanwhile Darius prepares for a second invasion of Greece; and an expedition, under the command of DATIS and ARTAPHERNES, crosses the Ægæan sea, reduces Naxos, and ERETRIA, in Eubœa, lands in Attica, and takes up its position on the field of MARATHON (448—452). Here the Persians are opposed by a body of Athenians and Platæans, who, under the command of MILTIADES, rout the barbarians with great slaughter, and drive the survivors on board their fleet (452—461). The suspicious conduct of the Alcæonids on this occasion, introduces a history of that powerful family (461—465). The Persians having retired to their own seas, Miltiades undertakes an enterprize against Paros, in which failing, he is capitally accused to the Athenians, and condemned to pay an enormous fine; but dies of a wound received in his late attempt (466—470).

BOOK VII.

Darius preparing to renew the war upon Greece, is diverted by the revolt of the Egyptians; but dies when about to set out at the head of his army (471—473) and is succeeded by his son, XERXES. The young king, at the instigation of Mardonius, and contrary to the better counsels of his uncle ARTABANUS, determines to prosecute his father's intentions against the Greeks of Europe, and issues orders for collecting forces from every nation under his sway (473—486). While the levies are making, Xerxes causes a canal to be cut through the neck of the isthmus of Mount Athos, to obviate the necessity of doubling the dangerous headland (486): at the same time bridges are constructed across the Hellespont for the passage of the land forces (487).

When all is in readiness, the Persian monarch marches at the head of an innumerable barbarian rout from Critallis in Cappadocia, and proceeds through Sardis, to Abydos, on the Hellespont, where the bridges had been a second time formed;—the first having been broken up by a storm (486—494). Before passing the current which divides Europe from Asia, the vain king reviews his motley host and fleet, which covered all the shores, and takes occasion to moralize with his uncle Artabanus (495—500) and the next day passes the bridge of barges, and all having reached Doriscus in Thrace, the army is numbered; and our author specifies the several nations mustered in the army and fleet, describing particularly their various costumes, and naming the generals and commanders (501—515). After the review, Xerxes held

a dialogue with Demaratus, the *ex*-king of Sparta, who attended him on the expedition (515—518). The army then advances through Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, till it reaches the pass of Thermopylæ; meanwhile the fleet moves along the coast at an equal rate (518—528); at the same time heralds are sent throughout Greece to demand the submission of the several states (528—531).

The Greeks now prepare to oppose the invader, and the Athenians, as a necessary measure, send to ask advice of Apollo at Delphi, who gives them first an answer fraught with horrors, and then a mitigated reply, containing a couched intimation of which, as interpreted by THEMISTOCLES, they take advantage (531—536). The Greeks, convoked in a general assembly, first compose all differences among themselves, and then despatch embassies to solicit aid from the Argives, the Syracusans, the Corcyræans, and the Cretans (536—551). The account of these embassies includes the history of GELON, tyrant of Syracuse (541—543).

At the request of the Thessalians, the Greeks send a body of troops to occupy the pass of Tempé; from which they presently retire, leaving the Thessalians to make terms with the invader (551—553). It is then resolved to despatch a small force to defend the nearer pass of THERMOPYLÆ, and to station the fleet at ARTEMISIUM, on the northern extremity of Eubœa (553—555). The two armies being now about to encounter, Herodotus calculates the numbers of the barbarian host (557, 558). The vast superiority of the Asiatic fleet is presently reduced by a storm, fatal to a large number of vessels (559—561): The pass of Thermopylæ is occupied by a small body of Greeks, under the command of LEONIDAS, king of Sparta: these are vainly attacked by the Persians, Medes, and Saces, until being circumvented and surrounded on all sides, the Spartans, three hundred in number, with Leonidas, who alone remained at their post, are all slain (563—581).

BOOK VIII,

Commences with an enumeration of the Grecian fleet, assembled at Artemisium, under the command of Eurybiades (583). The barbarian fleet being stationed on the opposite main, at Aphetæ, several engagements take place; and though the Greeks acquire some confidence, and much credit, they at length resolve to retire, and to take position nearer to their homes. During this time a detachment of ships, sent round the island to inclose the Greeks, is destroyed in a storm (583—591). Xerxes then amuses the men on board the fleet by a trickish exhibition of the slain at Thermopylæ (592) and advances through Phocis and Bœotia towards Athens, having on the way despatched a body of troops to *Dioclea*, to plunder the temple of Apollo; but the presumptuous attempt is repulsed by extraordinary means (594—598).

The fleet of the confederate Greeks now takes up its station in the straits around SALAMIS, where fierce altercations ensue among the chiefs, and where they are retained only by the stratagems and management of Themistocles (598—602). Meanwhile the Athenians abandon their city, which, after a short resistance on the part of a few who remain, is occupied by Xerxes (602—604). Differences among the Grecian chiefs are now renewed (606—607), while Xerxes holds a council of war at Phalerum (609—611). The Peloponnesians, influenced by a selfish and blind policy, think only of defending their peninsula (612, 613) and to prevent their defection from the confederacy, Themistocles uses a stratagem which brings on an engagement between the two fleets at SALAMIS, in which the barbarians sustain a signal and irreparable defeat. On this occasion ARISTIDES "the just" gives proof of his patriotism (614—624).

Xerxes, seized with dismay equal to his previous presumption, meditates a retreat, and is persuaded to retire, leaving a chosen body of the army under the command of Mardonius, to achieve the conquest of Greece. The monarch, followed by a starving mob of Asiatics, reaches and crosses the Hellespont in safety (624—637). Meanwhile the Grecian fleet attacks Andros, and obtains money from some of the islands (632—637). After dividing the spoils, and dedicating a tythe to the gods, they deny to Themistocles the honours which all confess are due to him, and which the Spartans alone have the grace to render (638).

A body of the Persian army under Artabazus attacks Palene during the winter; but is discomfited, and rejoins the army cantoned in Thessaly (639—641). The shattered remains of the Asiatic fleet retire to Samos for the winter (642).

On the approach of spring both parties prepare to renew the contest. The Grecian fleet commanded by Leotychides is assembled at Ægina; while Mardonius, who had passed the winter in Thessaly, first sends to consult the Grecian oracles on the event of the war (643), and then despatches Alexander, king of Macedonia—the history of whose family forms the subject of a digression (645, 646)—to Athens, with the hope of detaching the Athenians from the confederacy. This measure alarms the fears of the Spartans; but the firm and indignant reply of the Athenians to the proposals of the common enemy, and to the base suspicions of their ally, convince the one that he has nothing to hope, and the other that they have nothing to fear, from the irresolution or selfishness of that people (647—651).

BOOK IX.

The Athenians, feeling it to be impracticable to defend their city, once again abandon it; and Mardonius advancing without opposition through

Bœotia and Attica, fixes his head quarters in it, and thence sends a second proposition to the Athenians, now assembled at Salamis; but this is rejected with violent indignation (652—654); though the sinister and selfish behaviour of the Spartans gives reason to believe that they would abandon their allies as soon as it should seem safe to do so (655). At length their fears are awakened, and they despatch a body of troops from Peloponnesus to oppose the invader in Bœotia: these are followed by the other Peloponnesians, and a force of considerable strength draws towards the centre of war (655—662) until the two armies look each other in the face from the opposite banks of the Asopus, on the northern side of which river Mardonius had constructed a fortified camp. During several days the Persian cavalry annoys the Greeks, who with difficulty maintain their ground; but a general action is avoided by both parties: meanwhile the right of precedence is hotly contended for by the Tegeans and Athenians; and accorded to the latter by the suffrage of the Spartans, whose right of preference is acknowledged by all (662—667).

At length the line is formed on both sides; but afterwards deranged, and again restored, through the fears of the Lacedæmonians (667—670). The story of Tisamenus, and then that of Hegesistratus—both diviners, form parentheses in this part of the narrative (670—673.) Ten days pass, during which the omens on both sides discourage offensive warfare; meanwhile movements and perplexities take place among the Greeks, who are hardly retained in front of the enemy (673—680), but a resolution is agreed to for occupying a station near PLATEA. In effecting this change of position a Spartan, named Amompharetus, displays, first his contumacy, then his irresolution; the consequences of which, and the withdrawal of the Greeks from their ground, bring on a general engagement, in which, after some obstinate fighting, the Persians are utterly routed, Mardonius slain, and the confused host driven precipitately within their fortified camp (680—688) which however is presently forced by the Greeks, who effect an almost entire destruction of their unresisting enemies; one division only of the army, under Artabazus, having made good a timely retreat (688—690). Incidents connected with the battle close the narrative of this signal day (691—698).

On the same day a battle not much less important takes place between the Greeks and Barbarians at MYCALE', on the coast of Ionia. The Grecian fleet, at the solicitation of certain Samians, had moved across the Icarian sea in pursuit of the Persians, who, on their approach, hauled their vessels ashore, and surrounded them with a palisado. The Greeks, under Leotychides, effect a landing, attack and defeat the Persians, destroy the fleet, collect a large booty, and depart (698—708) sailing towards the Hellespont, where they separate—the Peloponnesians returning home; while the Athenians besiege Sestus, which at length they reduce, and inflict signal vengeance upon the flagitious

Artayctes: then collecting the remains of the raft by which Xerxes had crossed the Hellespont, they return to Greece, laden with wealth, trophies, and glory (711—715).

Meanwhile Xerxes, first at Sardis, and afterwards at Susa, loses the recollection of his defeat amid incestuous amours, and blots out the remembrance of the destruction of his people with the blood of his family (708—711).



CORRECTIONS.

- | Page | Line | |
|------|------------|---|
| 19 | 14 | read <i>Aba</i> , and at p. 595, and 643 |
| 21 | 7 | <i>If the common reading is followed—τρία ἡμιταλанта, it should be rendered "one talent and a half," but Schweighæuser and Gaisford adopt the reading τριτον ημιταλanton, which means "three and a half talents:" see Matthiæ, sect. 143.</i> |
| 23 | last line, | <i>r. Tyrrenians</i> |
| 272 | 17 | <i>r. Agathyrsus</i> |
| 343 | 22 | <i>for on the roof, r. over the house</i> |
| 366 | 24 | <i>r. Myus</i> |
| 369 | 25 | <i>r. Elis, and p. 370, l. 2.</i> |
| 376 | 24 | <i>place inverted commas at the end of the line, after Teleboes," and omit them after Cadmus.</i> |
| 432 | 2 | <i>from the bottom, r. Pythions</i> |
| 450 | | <i>in the verse, for them, r. then</i> |
| 463 | 3 | <i>from the bottom, r. Trapezus</i> |
| 524 | 5 | <i>r. Therma</i> |
| 527 | last line, | <i>for the descendants of the Aleuads of Thessaly, r. the sons of Aleuas, who were Thessalians</i> |

BOOK I.

CLIO.

SECTION I.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE LYDIAN KINGDOM.

HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus publishes his researches in order to prevent the achievements of men from fading in the oblivion of time, and lest the great and admirable exploits both of Greeks and Barbarians should fail of their due renown. He also proposes to explain the occasions of the wars which have been carried on between them.

The Persian historians impute the origin of the dissension to the Phœnicians. For these people coming from the shores of what is called the Red Sea (*Indian Ocean*) and settling upon the borders of this Sea (*the Mediterranean*) in the country they now inhabit, presently undertook long voyages, carrying on the commerce of Egypt and Assyria, with the surrounding countries. Among other places they touched at Argos, at that time the principal city of Greece, where they exposed their cargo for sale during five or six days, in which time they found purchasers for the greater part of their goods. At length a number of women came down to the shore, among whom was Io, the daughter of king Inachus;—the Greeks give her the same name. While these women stood about the stern of the ship, purchasing such things as pleased them best, the Phœnicians encouraging each other, sprang upon

B. C.
1722.

1087.

them, and though the greater part escaped, they took Io, with some others, whom they carried on board, and immediately set sail for Egypt. Thus, according to the Persians, was Io carried to Egypt:—the Greeks* relate the story otherwise; but the former, affirming this to have been the origin of the animosity between the two nations, add that some time afterwards, certain Greeks whom they do not name, but who were probably Cretans, landing at Tyre, in Phœnicia, seized Europa, daughter of the king:—this was only an even retaliation:—but not yet satisfied, they committed a second injury, for sailing in a ship of war to *Æa*, on the Phasis, a city of Colchis, after concluding some other affairs, they seized Medea, daughter of the king. When the king of Colchis sent ambassadors to Greece demanding his daughter, and satisfaction for the injury, he received for answer that, as no amends had been made to the king of Argos, none should be made to him.

B. C.
1582.

1349.

In the next age, as the same authors affirm, Alexander, (*Paris*) son of Priam, having heard these accounts, and wishing to take a wife by force from Greece, which he believed he might do with impunity, carried away Helen. When the Greeks sent ambassadors to demand Helen, and reparation, the Trojans reminded them of the seizure of Medea, for which they had rendered no amends; and reproached them for asking for reparation which, in a like case they had refused to give. Hitherto nothing had taken place but these mutual violences; but when the Greeks carried war into Asia, before any invasion of Europe had been attempted, they became the authors of deeper injuries. And though, as these Persian authors affirm, the seizure of women is a wrong; to avenge it so seriously is a folly unbecoming wise men, who should not think women who have been thus carried off worthy of much concern; for it

1290.

* According to some copies, the Phœnicians.

is manifest that without some consent on their part, they would not have been taken. And the Persians declare that with themselves, no regard has ever been paid to such losses. While the Greeks, for the sake of a Lacedæmonian woman, raised a vast army, and invading Asia, overthrew the kingdom of Priam. From that time the Persians have always regarded the Greeks as their enemies;—for they claim Asia and all its nations as their own—considering Europe and Greece as forming a separate world.

Such is the account given by the Persians, who assign the taking of Troy as the cause of their hostility to the Greeks. As for Io, the Phœnicians tell a different story, denying that any force was used by them towards her, and affirming that she left Argos in a Phœnician vessel to hide her own dishonour, and to skreen herself from the displeasure of her parents. For my own part, without attempting to decide which of these accounts is true, I shall, having named him whom we well know to have been the first author of the wrongs sustained by the Greeks, proceed in my history, relating the affairs of various states—the small as well as the great; remembering that most of those which once were flourishing, are now decayed; while those which in our own times have risen to eminence, were formerly quite inconsiderable. Impressed therefore with the instability of human affairs, I shall pay equal regard to all.

B. C.
1270.

Croesus the Lydian, and son of Alyattes, was master of the nations included within the Halys, which river, rising in the south, and separating Syria from Paphlagonia, runs northward till it empties itself into the Euxine. This Croesus was the first of the Barbarians known to have reduced some of the Greeks under his yoke, obliging them to pay tribute; while he formed

B. C.
560.

alliances with others of them. For he, having reduced the Ionians, the Æolians, and the Dorians of Asia, to bondage, entered into a treaty with the Lacedæmonians. Before the reign of Croesus all the Greeks were free: for the invasion of Ionia by the Cimmerians at a more remote period, was only a predatory incursion, not followed by the conquest of cities.

The kingdom (of Lydia) which was formerly possessed by the family of the Heraclidæ, passed into that of Croesus—called Mermnades—in the manner presently to be related. Candaules, named by the Greeks Myrsilus, king of Sardis, sprung from Alcæus, son of Hercules. For Agron, son of Ninus, grandson of Belus, and great grandson of Alcæus, was the first of the Heraclidæ who reigned in Sardis, as Candaules, son of Myrsus was the last. Those who reigned in this country before Agron sprung from Lydus, son of Atys, from whom the people, before called Mæonians, received their present name—Lydians. From this primitive race the Heraclidæ—descended from Hercules, and a bond-woman of Jardanus—after administering the government, obtained it for themselves, at the command of an oracle. This race possessed the throne in a direct line of succession of two and twenty generations, extending through a period of five hundred and five years; till it ended in Candaules, son of Myrsus.

This Candaules passionately loved his wife, whom he believed to be the most beautiful of women. He had often boasted of her beauty to Gyges, son of Dascylus, an officer who enjoyed much of his confidence and favour, and whom he consulted on the most important occasions. At length—for the evil day of Candaules was come, he proposed to Gyges to conceal himself in the queen's bed-chamber. Gyges endeavoured to dissuade the king from his purpose, reminding him that a woman with her garments lays aside her modesty; and that by such an act he should violate those dictates of universal experience which

From
B. C.
1221
to
716.

all ought to respect, and which confine every man to what is his own. In vain Gyges, who feared the mischief that might accrue to himself, used these arguments; the king persisted in his purpose, and obliged his officer to conceal himself in the chamber: he was however perceived by the queen, who instantly resolving to avenge upon her husband the insult she had received, concealed her emotions of shame and anger. But early in the morning, she sent a confidential servant to command the attendance of Gyges, who supposing the queen ignorant of what had taken place, came as he was wont to do when so called for. On his appearing before her she thus addressed him:—"Gyges, I offer to your choice two paths:—either kill Candaules, and take me and the kingdom; or die instantly yourself, lest the future commands of Candaules should lead you into yet greater crimes." Gyges stood awhile in amazement at the proposal, and then besought the queen not to oblige him to such a choice; but not being able to move her from her purpose, and perceiving that in truth he must either kill his master or be killed, he determined to preserve his own life.—"Since," said he, "you compel me to kill my lord, tell me how we must approach him." "The place," replied the queen, "shall be that in which you were concealed; and the time of the attempt when he sleeps." The plot being formed, and night arrived, Gyges, to whom no other means of preserving his life was left, followed the queen to the royal chamber; and having received from her a dagger, was concealed in the place he had before occupied behind the door. As soon as Candaules slept, Gyges gently approached the bed, and slew him;—thus obtaining the wife and the kingdom of his master. The fate of this prince is commemorated in the verses of Archilochus, the Parian, who lived in the same age.

Having thus ascended the throne, Gyges was confirmed in his authority by the decision of the Delphic oracle: for the Lydians, resenting the death of Candaules, took

up arms, but at length agreed with the partizans of Gyges to abide by the determination of the oracle, and to obey him rather than restore the kingdom to the Heraclidæ, if he should be declared to be king of the Lydians. The response of the Pythian established Gyges on the throne; but in giving her reply she pronounced, that in the fifth generation from Gyges the Heraclidæ should be avenged. This prediction was disregarded by the Lydians and their kings till it was confirmed by the event.*

The Mermnades having by these means supplanted the Heraclidæ, Gyges, as soon as he was well settled on the throne, sent not a few presents to Delphi. The greater part of his offerings were of silver, and still remain at that place: he also dedicated an immense quantity of gold, of which metal there were six vessels, weighing thirty talents, and which deserve to be particularly mentioned: these are laid up in the treasury of the Corinthians;† or rather, to be more correct, in that of Cypselus, son of Eetion. Excepting Midas, son of Gordius, king of Phrygia, Gyges is the first of the Barbarians recorded to have dedicated offerings at Delphi. This Midas sent there the royal throne from which he had administered justice—a piece of work worthy of being inspected; it is placed along with the Gygean cups. The Delphians give to these offerings an appellation derived from the name of the donor. Gyges, upon assuming the government, attacked Miletus and Smyrna; and took Colophon:—no other exploits worthy of record marked his reign, which lasted thirty-eight years.

B. C.
678.

Ardys, the son of Gyges, claims a passing notice: he conquered the Prienians, and invaded the territory of Miletus. During his reign the Cimmerians, driven from their country by the Scythian Nomades, entered Asia,

* See Note.

† In the temple of Delphi there were several compartments or cells, containing the offerings of cities or of opulent individuals.

and captured the whole of Sardis, except the capital. After a reign of forty-nine years, Ardys was succeeded by his son, Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years, and who was followed by Alyattes. This prince made war with Cyaxares, grandson of Dejoces, and with the Medes; he also expelled the Cimmerians from Asia—took Smyrna, a colony from Colophon, and invaded the Clazomenians, from whom, however, he retired disappointed, and signally discomfited. His other memorable actions are these:—He carried on the war begun by his father with the Milesians in the following manner; as often as the fields were loaded with the fruits of summer he invaded the country: his army marched to the sound of pipes, harps, and flutes; both of the martial and of the dulcet sort. As he entered the Milesian territory, he neither overthrew nor burned the farm-houses, nor removed the fences; but he totally destroyed (or pillaged) the fruits of the trees, and of the fields; and then returned, without besieging the city; which it would have been vain to attempt, as the Milesians were masters of the sea; and he left them their houses that they might continue to cultivate their lands, and so prepare for him a future spoil. This kind of war was carried on during eleven years, in the course of which the Milesians suffered two signal discomfitures; one at Limeneum, in their own territory; the other in the plains of the Mæander. Of the eleven years' war, six belonged to the reign of Sadyattes, who commenced it, and five to that of his son Alyattes, who, as I have said, vehemently prosecuted it. Of all the Ionians, none aided the Milesians in this war except the Chians, who took this occasion to requite the assistance they had received from the Milesians in their war with the Erythræans. In the twelfth year of the war, it happened that when the corn (of the Milesians) was set on fire by the (Lydian) army, a violent wind carried the flames to a temple of Minerva, at Assesos, which was burned to the ground. No notice

(19)

B. C.
629.
617.

was taken of this accident at the time; but after the return of the army to Sardis, Alyattes fell ill, and not presently recovering, he sent messengers to Delphi, either on the advice of his friends or for his own satisfaction, to inquire of the god concerning his sickness. The Pythian refused, however, to give a response to his messengers till he should have rebuilt the temple of the Assesian Minerva, in the Milesian territory, which had been burnt. This, as I remember, is the account given of the affair by the Delphians; but the Milesians add, that Periander, son of Cypselus, (tyrant of Corinth) having learned the reply of the oracle, sent the intelligence to Thrasybulus, then tyrant of Miletus, to whom he was bound by the ties of friendship and hospitality, that he might take his measures accordingly.

When the reply of the oracle was announced to Alyattes, he instantly sent a herald to Miletus, to propose a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians, during the time required for rebuilding the temple. But Thrasybulus, being previously informed of the reply of the oracle, and aware of the intentions of Alyattes, devised the following artifice to deceive him:—he caused all the corn in the city, from both the public and private granaries, to be brought into the market; and then directed the people, upon a signal given, to abandon themselves to all kinds of feasting and revelry. This he did that the Sardian herald, seeing this store of provision, and the people living in plenty, might report it to Alyattes. And so it happened: for the herald, having witnessed this scene, and delivered the message of the Lydian to Thrasybulus, returned to Sardis, and, as I have been informed, the report he gave was the real and only cause of the peace that ensued: for Alyattes, who had supposed that a famine prevailed at Miletus, and that the people were reduced to the utmost wretchedness, was quite taken by surprise on hearing from the herald an account so different. A peace, therefore,

was soon afterwards concluded, binding the parties to friendship and mutual support. Alyattes built two temples to Minerva, at Assesus, in place of the one destroyed; and recovered his health. Thus terminated the war between Alyattes and Thrasybulus.

[This Periander, son of Cypselus, who informed Thrasybulus of the answer of the oracle, was, as we have said, tyrant of Corinth; and the Corinthians give an account, confirmed by the Lesbians, of a most extraordinary occurrence which fell under his notice.—I mean the arrival of Arion, the Methymnian at Tænarus, borne by a dolphin. Arion was unrivalled in his time as a performer on the harp; and the first, so far as we know, who composed dithyrambics, and taught them at Corinth. This Arion having, as they relate, passed some time with Periander, sailed for Italy and Sicily, whence, when he had accumulated a large fortune, he wished to return to Corinth. At Tarentum, he hired a Corinthian vessel; for he had not so much confidence in any people as in the Corinthians. But the crew, as soon as the vessel was well out at sea, formed the design of throwing him overboard, that they might seize his treasures. As soon as he knew their purpose, he had recourse to entreaties, offering them all his money if they would only spare his life: but the sailors, unmoved by his prayers, offered him no other alternative but that of killing himself, in which case they would bury him on shore, or of casting himself instantly into the sea. Reduced to this extremity, Arion asked that he might be permitted to clothe himself in his attire; and, standing on the quarter deck, to sing; promising that when he had finished he would destroy himself. The sailors pleased to hear the most celebrated performer of the age, retired to the lower deck: he then, putting on all his vestments, and taking his harp, and standing upon the farthest part of the stern, performed the Orthian ode: the moment he concluded, he threw himself with all his rich vestments into the sea. The crew continued their course to Corinth; but Arion, as the story goes, was received on the back of a dolphin, and carried to

Tænarus, and having gained the land, proceeded in the same vestments to Corinth, where he narrated what had happened. Periander not giving credit to this tale, held Arion in close custody, and meanwhile watched for the sailors. When they arrived at Corinth, calling them before him, he inquired whether they had any thing to relate concerning Arion, to which they replied that they had left him well and prosperous at Tarentum in Italy.—Just as they spoke, Arion, clad in the very dress in which he had cast himself into the sea, appeared before them:—they, confounded, could no longer deny their guilt. Such is the story related both by the Corinthians and the Lesbians; and there is at Tænarus a small brazen statue, dedicated by Arion, which represents a man seated on a dolphin.]

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Alyattes the Lydian, some time after the termination of the Milesian war, died, having reigned fifty-seven years. He was the second of his family that sent offerings to Delphi, where, on his recovery from sickness, he dedicated a large silver vase, with an inlaid iron salver. This is one of the most curious of all the gifts at Delphi:—it was the work of Glaucus the Chian, who invented this method of inlaying iron.

SECTION II.

HISTORY OF CRÆSUS.

Croesus, son of Alyattes, succeeded to the kingdom in the thirty-fifth year of his age. The Ephesians were the first of the Greeks against whom he turned his arms. It was on this occasion, while besieged by him, that the Ephesians devoted their city to Diana—stretching a cord from her temple, which stood at the distance of seven stadia,* to the walls of the old city. After reducing the

* See Note.

Ephesians, he attacked in turn all the states of Ionia and Æolia—some on one pretext, some on another ;—alleging plausible grounds of quarrel where he could find such, and the most frivolous if no better could be produced. Having therefore subdued all the Greeks of Asia, and obliged them to pay tribute, he formed the design of constructing a fleet for the purpose of attacking the islanders. But while these preparations were in progress, Bias of Priene, or as some say, Pittacus of Mitylene, arrived at Sardis, and when asked by Croesus what news there might be from Greece, gave an answer which prevented the completion of the naval armament ; for he thus spoke :—“The islanders, O king, are collecting a body of ten thousand horse, with which to attack you at Sardis.” “May the gods,” replied Croesus—credulous with hope, “put it into the hearts of the islanders to attack the sons of the Lydians with horse !” To which Bias replied, “You have great reason, O king, for so earnestly wishing to catch the islanders on horseback, on the continent ; and do you imagine that they were less pleased when they heard that you were building a fleet to invade them, by which means they might meet the Lydians on the seas, and avenge the cause of the continental Greeks, whom you have subjugated ?” Croesus was both pleased with this reply, and convinced by the inference it contained ; and in consequence, not only desisted from his naval preparations, but concluded a treaty with the Ionians of the islands.

In the course of time Croesus subdued all the nations inhabiting the countries within the river Halys, except the Cilicians and the Lycians. These nations were the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandinians, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians—as well the Thynians as the Bythynians, the Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians. These conquests, and the acquisitions made by Croesus to the Lydian kingdom, raised Sardis to the

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most flourishing condition; and it became the resort of all those Grecian sages who were able to visit it. Among these was Solon the Athenian, who, having at the request of his countrymen, digested a code of laws for them, exiled himself for ten years; alleging, when he set sail, that he wished to see the world. But his real motive was, that he might not be called upon to alter any of his laws, which none of the Athenians could do; for they were bound by a solemn oath to observe his institutions during that term. Solon travelling therefore for these real and professed reasons, first visited Amasis, king of Egypt, and afterwards came to Sardis, where he was entertained by Croesus in the palace. After three or four days, the king's officers, at the command of their master, conducted Solon through the treasuries, exhibiting to him all the wealth they contained. When he had inspected all, and had witnessed the perfect adaptation of every arrangement to the king's convenience, he was thus addressed by Croesus:—"Athenian friend, the fame of your wisdom, and of the travels you have undertaken for the enlargement of your knowledge has reached us; and I now wish to hear whom, of all the men you have seen, you consider as the most happy." This question he put, hoping to hear himself named as the happiest of men. But Solon, without flattery, and regardful only of truth, replied, "Tellus, the Athenian:" Croesus, surprised at this answer, eagerly inquired on what account he judged this Tellus to be the happiest of men. "Tellus," replied Solon, "saw his country flourish—he had sons and grandsons, robust and virtuous, who all survived him; and having lived thus prosperously, according to our notions, he finished his course gloriously; for in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis, after aiding to defeat the enemy, he died bravely, and was buried on the spot by the Athenians, at the public cost, and his memory has been held in honour."

On hearing this account of the felicity of Tellus, Croesus, not doubting that he should hold at least the second place after the Athenian, asked who might be next to Tellus, the happiest of men. "Cleobis and Biton," replied Solon; "they were Argives, enjoying a competent fortune, and endowed with such strength of body, that both obtained the prize in the athletic games. Besides which, it is related of them, that, on the occasion of a festival of Juno, celebrated by the Argives, at which their mother was to be present, it happened that the oxen that were to have drawn her carriage to the temple were delayed in the field beyond the appointed hour: the young men, therefore, urged by the necessity of the moment, yoked themselves to the carriage, and drew their mother a distance of five and forty stadia, to the temple. This action, witnessed by the assembly, was worthily concluded; and in the instance of these youths, the deity signified that it is better for a man to die than to live. As the citizens who thronged the place admired the vigour of the youths, and the women blessed the mother who had such sons, she, delighted with the action and the praise—standing before the image, (of the goddess) prayed that her sons, Cleobis and Biton, might, for this dutiful service, receive that which was best for man. Having uttered this prayer, the sacrifice and feast were celebrated; after which, the two young men fell asleep in the temple, and rose no more. The Argives thinking them the best of men, dedicated their statues at Delphi." To these, therefore, Solon attributed the second place of felicity. But Croesus, now irritated, exclaimed, "Athenian! dost thou then so condemn our felicity, as not to account us equal even to these humble individuals?" "O Croesus," answered Solon, "You have put this question, which involves the true condition of man on the earth, to one who knows full well that the divinity* is envious and changeful:

* Or—fortune.

for in an extent of life there is much to be met with which opposes our wishes, and much to be suffered. If we fix the term of human life at seventy years, which we reckon to contain 26,250 days,* there is not one of these days the events of which are precisely the same as those of another. —How liable, therefore, O Cræsus, is man to misfortune! I see you indeed possessed of immense wealth, and the king of many people; but I cannot answer your question till I shall have learned that you have finished your course prosperously: for the rich is not happier than he who possesses only his daily bread, unless it happens to him to end his life well. And, in fact, we see that many of the wealthiest are the most unhappy; while those whose lot is humble, are truly fortunate. The unhappy rich excel the happy poor in two things only—but the latter may excel the former in many.—The rich may gratify various desires, and may sustain, without injury, many losses. But the poor, besides that he has little to lose, may enjoy many blessings—he may possess sound health, and strength, and personal advantages, may be exempt from calamities, may be blessed in his children; and if to these felicities be added a desirable death, we have then the man you seek, and one worthy to be called—happy:—before his death, we may say of a man that he is *fortunate*; but must delay to call him *happy*.” “Yet even this happiness is only comparative; for, as no country contains every advantage, but wants something in which others abound, so neither does the lot of any one comprise every possible good; but if distinguished in some respects, is deficient in others. By the term a happy man, we mean one, who, after enjoying a greater number of these goods than others, finishes his course well. Such, O Cræsus, is my judgment. But we must ever look to the end of things;

* An involved, and probably corrupted, computation of the number of days in the life of man is here introduced, of which I think it sufficient to give the substance.

for often it happens that God, after showing prosperity to a man, visits him with a complete reverse."

On hearing this discourse, Croesus dismissed Solon without thanks or respect, considering him as a man of rude understanding, who, disregarding present advantages, would look at nothing but the future.

After the departure of Solon, Croesus received a severe rebuke of divine vengeance as a reproof, it may be supposed, of his presumption, in thinking himself the happiest of men. The disaster which was about to fall upon his son was indicated to him, some time before it happened, in a dream. Croesus had two sons, one of whom was rendered incapable by being dumb; but the other, named Atys, excelled those of his age in every accomplishment. It was this son of whom Croesus dreamed that he was to perish by the stroke of a dart. Reflecting upon this dream, and terrified by its import, he sought a wife for his son, and no more sent him out, as he was wont, at the head of the army: and he caused all darts, spears, and weapons of every kind to be removed from the public halls, and laid up in the armouries, lest they should fall upon the youth. While the nuptials of his son were celebrating there arrived at Sardis an unfortunate Phrygian, of royal birth, charged with a crime, from which, presenting himself at the palace, he entreated Croesus to absolve him, according to the rights of the country. This request Croesus complied with;—the rites of absolution are nearly the same among the Lydians as among the Greeks. Having done so, Croesus inquired of the stranger who he was—from what part of Phrygia he came thus as a suppliant, and what man or woman he had slain. To which he replied;—"O king, I am the son of Gordius, and the grandson of Midas:—my name is Adrastus: unintentionally I killed my brother, and I come here, banished and deprived of every thing by my father." "You are then," said Croesus, "the offspring of my friends; and you come

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to friends:—while you stay here, you shall want nothing. As for this misfortune, bear it as lightly as you can, and you will be no loser.” Adrastus therefore was entertained in the palace of Cræsus.

About the same time it happened that a boar of extraordinary size infested Mount Olympus in Mysia, and sallying from his retreat wasted the labours of the Mysians; who often going out against him, received more injury from him than they were able to inflict in return. At length the Mysians sent messengers to Cræsus, who thus spoke:—“ O king, a boar of prodigious size has appeared in our country, which ravages our fields, and which, with our utmost endeavours, we are unable to take; we beseech you, therefore, to send your son, with his choice band of youths and dogs, that we may expel him from the country.” Thus they prayed. But Cræsus, remembering the import of his dream, replied, “ Mention my son no more; for I will not send him with you;—besides, he is but just married. I will, however, send with you a select band of Lydians, and the whole hunting pack; and I will charge them as they go, to use their utmost diligence in aiding you to drive the beast from the country.” As the Mysian messengers retired with this answer, the son of Cræsus entered; and being informed of their request, and of his father’s refusal, thus addressed the king: “ O my father, once it was my pride and pleasure to win glory in war, and in hunting; but now you shut me up from both; though you have seen in me neither fear nor sluggishness: and now how can I show myself in public? what must I seem to be to the citizens? how must I appear in the eyes of my young wife? or what sort of man will she think herself joined to? Therefore either suffer me to go out against this beast, or convince me that you do better in thus restraining me.”

“ My son,” replied Cræsus, “ it is not because I have seen cowardice or any other fault in you, that I thus act;

but I am influenced by a dream, in which it was declared to me, that you had but a short time to live, and that you were to perish by an iron weapon. Therefore it is that I have bound you in matrimony; and therefore that I do not send you in these expeditions—watching over you, if by any means I may, at least during my life, withdraw you from danger. And are you not my only son? for my other son, deprived of hearing, is to me as if he were not.” “Yes,” said the youth, “I complain not of your watchfulness, after the vision you have seen; but I must remind you of what you have failed to perceive in the import of the dream, which you say declared that I should perish by a weapon of iron: but what weapons, or what hands to wield them, has a boar? Why then do you fear? If it had been said by a *tooth*, or such like thing, then you would have done well to have kept me at home. But you may safely send me now, when it is not with men that we are to fight.” “You have convinced me,” said Croesus, “of the meaning of the dream;—I change my purpose, and consent to send you to the field.” He then sent for Adrastus the Phrygian, whom he thus addressed: “Adrastus, when you were oppressed with ills, with which I do not reproach you, I absolved you:—I gave you a home and maintenance:—you owe me therefore a return of kindness; and I pray you become the guardian of my son in this expedition, in case robbers should attack you by the way. You will besides have opportunity to distinguish yourself in a manner becoming your family and your personal valour.” To this Adrastus replied, “I should not, O king, willingly have joined an expedition of this sort; for it is not seemly for one, loaded as I am with calamity, to mix and vie with the happy; and hitherto I have secluded myself; but since you demand my services, which indeed I owe you, I am ready to do what you require. Expect, therefore, the

safe return of your son, whom you commit to me, if my watchfulness can preserve him."

The party of huntsmen set out therefore with their dogs, and arriving at Mount Olympus, sought and found the boar; and as they all surrounded the beast, throwing their lances at him, it happened that Adrastus, the unfortunate Phrygian, throwing also his weapon, missed his aim, and struck the son of Cræsus. This stroke of the lance-head fulfilled the dream.—A messenger ran to Sardis, and announced to Cræsus the fight and the death of his son. Cræsus distracted by the death of his son, which was the more grievous to him because inflicted by the man whom he had absolved, bitterly lamented his calamity, and invoked Jupiter the Expiator, declaring the wrong he had suffered from this stranger. He invoked also the same deity as the god of hospitality and friendship; inasmuch as the man whom he had unwittingly entertained, and to whom he had committed his son, was now the murderer of his son, and his worst enemy.

The Lydians now arrived, bearing the dead body, and followed by the homicide; who, standing by the corpse, and extending his hands, delivered himself up to Cræsus, and intreated that he might be killed upon the body; declaring, that having forfeited his first absolution by a second misfortune, he ought no longer to live. But Cræsus, touched with compassion, though suffering under so heavy a domestic affliction, thus addressed him:—"Stranger, I have every right to vengeance, since you have condemned yourself to death; yet, except as the unwilling cause, you are not the author of this calamity; but some god, who announced to me the coming evil." Cræsus then interred his son with due honours. But Adrastus, son of Gordius, and grandson of Midas, the slayer of his own brother, and of (the son of) his expiator, went in the dead of night to the sepulchre, and deeming

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himself to be of all men he had known, by far the most miserable, killed himself upon the grave. During two years, Cræsus remained in the deepest grief for the loss of his son.

SECTION III.

CRÆSUS CONSULTS THE ORACLES.

At the expiration of that time the grief of Cræsus was diverted, and his thoughts occupied by the growing prosperity of the Persians, under Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who had overthrown the government of Astyages, son of Cyaxares. Cræsus meditated the means of checking this growing power, before it should be still farther augmented; and while forming this design, he resolved to consult the oracles of Greece, as well as that of Libya. He despatched his messengers, therefore, some to Delphi, some to Abas of the Phocians, some to Dodona; he also sent messengers to the oracle of Amphiaraus, to that of Trophonius, and to the temple of Branchus, near Miletus:—these were the Grecian oracles consulted by Cræsus. He sent also to the Libyan Ammon. His first object was to try these oracles, and then, if he found their answers true, to inquire whether he should attack the Persians. When he despatched these messengers, he directed them to reckon a hundred days from the time of their leaving Sardis; and all on the hundredth day to put this question to the several oracles: “What may Cræsus, son of Alyattes, king of the Lydians, now be doing?” and to bring back the answers in writing. The answers of the other oracles are not recorded; but when

the Lydian messengers entered the temple at Delphi, and put to the god the question enjoined them, the Pythian thus replied in hexameters:—

The seas I measure, and the sands compute;
 And know the purpose of the dumb and mute.
 E'en now my sense enhales commingled fumes—
 A lamb and tortoise which the heat consumes.
 A brazen cauldron holds the boiling mass;
 And o'er the whole is placed a lid of brass.

This answer was brought back to Croesus, who, when the other messengers had arrived, examined all together; some he disregarded; but when he heard that brought from Delphi, he adored and confessed its truth; and esteemed the answer of the Delphic oracle, which had discovered his employment at the time, to be the only one divinely inspired; for on the appointed day, after the departure of the messengers, he devised an employment which he thought the most improbable, and the least easily guessed that could be imagined:—he cut up together and cooked a tortoise and a lamb, in a brazen cauldron covered with a lid of brass. So much for the answer of the Delphic oracle. What was the response obtained by the Lydians who consulted, with the due forms, the oracle of Amphiaraus, I know not; but it is said to have been acknowledged by Croesus not to be false.*

After this, Croesus sought to propitiate the Delphic god by immense sacrifices; for he offered three thousand head of cattle of each kind proper to this god. He also raised a vast pile, consisting of couches embossed with gold and silver, golden goblets, and vestments, and cloaks of purple, which were all given to the flames—hoping by these means to win the god to his interests:—he moreover

* *αψευδες*—probably so expressed in general, comprehensive terms, as might seem not contradictory to the fact; and yet so vague as not to allow it to be compared with the Delphic answer.

commanded all the Lydians to offer whatever they severally possessed, proper for the purpose.

[After the sacrifices, a great quantity of gold having been melted, he ordered it to be coined into a hundred and seventeen semi-plates, each a palm in thickness, six palms in length, and three in width: four of these were of refined gold, and weighed each two talents and a half: the rest of pale gold, weighing two talents. He also caused a lion of pure gold to be made of ten talents' weight. This lion, when the temple of Delphi was burned, fell from the semi-plates on which it rested, and now lies in the Corinthian cell, having lost in the flames, three talents and a half of its weight. With these offerings, Cræsus sent also two large goblets, (or cisterns,) the one of gold,* the other of silver,† of which the first was placed on the right hand, and the other on the left, as one enters the temple; but these also were moved after the fire, the golden goblet being placed in the Clazomenian cell; the silver goblet stands in a corner of the vestibule, and is used for mixing wine by the Delphians in the Theophanian festival. These goblets are affirmed, and I think with truth, by the Delphians, to be the work of Theodorus, the Samian; for the workmanship is of no ordinary kind. He sent also four silver tubs, now standing in the Corinthian cell;—and two basins, one of gold, the other of silver, for the lustral water. That of gold bears an inscription, purporting that it was the offering of the Lacedæmonians; but this is not true, for it was engraved upon the basin to gratify the Lacedæmonians, by a certain Delphian, whose name, though known to me, I conceal. But the boy, from whose hand the water flows, was the gift of the Lacedæmonians. Many other articles of less note were sent by Cræsus; among which were some round silver plates, and a female figure, three cubits high, said to be that of his pastry-cook. He also presented his wife's necklaces and girdles. To the temple of Amphia-

* Weighing $8\frac{1}{2}$ talents, and 12 minas.

† Of which the contents were 600 amphoras.

raus, of whose virtue and sufferings he had heard,* Cræsus sent a shield of gold, and a spear—head and shaft all of gold : these gifts were in my time to be seen at Thebes, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo.]

The Lydians charged to convey the gifts above-mentioned, were instructed by Cræsus to inquire of the oracles, whether he should make war upon the Persians; and whether he should employ auxiliaries. When, therefore, the messengers had arrived, and had presented the offerings, they put this question to the oracles: “ Cræsus, king of the Lydians, and of other nations, esteeming these to be the only true oracles among men, has sent presents worthy of the discovery you made; and now inquires whether he shall make war upon the Persians, and whether he shall join foreign forces to his own.” The two oracles gave a like answer—both predicting, that if Cræsus attacked the Persians, he would dissolve a great power; and advising him to seek the friendship of the most powerful of the Greeks.

Delighted with these answers of the oracles, Cræsus indulged the confident hope that he should overthrow the kingdom of Cyrus. He sent again to Delphi, and having informed himself of the number of the Delphians, he bestowed upon each of them two staters of gold. In return, the Delphians conferred upon Cræsus and upon the Lydians, for ever, a right of precedence in inquiring at the oracle—immunity from tribute—the chief seats in the temple, and the liberty of citizenship to whosoever of them wished to take up that privilege. After having thus gratified the Delphians, Cræsus now fully persuaded of the veracity of the oracle, was fain to satiate himself with it; and sent to consult it a third time. On this occasion his inquiry was, “ Whether he should hold the

* See Note.

monarchy long?" To this question the Pythian thus replied:—

O Lydian, haste thy flight, what time a mule,
With regal state, in Media's lands shall rule ;—
O'er rocky Hermon flee ;—nor stay for shame ;
But life accept, and take a coward's name.

With these verses Cræsus was more pleased than with the others ; for he did not imagine that a mule would ever reign over the Medes ; and supposed, therefore, that neither he nor his posterity would ever lose the dominion. He next inquired which of the states of Greece were the most powerful, in order that he might form an alliance with them ; and found that the Lacedæmonians and Athenians still held, as they had long held, the highest rank.

SECTION IV.

A DIGRESSION, RELATING TO EARLY GRECIAN HISTORY.

[The Lacedæmonians were of the Doric, the Athenians of the Ionic race, formerly called Pelasgians and Hellenians, of whom the former had never migrated, the latter often. For in the time of king Deucaliôn, the Hellenians inhabited the region of Phthiotis ; but under the reign of Dorus, son of Hellenus, they possessed the country called Histiaotis, beneath Ossa and Olympus ; from which being driven by the Cadmæans, they dwelt near mount Pindus : thence they passed to Dryopis, and afterwards entered the Peloponnesus, where they were called Dorians. What language the Pelasgians spoke, I cannot certainly determine ; but if a conjecture were hazarded, one should conclude that it was a barbarous (foreign) tongue. This opinion is supported by the fact, that the remains of the Pelasgians who inhabit Cretona, a city beyond the Tynhenians (or Thermæans) and who formerly

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were neighbours to the Dorians, inhabiting the country now called Thessaliotis, speak a language altogether different from that of any of the surrounding people. The same may be said of those Pelasgians who founded the cities of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont; but who once lived with the Athenians;—and of the inhabitants also of other Pelasgian towns who have changed their name:—all these people speak the same language, which is unintelligible to their neighbours. If this conjecture be well founded, it will follow that the Athenians, who were of Pelasgian origin, lost their original language, and adopted that of the Hellenians, when they came among that people; while the other Pelasgians have retained their dialect without alteration. The Hellenians have, in my opinion, always spoken the same language. Few and feeble when they separated themselves from the body of the Pelasgians, they augmented their numbers and strength by incorporating other tribes of Barbarians, which the Pelasgians not doing, have never increased.

Of these two states, as Crœsus was informed, that of the Athenians was then distracted under the tyranny of Pisistratus, son of Hippocrates. To Hippocrates, the father of Pisistratus, while, as a private person, he witnessed the Olympic games, there was presented a great prodigy. Having sacrificed, the cauldrons, filled with the flesh and water, boiled and overflowed without fire. Chilon the Lacedæmonian, being present, and observing the prodigy, advised Hippocrates either not to marry, or if he had a wife, to put her away; or if he had a son, to disown him. But he rejected this advice; and some time afterwards this Pisistratus was born to him, who, on the occasion of a contest between the Athenians of the coast, headed by Megacles, son of Alcmeon, and those of the plains, under the conduct of Lycurgus, son of Aristolaides, raised a third faction, with the view of seizing the supreme power. Having collected some seditious persons under pretext of protecting the Highlanders, he practised the following stratagem:—He first wounded himself and his mules, and drove his car into the market place, as if he had just escaped from his enemies, who had attempted to destroy him on his

way into the country. He then entreated the people that a guard might be afforded him:—he had before gained their favour, by having captured Nisæa, in the war with the people of Megara. Thus deceived, the Athenians granted him a band of chosen men, armed with clubs instead of spears. With the aid of these attendants, he took possession of the citadel. This gained, he ruled the Athenians; yet he neither displaced the magistrates, nor changed the laws; but guided the state in its wonted course with credit and success.

Ere long, however, the factions of Megacles and that of Lycurgus uniting their efforts, expelled Pisistratus, before he had well established his sway in Athens. But those who had united against him soon disagreed among themselves:—at length Megacles, wearied with these disorders, proposed to Pisistratus to marry his daughter as the price of his restoration to the government. Pisistratus listening to this proposal, accepted the condition, and covenanted with Megacles. The two then devised a scheme for restoring Pisistratus, which to me seems in the last degree absurd. The Greeks have indeed always been distinguished from their barbarous neighbours by their intelligence and by their aversion to all senseless practices; but this trick was played off upon the *Athenians*, who are regarded as the princes of wisdom among the Greeks. There was a woman of Pœania, named Phya, of great beauty, and wanting only three finger's breadth of being four cubits high. This woman, being habited in complete armour, and placed in a car; and having been instructed to assume her most becoming ornaments and graces, they conducted into the city, preceded by heralds, who, on their entrance, were to make a proclamation to this effect:—"Receive, O Athenians, with good will Pisistratus, whom Minerva herself honours above all men, by leading him into her own Acropolis." This was repeated by those around; and presently the rumour spread through the town, that Minerva was leading back Pisistratus:—the citizens persuaded that the woman was the very divinity herself, adored her, and admitted the tyrant.

Pisistratus being reinstated in the tyranny by the above-mentioned device, fulfilled his contract, by marrying the

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daughter of Megacles. But as he had sons grown up, and as the Alcæonidæ were held to be disgraced, he refused to live with his wife. Megacles provoked by this insult, reconciled himself with his former adversaries; and Pisistratus, informed of the plot which was hatching against him, withdrew from Attica to Eretria, where he consulted with his sons on the state of his affairs. In this council, the opinion of Hippias prevailed, who advised that the lost tyranny should be recovered. They therefore collected forces from the cities which had formerly regarded them favourably. Among those who furnished them with money, the Thebans were the most liberal. To be brief, all was soon in readiness to effect their return: for a body of Argive mercenaries arrived from the Peloponnesus, and a Naxian, named Lygdamis, met them unsolicited with a supply of money and troops. Advancing therefore from Eretria, they returned to Attica in the eleventh year after their exile, and occupied the field of Marathon: here having encamped, they were presently joined by numbers of their former friends from the city and from the vicinity—persons for the most part who preferred a tyranny to liberty. By these accessions their forces were much increased. While Pisistratus was collecting supplies, and even after he possessed himself of Marathon, the Athenians took little notice of his movements; but when they learned that he had left his station there, and was advancing towards the city, they determined to oppose his progress. With all their forces, therefore, they moved out to prevent his return. Meanwhile, Pisistratus and his followers, on their march from Marathon towards the city, came in sight of the enemy by the temple of the Pallenian Minerva, near to which he pitched his camp. There he was met by Amphilytus, an Acarnian, and vaticinator, who delivered to him, as from Heaven, the following verses:—

“The throw is made—the net expanded wide:
By night the tunnies to the snare shall glide.”

Thus divinely inspired he sang; Pisistratus understanding the oracle, said he accepted the omen, and forthwith led his army against the enemy. The Athenian citizens were just

then dining, and from dinner were about to play at dice, or to sleep. Pisistratus therefore falling suddenly upon these put them to flight; and as they fled, adopted a well-imagined plan to prevent their rallying; for setting his sons on horse-back, he directed them to overtake the fugitives, and in his name command them to be of good courage, and return, every one to his house. The Athenians yielding to his will, Pisistratus a third time established himself in the tyranny, now strengthened by the presence of many auxiliaries, and by resources drawn from the country itself, and from the river Strymon. The children of those Athenians who had the most resolutely resisted his return, he took as hostages, sending them to Naxos, which he had before subdued and placed under the administration of Lygdamis. After this, at the instigation of an oracle, he purified the island of Delos, commanding all the graves that happened to be within sight of the temple to be opened, and the bodies to be removed, and carried to some other spot in the island. Thus reigned Pisistratus at Athens—many of the citizens having fallen in battle, while many, adhering to the Alcæonidæ, abandoned their native land. Such was the account which Cræsus received concerning the Athenians.

The Lacedæmonians, as he was informed, having passed through great calamities, had just obtained the ascendancy in a war with the Tegeans. The Spartans, while governed by Leon and Hegesicles, though in their other wars always successful, fought the Tegeans invariably with disadvantage.—In earlier times, they lived under laws worse in themselves than those of any other people of Greece, and such as separated them very much from their neighbours. But they at length obtained better institutions in the following manner:—Lycurgus, a man approved among the Spartans, coming to Delphi, was thus addressed by the Pythian the instant he entered the edifice:—

B. C.
884.

Thou com'st Lycurgus, to my well-stored fane,
Beloved of Jove, and all Olympus' train.—
Doubtful if now a man or god I hail;—
Yes, yes, Lycurgus, more divine than frail!

There are persons indeed who affirm that the Pythian delivered to him those laws and institutions which are now observed at Sparta. But the Lacedæmonians themselves relate, that Lycurgus, while tutor to the sons of his brother Leobotas, king of Sparta, brought them from Crete. As soon as he was constituted guardian (of his nephews) he changed all the laws, and took care that those framed by himself should not be transgressed. He next regulated military affairs, establishing the Enomatiæ, the Triacades, and the Syssitia: he also instituted the Ephori, and the senate. In this way the Lacedæmonians changed their laws for the better. Lycurgus, after his death, was regarded as a divinity—a temple being erected to his honour. From this time, having a fertile and well-peopled country, they rapidly increased in power and wealth: and not long content with inactivity, and believing themselves to be superior to the Arcadians, they consulted the oracle of Delphi on the project of reducing all Arcadia. They were thus answered by the Pythian:—

Ask ye Arcadia?—'tis too much to give:
Arcadia's many sons on acorns live,
And will repulse you:—yet I grudge not all;
But grant thy foot on Tegea's plains to fall
In merry dance.—To you I grant again,
O'er her fair fields to stretch the measuring chain.*

The Lacedæmonians receiving this response, abstained from attacking the other Arcadians, and invaded only the Tegeans, carrying with them many fetters, for relying upon the guileful answer† of the oracle, they believed themselves sure of subduing the Tegeans. But being vanquished in battle, those who were taken alive were bound with the fetters themselves had brought: and with the chain (or cord) of servitude, they measured the fields of the Tegeans. These fetters were, in my remembrance, preserved at Tegea, where they were seen suspended in the temple of the Cælean Minerva. Thus unfortunate were the Lacedæmonians in their former war with the Tegeans:

* σχοινος—properly a cord, formed of twisted rushes.

† κηβηλος—not sincere.

—but in the time of Cræsus, Anaxandrides and Ariston, then reigning at Sparta, they obtained the mastery in the following manner:—Having hitherto always been beaten by the Tegeans, they sent to inquire of the Delphic oracle “which of the gods they must propitiate in order to obtain a victory over the Tegeans.” The Pythian replied this should happen when they had brought the bones of Orestes, son of Agamemnon to Sparta. Not being able by any means to discover the grave of Orestes, they sent messengers again to ask the god—Where Orestes was buried? To this demand the Pythian replied—

Within Arcadia is a level ground,
O’er which two winds by narrow limits bound,
Incessant strive.—There, forms to forms oppose;—
Stroke follows stroke, by oft repeated blows.
Beneath that teeming earth Orestes lies;
Possessed of him, Tegea’s glory dies.

After receiving this reply, the Lacedæmonians continued the search, but in vain, till it happened that the wished-for discovery was made by a Spartan, named Lichas—one of those called the benefactors—a title conferred every year upon five seniors in the cavalry: these persons being required in the first year after their discharge from the service, to perform the duty of state messengers. This Lichas then, partly by chance, and partly by sagacity, found at Tegea what was sought for. At this time, some intercourse being maintained between the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, Lichas, entering a smith’s shop at Tegea, and watching the workman, expressed his admiration at the performance; upon which the smith, resting a moment from his toil, said, “Do you admire this?—You would wonder still more, Laconian stranger, were you to see what I have seen—for lately, while digging a well in this court, I met with a coffin, seven cubits long; and when, not believing that men were ever taller than they are now, I opened it, I found a body proportioned to the size of the coffin:—I measured it, and then restored it to its place.” Lichas revolving this account in his mind, conjectured that this was the body of Orestes, of which the oracle had spoken; for it seemed to him that the description agreed with the facts.—

The smith's double bellows produced the winds spoken of:—the anvil and hammer were the two opposed forms, and there was the stroke upon stroke—prefiguring also the mischiefs inflicted upon man by iron. With this idea, therefore, he returned to Sparta, and related the whole to the Lacedæmonians; but they, on the ground of a pretended crime, condemned him to banishment. He returning to Tegea, told his misfortune to the smith, from whom after some dispute, he hired the court, and forthwith digging up the coffin, collected the bones, with which he returned to Sparta:—from that time their attacks upon the Tegeans were always successful:—they had already subdued the greater part of the Peloponnesus.]

SECTION V.

CRÆSUS MAKES WAR WITH CYRUS.—THE FALL OF SARDIS.

Croesus having therefore informed himself of the condition of these two states, sent ambassadors to Sparta, bearing gifts, and instructed to propose a treaty of alliance in war. The message they were charged to deliver was as follows:—"We have been sent by Croesus, king of the Lydians, and of other nations, to say to you, Lacedæmonians, that he has been admonished by the god to form a Greek alliance; and having learned that you are chief among the Greeks, he therefore invites you to friendship, and co-operation, without fraud or deceit." The Lacedæmonians, who had before heard of the answer given by the oracle to Croesus, were gratified by the arrival of the Lydians; and formed a solemn treaty of friendship and co-operation with him, who, indeed, had

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some time before conferred a favour upon them: for when they sent to Sardis to purchase gold for the statue of Apollo, which now stands on Mount Thorna, in Laconia, he made them a present of as much as they needed. On this account, therefore, and because he had preferred them to the other Greeks, they acceded to the alliance. And not only did they promise to grant the aid required of them, but they caused a brazen vessel, ornamented round the rim with a wreath of embossed figures, and capable of containing three hundred amphoras, to be formed, and sent as a present to Croesus;—this vessel never reached Sardis; for, as the Lacedæmonians affirm, while it was on the way, the Samians, hearing of its arrival near their island, despatched a ship of war, and seized it. But the Samians deny this, and affirm that the Lacedæmonians, who carried the cup, having been delayed on the way till they heard that Sardis was taken, and Croesus in captivity, sold it in Samos, to some private persons, by whom it was consecrated in the temple of Juno: perhaps these Lacedæmonians, on their return to Sparta, declared that they had been robbed of the cup by the Samians.*

Croesus, therefore, mistaking the meaning of the oracle, invaded Cappadocia, in the hope of overthrowing Cyrus, and the Persian power. While preparations were making for this Persian war, a certain Lydian, named Sandanis, at that time esteemed for his wisdom (and since his having given this advice still more celebrated) thus counselled Croesus:—"You are preparing, O king, to attack a people who wear leather trowsers, and, indeed, nothing on their backs but leather; who eat, not what they would, but what they can get from their rough soil; who drink, not wine, but water; who have no figs, nor any other delicacies. If, then, you vanquish them, what

* A theft that could be concealed was no crime at Sparta.

can you take from those who possess nothing. But if you are vanquished, think what you cast away! For when they shall have tasted our good things, they will hold them; nor ever be driven back. As for me, I thank the gods who have not inspired the Persians with the desire to attack the Lydians!" But Croesus was not to be so persuaded. It is true, that the Persians, before their conquest of Lydia, possessed nothing delicate or excellent.

The Cappadocians, by the Greeks called Syrians, were, before the establishment of the Persian power, subject to the Medes; but, at this time, to Cyrus. The boundary between the kingdoms of Media and Lydia, was formed by the river Halys, which, rising in the mountains of Armenia, runs through Cilicia; after which it has the Matinians on the right, and the Phrygians on the left: passing by these, and turning towards the north, it divides Cappadocia from Paphlagonia. Thus this river includes nearly the whole of Lower Asia, from the sea of Cyprus to the Euxine; and it runs across the neck, or narrowest part of Asia (Minor) where the distance (from sea to sea) is not more than may be passed over in five days by a swift traveller.

Croesus was impelled to invade Cappadocia, partly by the wish to include that country within the bounds of his dominion; but, encouraged by the oracle, he was chiefly instigated by the hope of avenging Astyages upon Cyrus. For Astyages, son of Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and brother-in-law of Croesus, had been vanquished, and was now held in captivity by Cyrus. [During the reign of Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, and grandson of Dejoces, a band of rebel Scythian Nomades took refuge in Media, and were favourably received by him; and at length so much regarded, that some Median boys were committed to their care, to learn the Scythian language, and the use of the bow. After a time it happened that these Scythians,

who when sent out to hunt had always hitherto been successful, returned from the field without having taken any thing. Cyaxares, who, as it appears, was of an angry temper, dismissed them contumeliously. They, resenting the indignity, resolved to take one of the youths committed to their care, and cutting him up, to prepare the flesh as they were accustomed to cook their game, and to send it as such to Cyaxares, and then instantly to seek protection from Alyattes, at Sardis. This they effected, and Cyaxares, with his guests, partook of the flesh, while the Scythians escaped. Alyattes refusing to surrender the Scythians to the demand of Cyaxares, war was commenced, and carried on during five years between the Lydians and the Medes with various fortune; once in this war, a battle was fought by night. In the sixth year of the war, the advantages being evenly balanced, it happened that while the two armies were hotly engaged, the day suddenly became dark. This change of day into night had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales the Milesian, who had named the year in which it would take place.* Both Lydians and Medes seeing this change of day to night, desisted from fighting, and both became desirous of peace. This was effected by the invention of Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and of Labynetus, king of Babylon, who urged the conciliation, and proposed a matrimonial alliance; for without the bond of some firm necessity, conventions are not often permanent; and it was arranged that Alyattes should give his daughter, Aryenis, in marriage to Astyages, son of Cyaxares. Oaths of alliance are taken among these nations in the same manner as among the Greeks; with this addition, that they cut the skin of their arms, and lick each other's blood.

May 28.
B. C.
585.

Cyrus therefore, as I shall hereafter more fully narrate,

* See Note.

having vanquished and detained in captivity Astyages, his maternal grandfather, hereby afforded to Croesus a ground of quarrel, who, sending as we have said, to Delphi, received the ambiguous answer which he confidently interpreted in his own favour, and so invaded the Persian territory.

Arriving at the river Halys, Croesus transported his army by bridges, then existing;—this, at least, is my opinion. But the current report among the Greeks is, that while Croesus deliberated on the means of passing the river, (there being, as they say, no bridges at that time,) Thales the Milesian, who was then in the camp, effected the passage by diverting the stream from its course, on the left hand of the army, and causing it to flow on the right, through a deep canal which he led in a semicircular form behind the camp; so that the waters being divided, were easily fordable on both sides. Some say that the old channel was left entirely dry; but if so, how did the army pass the stream on its return?

Croesus advancing with his army, arrived in the part of Cappadocia, called Pteria, the most considerable district of that country, bordering upon Sinope, a city near the Euxine: here he pitched his camp, and ravaged the lands of the Syrians, whom, without any pretext, he expelled from their homes; he took also the city of the Pterians, as well as all the neighbouring towns, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery.

Meanwhile Cyrus, assembling his army, and leading with him all the forces of the countries through which he passed, advanced to oppose Croesus. But before he pushed his army forward, he sent heralds to the Ionians, urging them to revolt from Croesus. But the Ionians, refused to comply with this request. Cyrus, however, came up, opposing his camp to that of Croesus; and in the Pterian territory, the two armies essayed their utmost strength in several skirmishes: at length a sharp conflict

took place, in which great slaughter was sustained on both sides; but night ended the battle, before either party had obtained any decided advantage.

B. C.
546.

Croesus now thinking his army, (which was found to be much inferior in numbers to that of Cyrus,) too small, and perceiving on the next day that Cyrus did not attempt to follow him, set out for Sardis, intending to require the Egyptians to fulfil their covenant; for he had contracted an alliance of mutual support with Amasis, king of Egypt, before that which he formed with the Lacedæmonians. He resolved, at the same time, to send to the Babylonians, with whom he had formed a league, and who were then governed by Labynetus, to ask their aid, and to summons the Lacedæmonians also, to be ready at the appointed time. With these allies, and with his own collected forces, he proposed, early in the following spring, again to attack the Persians. Entertaining these designs, he arrived at Sardis, and despatched heralds to his allies, to require their attendance at the end of five months. He also dismissed the whole of his mercenaries, not imagining that Cyrus, with whom he had contended on such even terms, would advance upon Sardis.

At this time, while Croesus was thus engaged, the whole district around the city was filled with serpents; upon which the horses, ceasing to graze, followed and devoured them. This was regarded by Croesus, and justly, as a prodigy; he therefore instantly despatched the sacred messengers, to consult the diviners of Telmessus; but before they returned from the voyage, Croesus was in captivity. The reply of the Telmessian diviners was to this effect: that Croesus might expect a foreign army to invade his territory, who should subdue the natives;—"for," said they, "serpents are the offspring of the earth; but the horse belongs to warfare, and transition." When the Telmessians gave this answer, Croesus was

vanquished ; but of what had taken place at Sardis, these diviners were then ignorant.

Cyrus being informed of the retreat of Cræsus, after the battle in Pteria, and of his design to disband his army, took the resolution of advancing with all speed towards Sardis, before the Lydian forces could be a second time collected. This plan was no sooner devised than put in execution ; and entering Lydia at the head of his army, he became the herald of his own arrival to Cræsus. Cræsus, in the perplexity produced by this unexpected position of his affairs, did not fail to lead the Lydians into the field—and no people of Asia, in that age, were more valiant or warlike than the Lydians. Their mode of fighting was on horseback, with long spears ; and they were accomplished horsemen.

The Lydian army was drawn out upon an extended and bare plain, in front of the city. This plain is watered by several rivers, among which is the Hyllus ; this, with the others, joins the principal stream, called the Hermus, which, flowing from the mountain sacred to Cybele, empties itself into the sea, near Phocæa. When Cyrus saw them drawn up in order of battle, he feared to encounter this body of cavalry, and by the advice of Harpagus, a Mede, he had recourse to the following artifice. He collected all the camels employed in carrying the provisions and baggage of the army, and discharging them of their loads, set men upon them, accoutred as horsemen, and ordered them to take place in front of the army, opposite to the cavalry of Cræsus ; behind the camels he placed his infantry ; and behind these the whole of his cavalry. He then commanded his men to give no quarter to any of the Lydians, except to Cræsus, whom they were to spare, even if he should resist after being taken. The camels were placed in front for this reason, that a horse is terrified at a camel, nor can endure either

the sight or smell of one. By this device, therefore, he hoped to render useless the cavalry of Cræsus, on which the Lydian placed his chief dependence. As the armies approached each other, the horses snuffed the scent of the camels, saw them, and instantly turned about; thus was the hope of Cræsus dashed. Yet were not the Lydians dismayed; but understanding the cause of what had happened, they dismounted, and engaged the Persians on foot; a great slaughter took place on both sides, during a continued conflict. At length the Lydians gave way, and shutting themselves within their walls, were besieged by the Persians.

Thus Sardis was invested, and Cræsus, supposing that the siege would be of long duration, despatched other messengers from the citadel, to summon his allies. His first messengers had required their attendance at Sardis in five months; but now he besought their instant aid.

Cræsus sent among others, to the Lacedæmonians.

[They were then engaged in a quarrel with the Argives, relative to a place called Thyrea, of which, though it stood within the territories of the Argives, the Lacedæmonians had taken possession. For to the Argives belonged all the country westward to Malea, with the island of Cythera, and those adjoining. The Argives, advancing to defend their possessions, they were met by the Lacedæmonians, when a conference took place, and it was agreed—That three hundred men on both sides should fight, and that the place in question should be adjudged to the victors; the rest of both armies retiring to their homes, that they might afford no aid to the combatants. This being arranged, they severally retired; leaving the selected number to engage. An equal fight was maintained, until three only of the six hundred remained—two Argives, named Alcenor and Chromius, and of the Lacedæmonians, Orthryades. When night came on, the two Argives returned to Argos; while Orthryades, plundering the bodies of the Argives, removed their arms to his camp, and remained upon the field.

The next day, when the result was known, the two armies approach, and both claim the victory: the Argives, because more of their party than of the other survived; the Lacedæmonians, because the surviving Argives had fled, while their man stood his ground, and took the spoil of the enemy. At length they flew to arms, and after many had fallen on both sides, the Lacedæmonians prevailed. Since that time, the Argives, who before wore their hair long, kept it short; having solemnly vowed that no Argive should let his hair grow, nor any woman wear gold, till Thyrea should be recovered. The Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, who before cut their hair short, ordained that it should be suffered to grow. It is said that Orthryades, the sole survivor of the three hundred, ashamed to return to Sparta, killed himself at Thyrea. It was while these things were taking place at Sparta, that the Sardian ambassador arrived, intreating aid for Cræsus, who was besieged. Notwithstanding the present state of their affairs, they listened to the ambassador, and made preparations to afford the help demanded. But just as all things were ready, and the fleet about to sail, another messenger arrived, announcing that Sardis was taken, and Cræsus made captive. They therefore, after lamenting the misfortune of the king, desisted from the expedition.]

Sardis was taken in the following manner:—the siege had lasted fourteen days, when Cyrus sent a horseman through his army, promising a reward to the man who should first mount the walls. After many had made the attempt without success, a Mardian, named Hyræades, undertook to ascend the citadel, where the wall was unguarded; for such was the steepness of this part of the fortification, that it was deemed absolutely impregnable. The Telmessians* had declared that if a lion were

* The inhabitants of Telmessus, a town of Caria, who practised divination.—Herodotus calls this lion the son of Meles, by one of his women, whether he intends to affirm a prodigy, or only that the child's name was Lion, is doubted by the critics.

carried round the walls, Sardis would be impregnable. But Meles, a former king of the Sardians, when he carried a lion round the walls, scorned to carry it round this part, which he thought an enemy could never ascend. This side of the citadel is opposite to Mount Tmolus. Hyræades, the Mardian, had seen the preceding day a Lydian descend at this part to recover a helmet which had fallen over the wall, and having watched the manner of his ascent, he resolved to attempt the same; this he effected, and being followed by many others, Sardis was taken and pillaged.

SECTION VI.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF CRÆSUS.

We must now pursue the history of Cræsus:—he had as we have already mentioned, a son, who though in other respects not deficient, was dumb. During his prosperity, the father had used for his relief every means in his power; and among other things, bethought himself of sending to consult the oracle of Delphi. To his inquiries, the Pythian thus replied:—

O man unwise, of Lydia's realms the king,
Wish not his voice within thy halls to ring!
Better for thee that pleasure to forego;—
The day he speaks, shall be a day of woe!

When the fortifications were taken, a Persian, not knowing Cræsus, was about to kill him; and he, seeing himself invaded, and not caring to survive his misfortunes, would have met the stroke of death. But his speechless

son, seeing the Persian approach, moved with fear and agony, cried out, "Man, kill not Cræsus!" These were his first words; and from that time forward he continued to speak. Thus was Sardis, after fourteen days' siege, taken by the Persians; and Cræsus, who had reigned as many years, became their captive; and thus, according to the oracle, he put an end to a great empire—namely, his own.

The Persians led Cræsus before Cyrus, who having caused a great pile of wood to be raised, ordered his captive to be fettered and placed upon it; and with him fourteen Lydian youths. This he did, either intending to offer a sacrifice to some god; or to fulfil a vow; or perhaps, having heard of the piety of Cræsus, he wished to see if any one of the demons would save him from being burned alive. Cræsus, as he stood upon the pile, notwithstanding his present misery, recollected the saying of Solon, as if spoken by a god—"That none of the living could be called happy." Revolving these words, he broke forth from his silence, and with a groan thrice pronounced the name of Solon. Cyrus hearing this, commanded the interpreters to ask him who it was he invoked:—they approached and put the question; he for some time kept silence; but being urged, he said,—“A man, whose words I had rather all tyrants should hear, than myself possess the greatest treasures.” This answer seeming obscure, he was again asked his meaning; and to their continued importunity he at length replied, “That Solon, the Athenian, having formerly visited him, had viewed all his felicity with contempt; and that what he had then said was not only now verified, in his own case, but that it was equally true of all mankind; and especially of those who think themselves more happy than other men.” As Cræsus thus spoke, the flames ascended around the pile: meanwhile Cyrus, having heard what Cræsus had said, relented, and reflecting that he, a mere man, was com-

mitting to the flames, alive, a man who lately was not inferior to himself in felicity, fearing also the vengeance of Heaven, and recollecting, moreover, the instability of human affairs, commanded that, with all haste, the fire should be extinguished, and Croesus and those with him released. But those who endeavoured to execute this command were unable to quell the fire.

Then, as the Lydians relate, Croesus being informed that Cyrus had relented, and seeing the men not yet able to vanquish the flames, cried out, invoking Apollo, whom he besought, if ever any of his gifts had been acceptable, now to appear, and deliver him from the impending misery. As thus with tears he invoked the god, suddenly a serene and tranquil sky was covered with clouds, and a tempest arising with vehement rain, the fire was quenched. Cyrus learning by this event that Croesus was a good man, and in favour with Heaven, commanded him to be brought from the pile, and thus addressed him:—"Croesus, who persuaded you to invade my territory, making yourself my enemy, rather than friend?" To which he replied, "O king, this enterprise, so fortunate for you, so disastrous to me, is attributable to the god of the Greeks, who incited me to make war. For who is so devoid of understanding as (freely) to prefer war to peace, in which fathers bury their sons, instead of sons their fathers;—but thus it pleased the gods to ordain."

Cyrus releasing Croesus, seated him near himself, and with much observance, admired him, as did all who stood around. Meanwhile he, absorbed in thought, kept silence. At length, turning round, and seeing the Persians devastating the city of the Lydians, he said, "O king! shall I tell you what I think, or remain silent?" Cyrus commanding him to take courage, and to speak freely, he went on;—"What is this crowd so eagerly doing?"—"Pillaging your city, and spoiling your treasures."—To which Croesus replied, "Not my city—not my trea-

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sures do they spoil; for these things are no longer mine; but they are bearing off and driving away your's." Cyrus took the hint, and dismissing the attendants, asked him what he thought best to be done. "Since," said Cræsus, "the gods have made me your slave, it is just, if I see any thing to your advantage, to point it out to you. The Persians, by nature impatient of controul, are yet unacquainted with riches; if you wink at their thus seizing and holding treasures, you have nothing to expect but that he who shall make himself the most rich, will excite seditions against you. Now, therefore, if it please you to follow my advice, place spearmen at all the gates, who shall tell those who are carrying away goods, that a tenth of all must be consecrated to Jupiter. Thus you will avoid being hated by them for seizing their plunder; and they, believing you do only what is right, will cheerfully comply."

Cyrus, well satisfied with this advice, gave orders to his attendants accordingly; and then thus addressed Cræsus: "Your words and actions are fitting a man of kingly dignity—ask what you would now most wish to be done." "O monarch," said he, "you will best please me by allowing me to send these fetters to the god of the Greeks, whom above all the gods I have honoured, and ask if it is his custom to deceive those who deserve best at his hands." Cyrus, wishing to know the reason of this taunting accusation, Cræsus recounted to him fully all he had done, repeating the responses of the oracles, and mentioning especially the gifts he had made, and how, incited by the divine answer, he had attacked the Persians; so saying, he again made his request, that he might be permitted to reproach the god with these things. Cyrus smiling, replied, "This, Cræsus, you shall obtain of me; and whatever else at any time you may ask." Cræsus, therefore, having this permission, sent some Lydians to Delphi, instructing them to lay the fetters

upon the threshold of the temple, and to demand, "if it were not a shame, by such responses, to have incited Cræsus to make war upon the Persians, with the hope of overthrowing the power of Cyrus; of which war these fetters were the first-fruits?" Such was to be the demand; and also, "if to be ungrateful were the custom of the Grecian gods?"

When the Lydians arrived and delivered their message, the Pythian is said to have replied: "That even the god could not avert the decree of fate. That Cræsus, the fifth in descent, suffered for the sin of his progenitor, who being a servant (spearman) of the Heraclidæ, consented to the guile of the woman, and slew his master, taking possession, without right, of his place and honour. That yet Apollo had endeavoured to defer the fall of Sardis till the next generation; but that he had not been able to move the fates, who would no further yield to his solicitation than, as a special favour to Cræsus, to place the taking of Sardis three years later than otherwise it would have happened. "Let Cræsus, therefore know, that he is a captive three years later than the fates had decreed," and then remember, that he had rescued him when about to be burned. As to the response, Cræsus had no right to complain; for Apollo had foretold that if he invaded the Persians, he would overthrow a great empire: and if upon this he had wished to be better informed, he should have inquired again, whether his own empire or that of Cyrus was intended. Wherefore, as he had neither understood the oracle, nor asked for its meaning, he might take the blame to himself. That neither had he understood the intimation given him by Apollo in what was said of the mule—for Cyrus was this mule, who was born of parents of different nations—and of a mother of the better condition, and a father of the worse;—for she was a Mede, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes; but he a Persian, and therefore a

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subject of the Medes; and though in all respects inferior, had married his mistress." In this way the Pythian replied to the Lydians, who returning to Sardis, reported the answer to Cræsus; and he, in hearing it, acknowledged himself to be in the wrong, and not the god. Such is the history of the Lydian empire, and of the first subjugation of Ionia.

[Besides the gifts already mentioned, which Cræsus sent into Greece,* there were others: for example, at Thebes, in Bœotia, there is a golden tripod, dedicated by him to the Ismenian Apollo; at Ephesus, there are golden heifers, and many columns; then, in the Pronean temple, at Delphi, there is a large shield of gold—all which were to be seen in my time; many others have been lost, among which are the gifts he presented to the Branchidæ, at Miletus, equal in weight, as I am told, and similar to those he sent to Delphi. The presents he dedicated at the temples of Delphi and Amphiaraus, were from his personal property, and the first-fruits, as it were, of his paternal possessions. The others were furnished from the treasures of an enemy, who before the accession of Cræsus, endeavoured to place Pantaleon on the Lydian throne. This Pantaleon was the son of Alyattes, and so the brother of Cræsus, but not by the same mother; for the latter was the son of a Carian, the former of an Ionian wife of Alyattes. When, by the appointment of his father, Cræsus ascended the throne, he put his adversary to death by torture, and his goods, which before he had devoted to the gods, he consecrated in the manner and at the places above-mentioned. So much for these offerings.]

Lydia contains little worthy of record beyond other countries, if we except the gold dust which descends from Mount Tmolus. It possesses, however, one work of art, equalled only by the buildings of Egypt and Babylon;

* Or to the Greeks—either in Greece or the colonies.

this is the sepulchre of Alyattes, the father of Croesus; the base of the sepulchre consists of immense stones, upon which is raised a tumulus of earth. The work was performed by hucksters, labourers, and girls of the lower order. There were standing in my time on the upper part of the sepulchre five pillars, upon which were engraved an account of the work severally performed by each division; and it appeared that the part executed by the women was the largest. The circumference of the monument measures six stadia, and two plethra; the width is thirteen plethra. Adjoining the sepulchre is a vast lake, named Gygean, and said by the Lydians to be inexhaustible.

[The usages of the Lydians are similar to those of the Greeks, except that they have less regard to female virtue. They are the first people, so far as we know, who coined money of gold and silver; and they also were the first shopkeepers. The Lydians, moreover, claim to be the inventors of the games, now known among themselves and the Greeks, and which were first practised when they established the Tyrrhenian colony, of which they give the following account. In the reign of Atys, son of Menes, there happened a great scarcity of corn throughout Lydia: for some time the people patiently endured the famine; at length, as it was not relieved, they sought some remedy; one proposing one scheme, another a different one. Among these devices, was the invention of several games, such as cubes, bowls, dice, and many other sports; to the invention of chess they do not pretend. With these pastimes they diverted their miseries—playing the whole of every alternate day, that they might not think of food: thus they passed eighteen years, and even then, the evil not abating, but being rather aggravated, the king divided his people into two parts, and cast lots for one part to stay at home, and for the other to quit the country; himself retaining the command of those whose lot it was to stay, and appointing his son, Tyrrhenus, king of those who were

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to remove. The exiles proceeded to Smyrna, where they constructed ships, and putting their effects on board, set sail in search of a living and a home; after touching on several shores, they at length arrived at Umbria, where they built towns, and have ever since remained; only changing the name of Lydians for that of Tyrrhenians. The Lydians, as we have seen, became subject to the Persians.]

SECTION VII.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE ASSYRIANS AND MEDES— DEJOCES—THE SCYTHIANS.

We must now inquire who this Cyrus was, who vanquished Croesus; and by what means the Persians became masters of Asia. And as there are some of the Persians who do not seem disposed to exaggerate the exploits of Cyrus; but rather confine themselves to simple truth, I shall follow only the authority of such writers, though not ignorant that three distinct accounts of this personage are abroad.*

From
B. C.
1231
to
711.

The Assyrians had ruled the Upper Asia during a period of five hundred and twenty years, when the Medes, who were the first to rebel, revolted from them. This nation, in struggling with the Assyrians for their liberties, behaved like valiant men, and at length shaking off the yoke, established their freedom. Other nations afterwards followed the example of the Medes.

These various nations, spread over the continent, for some time followed severally their own institutions; but were at length again reduced under one tyranny; which

* See Note.

happened in the following manner:—Among the Medes there was a sage, named Dejoces, son of Phraortes, who aspiring to the kingly dignity, devised the means of accomplishing his wishes. The Medes inhabited separate villages: Dejoces, already reputed for his wisdom in his own neighbourhood, laboured with increased assiduity to administer justice at home. And this he did while disorders of every kind prevailed throughout Media; knowing well that right must ever contend against wrong. The Medes of his own district, observing his conduct, chose him for their judge, and he, still affecting power, was always just and upright. In this course of conduct, he won no little praise from his countrymen; so that at length the inhabitants of other districts, hearing that Dejoces alone executed strict justice, and having often suffered under partial decisions, gladly brought their causes to be adjudged by him; and in the end they submitted to none but him.

The number of applicants daily increasing—for it was found that here right determined every issue—Dejoces perceived that all was now in his own power. He therefore ceased to sit in judgment as hitherto, or to pronounce decisions, declaring it to be injurious to his own affairs to neglect them, day after day, while employed in arbitrating other men's disputes. In consequence, violence and wrong again prevailed through the land, even more than heretofore. The Medes calling an assembly, deliberated upon the present state of their affairs, and as I suppose, it was chiefly the friends of Dejoces who offered their advice. "Truly," said they, "if we follow this course it will not be possible longer to live where we do. Come then, and let us appoint a king, by which means the country will be well governed, and we shall be able to apply ourselves to our concerns, and no more be driven from our homes by injustice." It was therefore determined that they should submit themselves to a king.

B. C.
700.

They next debated upon whom they should appoint; and the merits of Dejoces being discussed, and his praises pronounced by all, he was at length chosen. When thus elected, he commanded that a palace, suited to the kingly dignity, should be constructed; and that he should have a body guard of spearmen. With these commands the Medes complied, building for him a spacious and well fortified edifice, upon a spot chosen by himself; and they allowed him to select whom he would among the Medes for his guard. Possessed now of supreme power, he compelled the Medes to build one city so excellently adorned, that the other towns might be less regarded. In this also they were obedient, constructing a fortress both extensive and strong—the same which is now called Ecbatana. Of this city, one wall circumvented another; and each rose by the height of its battlements above the one beyond it. The ground, which was a circular hill, favoured this construction; but it owed still more to the labours bestowed upon the work. The orbicular walls were seven in number; within the last stood the royal palace and the treasuries. The largest of the walls nearly equalled the circumference of Athens: the battlements of this outer wall were white, those of the second black, of the third purple, of the fourth blue, of the fifth orange; all the battlements being thus covered with a pigment. Of the two last walls, the battlements of the one was plated with silver, those of the other with gold.*

Such was the munition constructed for himself by Dejoces, around which he placed the habitations of the people. All these works being finished, he first established the custom which forbids the people to approach the royal presence—all business being transacted by messengers; the king himself was seen by no one. He moreover

* See Note.

declared it to be indecent to laugh or spit in his presence; or indeed in the presence of each other. These grave usages he established with the intention of inspiring his former companions—men as well born and as valiant as himself—with the notion that he whom they never looked upon, was a being of a superior order; by which means they would cease to vex themselves at his elevation, or to plot against him. Having made these regulations, and confirmed himself in his tyranny, he administered justice with rigour. The causes were sent in to him in writing, which he returned in like manner, with his decisions: other affairs were managed with appropriate forms. If any one was reported to have committed wrong, he was sent for, and received a punishment worthy of the offence. For the purpose of giving effect to his administration, he appointed spies and listeners in all parts of his dominions.

Thus Dejoces united under his sway the Median people, comprehending the Busæ, the Parætaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budi, and the Magi.

Dejoces dying after a reign of fifty-three years, was succeeded by his son Phraortes; who not content to govern the Medes only, attacked the Persians, who were the first to submit to the Median rule. After this, finding himself at the head of these two nations, both of whom were powerful, he passed from people to people, till he had subdued all Asia. At length his invading army reached the Assyrians—the Assyrians, I mean, of Nineveh, who formerly ruled all the surrounding nations, but were now abandoned by their allies, though they still maintained at home a prosperous condition. In this expedition Phraortes perished, with a large part of his army, after reigning two-and-twenty years. To him succeeded his son, Cyaxares, who is said to have surpassed his progenitor in valour. He was the first in Asia who distributed armies into companies, and placed apart the

several kinds of arms—the spearmen, the archers, and the cavalry, which before his time fought promiscuously. It was while this king was making war with the Lydians, that, in the midst of a battle, day was changed into night. Cyaxares acquired to himself the whole of Asia, beyond the river Halys. Collecting, therefore, the forces of all the nations under his command, he attacked Nineveh, to revenge the death of his father, wishing to rase that city from the earth. He vanquished the Assyrians in the field, but while he besieged Nineveh, a vast army of Scythians came upon him, led by their king, Madyas, son of Protothyas. These Scythians, having expelled the Cimmerians from Europe, followed the fugitives into Asia, and at length arrived in the Median territory.

From the lake Mæotis, to the river Phasis, and to Colchis, is a distance which a good walker might pass over in thirty days. It is however not so far from Colchis to Media, which countries are separated only by the Saspirians. But the Scythians, instead of coming by that route, made a circuit, and passed over the high ground, having Mount Caucasus on their right: there meeting with the Medes, and fighting them, they got the mastery, and possessed themselves of all Asia. They then advanced towards Egypt. When they arrived in the Syrian Palestine, they were met by Psammetichus, king of Egypt, who by gifts and intreaties prevailed upon them to proceed no further. Retracing their steps, therefore, they arrived at Ascalon, a city of Syria, which the great body of the Scythians passed without committing any violences; but a few of them, hanging in the rear, plundered the temple of Venus, queen of Heaven. This, as I find by inquiry, is the most ancient of all the temples of the goddess; for even that in Cyprus, as the Cyprians acknowledge, was derived from (formed upon the model of) this. And the temple of Cythera was erected by Phœnicians from this part of Syria. The Scythians who

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spoiled this temple at Ascalon were, in consequence of the sacrilege, visited by the goddess with a disease which was entailed also upon their posterity; as may even now be seen by those who visit Scythia. The Scythians held their conquests in Asia during a period of eight-and-twenty years, in which time, by their violence and negligence, all order was subverted.

Instead of exacting certain taxes, they plundered individuals at pleasure, and marauding through the country, seized whatever they could take of private property. At length Cyaxares and the Medes, inviting the greater part of them to an entertainment, made them drunk, and then slew them; thus they recovered in full the dominion they had lost. The Medes then took Nineveh, (as I shall relate in another place,*) and reduced the Assyrians, except those of Babylonia. After this, Cyaxares died: his reign, including the time of the Scythian rule, lasted forty years.

SECTION VIII.

HISTORY OF CYRUS.

Cyaxares was succeeded by Astyages, who had a daughter named Mandane. This Mandane had a dream which, as explained by the Magi—the interpreters of dreams, gave her father great alarm. She was then of marriageable

* No such relation appears in the course of the history. Hence it has been supposed that Herodotus wrote some work which has not come down to modern times; or he might at this time propose to write some such account of the Assyrian empire.

years; but he, fearing the presage, instead of uniting her to a Mede of rank suited to her birth, married her to a Persian, named Cambyses, a man of a quiet temper; and though of a good family, regarded by Astyages as inferior almost to the lowest of the Medes.

In the first year after the marriage of Mandane to Cambyses, Astyages saw another vision; he thought a vine sprang from his daughter which covered all Asia. Having again consulted the interpreters, he sent for Mandane from Persia, that the expected birth of a child might take place at home. When she arrived, he had her strictly guarded, resolving to destroy her offspring: for the Magian interpreters had declared the dream to portend, that the son of his daughter should displace himself from the throne. To guard against this, Astyages, as soon as Cyrus was born, sent for Harpagus, a man with whom he was intimate, whom, of all the Medes, he thought most trust-worthy, and who managed all his affairs. "Harpagus," said he, "I commit to you an affair in which, if you are remiss, or betray me by employing others, the consequences will fall upon yourself. Take then the infant son of Mandane, carry it home, destroy and bury it in the mode you shall think best." To this Harpagus replied, "O king, hitherto you have seen in me no want of subserviency, and we will ever be careful not to offend you. If you wish this to be done, be it so: my part is to serve you assiduously."

Harpagus having thus replied, received the babe, adorned for burial, returned weeping to his house; where he repeated to his wife what had passed between Astyages and himself. "And what," said she, "do you propose to do?" "Not," replied he, "to execute the command of Astyages:—no, were he to become more mad and unreasonable than he is, I am not the man to yield to his will, or to make myself the instrument of such a murder. There are indeed many reasons why I should not destroy

the babe, which indeed is allied to me; besides, Astyages is old, and has no son; if then, after his death, the sovereign authority should descend to his daughter, whose son he now wishes me to destroy, what can I expect but to incur the greatest danger? Yet for my own safety it is necessary that the boy should die; but some of the king's own people, and not I, or mine, must perpetrate the murder." So saying, he instantly despatched a messenger, to bring one of the herdsmen of Astyages, whom he knew to feed his flocks in a mountainous district, fit for the purpose, being infested with wild beasts. The man's name was Mithradates, whose wife and fellow-servant was called in the Greek tongue, Cyno; by the Medes, Spaco. This herdsman kept his flock at the foot of a mountain, north of Ecbatana, towards the Euxine: this part of Media, bordering upon the Saspirians, abounds with steep and lofty mountains, covered with forests; whereas the other parts of the country are level. The man arriving without delay, was thus addressed by Harpagus: "Astyages commands you to take this infant, and to expose it in the most solitary part of the mountains, where most speedily it may be destroyed: and he enjoins me to tell you, that if you fail to kill the babe, or suffer him to survive, you will meet the very heaviest punishment; and I am instructed to see the infant exposed."

Having heard these commands, and received the child, the herdsman returned on his way, and soon reached his cottage. It happened, by a divine providence, that a son was born to the man while absent in the city: both were at the same time anxious for each other's fate—he for his wife's safe delivery, and she for her husband's return, as it was not a usual thing for him to be summoned by Harpagus. When therefore, beyond her hope, he returned and presented himself again, she eagerly asked for what cause he had been so suddenly called.

“ O wife,” said he, “ I have seen and heard in the city what ought not to be seen, or to take place among our masters : the house of Harpagus was filled with weeping, and I, as I entered, was struck with dismay ; for I beheld a babe lying on the floor, sobbing and crying, and dressed in many-coloured cloaths, embroidered with gold ; and Harpagus, as soon as he saw me, commanded me instantly to take the infant, and carrying him away, to expose him in some part of the mountains, most infested with wild beasts ; saying, that Astyages laid these commands upon me, and adding many threats if I failed to fulfil them. I therefore took the child, and have brought him, supposing at first that he belonged to one of the servants, for I could not imagine whence he really came ; yet I was amazed at the gold and rich apparel, and in recollecting the grief apparent in the family of Harpagus. When, however, I was on the road, accompanied by a servant, who left the city with me, and who delivered the infant to my arms, I learned the truth, for he told me the child was the son of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages and of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus ; and that Astyages had ordered him to be killed. This, then, is the whole affair.”

Thus speaking, the herdsman uncovered the infant : the woman, seeing so fine and lovely a babe, with tears clasping her husband’s knees, prayed that it might by no means be exposed. But he said it could not be otherwise ; for persons would come from Harpagus to see the child exposed, and that if he refused to do what he had been ordered, he should himself miserably perish. Seeing she could not prevail with her husband, the woman used a second argument. “ Since,” said she, “ I cannot dissuade you from exposing the child ; as one must of necessity be seen laid out, do thus : I have this day brought forth a son, but not a living one ; expose this, therefore, and the son of the daughter of Astyages we will rear

as one of our own; thus you will neither be caught wronging your masters, nor shall mischief be devised against us; the dead will obtain royal burial, and the living will not perish." The herdsman approved of this advice, and immediately followed it, delivering to his wife the infant that was to have died, and taking his own dead son, placed it in the basket in which he had brought the other, together with all its rich habiliments. This he conveyed to a desolate part of the mountains, and left it there. Three days afterwards he repaired to the city, leaving one of his servants in charge of the body. Presenting himself to Harpagus, he declared that he was ready to exhibit the dead infant. Harpagus therefore despatched some of the most trusty of his attendants; and by them saw and interred the son of the herdsman. The woman from this time nursed him, who afterwards was called Cyrus; for that was not the name she gave him.

When the boy was about ten years old, an incident occurred which made him known. As he was playing in the village, near which the herds were fed, with boys of his own age, they in their sports bethought themselves to elect a king, and fixed upon him who passed for the son of the herdsman. He forthwith appointed some to build his houses, others to be his body guard, one to be the king's eye,* on another he bestowed the honour of presenting embassies; to every one appointing a part. One of these boys, being the son of Artembares, a noble Mede, yielded no obedience to the commands of Cyrus, who directed the others to seize him; which they doing, he flogged him soundly. The youth, as soon as released, full of resentment for this unworthy treatment, returned to the city, and related with tears to his father what he had endured from the son of the herdsman of Astyages.

B. C.
561.

* As if—his inspector-general.

Artembares, in great wrath, appeared with his son before Astyages, and complained of the intolerable injury he had sustained, saying, "O king, thus, by your slave, the son of your herdsman have we been maltreated!" and as he spoke he displayed his son's shoulders. Astyages hearing and seeing this, and intending fully to avenge Artembares, sent for the herdsman and his son: when they both appeared, Astyages, fixing his eye upon Cyrus, said, "Hast thou, being the son of this slave, dared so shamefully to treat the son of a man who is first in my favour?" to which he replied, "O sire, I did indeed thus treat him, and with justice; for the boys of the village, among whom he was one, in their play appointed me to be their king, thinking me the best fitted for the office. The others accordingly yielded obedience to my commands, but this one was disobedient, setting at nought my will, on which account he was punished. If now I am guilty in this matter, here I am before you."

As the youth spoke, Astyages began to recognize him; for the likeness of his face to his own, and the nobleness of his reply, and the agreement of the time of his exposure with the apparent age of the lad, all forcibly struck him; and for a time prevented his uttering a word: at length, recovering himself, and wishing to dismiss Artembares, that he might severely question the herdsman alone, he said, "Artembares, I will take care that neither you nor your son shall have reason to complain:" he being thus sent away, the attendants, at the command of Astyages, conducted Cyrus into an inner room. When thus left alone with the herdsman, he inquired of him whence he had received the boy, and who delivered the child to him. He declared the youth to be his own son, and added that his mother was now living. But Astyages assured him that (by prevaricating) he did not consult his own welfare, for that he should be compelled by extreme tortures to confess the truth; so saying

he beckoned to the guard to seize the man, who being led to the torture, declared the whole truth, relating all that had happened from the beginning, and ended with entreating pardon for himself. Astyages having thus obtained the truth from the herdsman, cared not to punish him; but feeling deeply indignant towards Harpagus, gave orders for him to be summoned. When Harpagus appeared he was thus addressed by Astyages: "Harpagus, in what manner did you put to death my daughter's son, whom I delivered to you?" Harpagus having seen the herdsman in the palace, did not betake himself to falsehood, lest he should be convicted of untruth; but thus spoke: "O king, when I received the child, I consulted with myself by what means I might at once fulfil my duty in complying with your wishes, and avoid being the instrument of death for you or your daughter. I therefore thus acted; calling for this herdsman, I delivered to him the child, saying it was you who commanded it to be killed, and in saying this, as you know, I did not lie. In delivering the child, I enjoined that it should be exposed on a desert mountain, and that some one should be left in charge of it till it died; at the same time threatening the man heavily in case of his failing to fulfil his orders. After he had performed his part, and the child was dead, I sent some of my most trusty servants who saw the body and buried it.—Thus was the affair managed; and in this way did the child die."

Harpagus in these words declared the truth, and Astyages, concealing the anger he felt, repeated the account which the herdsman had given, and then went on to say, that the child was living, and that all was well:—"For," said he, "I regretted that I had so acted towards the child, and deeply felt the wrong inflicted on my daughter. Now, therefore, as fortune has taken this happy turn, send your son to be with the young stranger; and yourself attend me at supper; for I propose to offer the sacrifices due

to the gods for the safety of the youth." Harpagus on hearing this, did reverence, and returned to his home delighted to find that his fault had ended so well, and that with such auspicious appearances he was invited to the feast. He returned therefore with speed, and sent his son, who was then in his thirteenth year, to Astyages, enjoining him to do whatever he was commanded: he then, full of joy, recounted to his wife what had happened. Astyages, when the son of Harpagus arrived, killed him—cut him in pieces—frying some parts, and boiling others; and having cooked the whole in the best manner, kept it in readiness. At the appointed hour, Harpagus with the other guests arrived, to whom various meats were presented; but to Harpagus, the flesh of his own son, excepting only the head, hands, and feet, which were reserved in a canister. When Harpagus had eaten heartily, Astyages asked him if he had enjoyed the repast; to which Harpagus assenting, the servants to whom the order had been given, brought the canister containing the head, hands, and feet of his son, and directed him to remove the cover, and take what he pleased.—Harpagus obeying, opened the vessel, and beheld the remains of his son. He however retained his emotions, and was asked by Astyages if he knew of what game he had eaten. "Yes," he said, "he knew, and was pleased with whatever the king had done." Thus answering, and taking the remains, he returned to his house, and I suppose buried them.

Such was the vengeance inflicted by Astyages upon Harpagus. He next bethought himself of Cyrus, and calling for the Magi who had interpreted his dream, asked them again what sense they had put upon it. They repeated what they had before affirmed—saying, "That if the child survived he must reign:"—he replied, "The child does live; and being in the country, the boys of the village appointed him their king, and he in fact acted the part of a king in every particular—choosing

guards, porters, and messengers, and making other necessary appointments:—now what think you of this?" The Magi replied,—“If the child survives, and has actually reigned, and that without its being concerted, you may take comfort, for he shall not reign a second time. There are dreams which have only a frivolous accomplishment, and in the result amount almost to nothing.” “I am,” said Astyages, “altogether of that opinion;—the boy having sustained the title of king, the dream is accomplished, and I have nothing more to fear from him. Nevertheless, you must well consider the case, and advise me what course will be most safe, both for my house, and for yourselves.” To this the Magi replied, “O king, it is indeed our interest to look well to the permanence of your government; for were it to pass to this child, who is a Persian, a revolution must take place;—we being Medes should be reduced to servitude, and contemned as foreigners by the Persians; but while you our countryman remain king, we have a share in the government, and are held in high honour by you: wherefore we must needs take care of you and your throne; and if now we foresaw any danger, we should certainly make it known to you; but as the dream has ended frivolously, we take courage, and exhort you to do the same. As for the child, banish him from your sight, sending him to his parents in Persia.”

Astyages hearing this rejoiced, and sending for Cyrus, thus addressed him, “My son, on account of an empty dream I wronged you; but you have survived your fate: now therefore go gladly to Persia:—I will send you with attendants: when you arrive you will find a father and mother, not such as Mithradates the herdsman, and his wife.” Cyrus was therefore sent off by Astyages, and arriving at the house of Cambyses, was received by his parents—received with many caresses, when they learned by what means he whom they had supposed to have died in infancy, had been preserved; while he told them that,

having till lately, believed himself to be the son of the herdsman, he had only just learned from his attendants on the journey the true story of his birth and adventures. He related also how he had been reared by the herdsman's wife, whom he greatly extolled—indeed the name of *Cyno* was always on his tongue. His parents taking advantage of this circumstance, propagated among the Persians the belief that their son had been preserved by a particular providence, affirming that when Cyrus was exposed, a bitch had suckled him: this report spread far and near.

When Cyrus attained manhood, excelling his companions in strength and every grace, he was beset by Harpagus with gifts, who desired to avenge himself upon Astyages, which, as a private person, he could not hope to effect. With this view watching the growth of Cyrus, he sought to make him his associate, likening his own wrongs to those of Cyrus. But before he had made any attempts of this kind, Astyages becoming morose towards the Medes, Harpagus took occasion to tamper with the principal men of that nation, persuading them that it was necessary to elevate Cyrus, and to put an end to the government of Astyages. While these schemes were in progress, and nearly ready for execution, Cyrus being still in Persia, Harpagus sought the means of making them known to him; and having no other means—the roads being guarded, he devised the following artifice;—he prepared a hare, cutting it open so as not to injure the coat; and inserted a letter, containing what he wished to communicate: he then sewed it up, and gave it, with hunting tackle, to a faithful servant, whom he sent to Persia, instructing him to deliver it to Cyrus, with an injunction to open the hare himself, and without witnesses. This was accomplished, and Cyrus taking the hare, opened it—found the note, and read as follows—“Son of Cam-

not have passed through fortunes so wonderful! Avenge yourself now upon Astyages, your murderer; for by his intention you had perished; though by the providence of the gods, and by me, you survive. You have heretofore learned all that was practised against you, and what I suffered from Astyages, because, instead of destroying you, I delivered you to the herdsman. Now if you yield to my advice, the realm which Astyages sways, will all become your's. Incite the Persians to revolt, and invade Media; and whether the army sent by Astyages against you is entrusted to me, or to any other Median chief, you will find all yield to your wishes; for these chiefs are prepared to abandon him, to join you, and to attempt the dethronement of Astyages. Be assured then that all is ready here:—act thus and act promptly.”

On receiving this intelligence, Cyrus considered by what means he might best induce the Persians to revolt; and at length concluded that the following plan would, better than any other, suit the occasion.—He convoked an assembly of the Persians, having first composed a letter suited to his purpose. In this assembly he opened the letter, and read it, the purport of which was that Astyages appointed him general of the Persians. “Now therefore Persians,” said he, “I enjoin you severally to appear each with his hatchet.” The Persians consist of many tribes, and some of these Cyrus called upon and incited to revolt from the Medes: these were the tribes on which all the others depend, namely the Pasargadæ, the Maraphians, and the Masprians; of these the first are the most noble, as they include the family of the Achæmenidæ, from which the Persian kings take their origin. The other Persians are the following—the Panthialæ, the Derusians, the Germanians, who are all agriculturalists;—the nomadic tribes are the Dai, the Mardians, the Dropicians, and the Sagartians.

When they all appeared, each bringing the instrument

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above-mentioned, Cyrus commanded them—the country around, to the extent of eighteen or twenty stadias being covered with briars, to clear it in one day. This labour the Persians accomplished; and were enjoined to present themselves the next day, washed. Meanwhile Cyrus collected and slaughtered all his father's flocks—goats, sheep, and oxen; and caused them to be cooked to entertain the Persian army: he provided also the best wines and bread. On the morrow, when they came, he made them recline on the grass, and partake of the feast. As they rose from supper, Cyrus asked whether they thought yesterday's treatment, or that they now enjoyed, the most desirable. They declared there was the greatest possible difference between the two; for on the first day they had endured every evil; but on this had possessed every good. Taking up the word, Cyrus opened to them his whole intention, saying—"Persians—thus stand your affairs—if you are willing to follow me, these, and a thousand other good things, shall be yours; nor shall you know any servile labour. But if you refuse to obey me, toils innumerable, like those of yesterday, will be laid upon you. Now, therefore, yield to me, and be free. For I believe myself to be divinely ordained to fill your hands with these benefits; and you, deem yourselves not at all inferior to the Medes, as not in other respects, so not in military virtue. This being the state of your affairs, revolt instantly from Astyages."

The Persians who had long impatiently borne the Median rule, now finding a leader, with alacrity asserted their liberties. As soon as Astyages was informed of the proceedings of Cyrus, he despatched a messenger to summon him to appear, but Cyrus instructed the messenger to say that he would come sooner than Astyages could wish. Hearing this, Astyages armed all the Medes; and, as if infatuated, appointed Harpagus general of the army, forgetting the wrong he had inflicted. When the two

armies engaged, some of the Medes who knew nothing of the conspiracy, fought, while others went over to the Persians; but the greater number turned and fled.

Though the Median army was thus shamefully dispersed, Astyages, on receiving the intelligence, did not spare threats against Cyrus:—"Cyrus," said he, "shall have little reason to rejoice." His first act after this defeat was to empale those Magian interpreters who had persuaded him to send Cyrus away: he then armed all the Medes—young and old, who were left in the city. These he led forth to meet the Persians, and was vanquished; he himself being taken prisoner, and his army scattered. When Astyages was brought in a captive, Harpagus, well pleased with his revenge, stood forth, and uttered insulting taunts; among other bitter speeches he asked—recollecting the supper in which Astyages had given him the flesh of his son;—"how he liked the change from sovereignty to servitude?" but he, looking at Harpagus, asked in return whether he called himself the author of the enterprise of Cyrus. "Yes," said he, "I may justly claim it as my own, for I myself wrote to him." "Then," continued Astyages, "you are at once the most stupid and the most iniquitous of men;—the most stupid, because when the sovereignty came within your reach—which it did, if you are the author of what has taken place, you made it over to another:—the most iniquitous, because, for the sake of a supper (to avenge the supper) you have brought the Medes under bondage: for if indeed it was necessary to depose me, and to place some one else on the throne, it would have been more just to have conferred the boon upon some Mede, rather than upon a Persian, but now the Medes, who are guiltless of the offence, must, exchange dominion for slavery; while the Persians, hitherto the slaves of the Medes, will become their masters."

Thus ended the reign of Astyages, who had ruled the empire five-and-thirty years; and the Medes, through his

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ferocity, bowed beneath the Persians, after having ruled Asia, beyond the river Halys, one hundred and twenty-eight years, excepting only the years of the Scythian domination. It is true that at an after period they repented of this submission, and under Darius (Nothus) revolted; but being defeated in battle they were again reduced. The Persians under Cyrus by thus shaking off the yoke of Astyages and the Medes, became the masters, from that time forward, of Asia. Cyrus, without inflicting any further ill upon Astyages, retained him near his person, during the remainder of his life.—Such is the story of the birth, education, and elevation of Cyrus, who, as I have already related, by successfully repelling the unjust attack of Croesus, extended his dominion throughout Asia.

SECTION IX.

MANNERS AND LAWS OF THE PERSIANS.

[I have informed myself of the Persian Institutions, which are such as follow.—They think it unlawful to form images, or to construct temples or altars—imputing extreme folly to those who do so :—I suppose not believing the gods to be allied to humanity, as the Greeks imagine. Their custom is to ascend the highest mountains, where they perform sacrifices to Jove; and they call by this name the whole circle of the heavens. They sacrifice also to the sun, to the moon, to the earth, to fire and water, and to the winds;—to these only they anciently sacrificed; but in later times they have learned, from the Assyrians and Arabians, to worship also Urania;—the Assyrians called Venus, Mylitta—the Arabians Alytta; but the Persians, Mitra. The mode of performing sacrifices to the above-mentioned divinities is as follows :—when about

to sacrifice, the Persians neither erect altars, nor kindle fires : they neither make libations, nor use the flute, nor have garlands, nor cakes. If any one intends to offer to a god, he leads the animal to a consecrated spot :* there he invokes the god, having his tiara girt with a wreath—generally of myrtle. Nor does the worshipper implore blessings for himself alone, but prays that it may be well with all the Persians, and with the king :—thus he prays for himself only as included in the petition for all the Persians. Then dividing the victim into parts, he boils the flesh, and lays it upon the most tender herbs, especially trefoil. This done, a magus — without a magus no sacrifice may be performed, sings a sacred hymn, called by them an incantation. After a little time, the worshipper carries away the flesh, of which he makes what use he thinks fit.

They deem it right to pay a peculiar regard to their birthday, on which occasion a Persian provides a more ample feast than on any other ; and the rich produce on that day, an ox, a horse, a camel, or an ass, cooked whole in a furnace ; while the poor place on their tables the smaller animals of their flocks. They partake sparingly of the first course ; but plentifully of the second ;† on which account the Persians are accustomed to say that “ the Greeks leave their tables hungry ; having nothing of consequence with which to replenish them : for if they had, they would not so soon finish their meal.” The Persians drink much wine ; yet preserve decency at table ; and are accustomed to deliberate upon their most important concerns while drinking. Yet whatever they may then agree to, is the next day again proposed to them when sober, by the master of the house in which the company assembled ; and if then approved is adopted ; but not otherwise. And then, whatever they determine while sober, they reconsider, when warm with wine.

* A pure place.

† This account of a Persian dinner is susceptible of several interpretations ; indeed the text in this place seems of doubtful authority :—there is nothing in the conjectures of critics important to the general reader.

When two Persians meet on the road, it may be known whether they are of the same rank;—for the salutation of such persons consists in kissing each other on the mouth;—if one of them is a little inferior, a kiss on the cheek is given; but if one is much less noble, he falls down and worships the other. They honour all men in proportion to their proximity of situation; beginning with themselves; then their immediate neighbours; then those more remote; and they honour least, those who are the most remote:—believing themselves to be of all mankind by far the best; and their neighbours good, in the said proportion of nearness; while they reckon those who dwell at extreme distances to be the basest of men. Under the government of the Medes, there existed a regular progression of power; the Medes holding a universal sway; but exercising a peculiar authority over their nearest neighbours, while these ruled the people next beyond them, and so to the extremity of the empire. The Persians followed this example, and as they extended their influence, gave honour to their subjects according to this rule.

The Persians, more readily than any other people, adopt foreign customs; for example; thinking the Median habit more becoming than their own, they adopted it:—from the Egyptians they derived the military breast-plate; and in their pleasures and domestic habits they have fallen into the practices of other nations. Next to valour in the field, the possession of a numerous offspring is chiefly honoured; and every year gifts are sent by the king to those who can show the greatest number of children; for in numbers they think consists the strength of a nation. From their fifth to their twentieth year, the youth learn three things only;—to ride, to use the bow, and to speak the truth:—before their fifth year children scarcely come into the presence of their father; but are left with the women: the reason of which custom is, that in case of their death in infancy, the father may not be afflicted by the loss. Another of their usages also I greatly approve of, namely, that no man is put to death for his first crime; and neither the king, nor any private Persian, may inflict a severe punishment upon a slave for a single offence;

nor may anger be indulged unless, when duly weighed, the faults of a servant are found to outweigh his services. They deny that any one ever kills his father or mother; and when any thing of this kind happens, they will rather affirm the murderer to be supposititious, than admit the possibility of a father dying by the hand of his own son. They think that whatever it is not lawful to do, it is not lawful even to mention, and deem lying, of all crimes, the most disgraceful: next to that—to be in debt; and for several reasons, chiefly because, as they say, he who is in debt is compelled to lie. Whoever of the citizens is afflicted with the leprosy, is forbid to enter the city, or to hold intercourse with other Persians; for they affirm that this disease is inflicted in punishment of some sin against the sun. Any foreigner so diseased is expelled by the mob from the country; and on the same account they drive away white pigeons. They are careful to preserve a river from every pollution, even that of washing the hands in it; nor do they permit others to do so; as in fact they have a great veneration for all streams. It is peculiar to the Persians also, though it is more noticed by others than themselves, that all epithets of dignity, derived from bodily qualities, end in the same letter, namely, that called by the Dorians *San*, by the Ionians *Sigma*. In this letter also you will find that all Persian proper names without exception terminate.

Thus far I have been able to speak accurately of what has fallen under my own observation; but of another custom I cannot speak so positively; — I mean the rite of burial, in which more secrecy is observed. It is said that the corpse of every Persian, before interment, is torn of birds or dogs. This practice is, I certainly know, observed by the Magi, for it is done openly. The Persians having inclosed the body in wax, bury it in the earth. The Magi, as they differ much from other men, so also from the Egyptian priests; for these scrupulously abstain from killing any animal, except such as they sacrifice; but those, with their own hands, slay all animals, except dogs and men; indeed they use great diligence in destroying ants, serpents, and various

reptiles and birds;—there might be some peculiar reason originally for this custom, which we leave as it is, and return to the course of the history.]

SECTION X.

HISTORY OF THE IONIANS AND ÆOLIANS.

The Ionians and Æolians, as soon as the Lydians were subdued by the Persians, sent messengers to Cyrus at Sardis, wishing to submit themselves to him on the same conditions as those granted to them by Croesus; but he, after hearing what they had to offer, addressed to them this fable:—"There was a certain piper, who seeing fishes in the sea, piped to them, thinking they would come upon land; but as he was disappointed in this hope, he took a net, with which he caught a great number, and drew them ashore: seeing them skipping about, he said to the fishes, you may cease now to dance, since you refused to come up and do so when I piped." This comparison Cyrus applied to the Ionians and Æolians, because the former, when first he sent a messenger to them, requiring them to separate themselves from Croesus, refused to comply; but afterwards, when all was over, they were forward enough to tender their submission. He therefore spoke to them in anger. They, when his answer was reported to them, fortified their cities, and convoked a general assembly of the Ionian States, excepting only the Milesians, with whom alone Cyrus had covenanted, on the same terms as those before existing between them and the Lydians. The other Ionians agreed to send a common embassy to Sparta, entreating aid.

[These Ionians who assemble at Panionium, have founded their cities in a country surpassing all others that we know of, in the advantages of climate and of the seasons. None of the surrounding countries can compare with Ionia, either above or below, to the east or to the west; for while some of them suffer from cold and damp, others are oppressed by heat and drought. The Ionians do not all speak the same language, but have four distinct forms of the inflections. Miletus is the first of the Ionian cities towards the south, then Myus and Priene; these cities are in Caria, and use the same language:—the following are in Lydia—Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomene, Phocæa; but these cities, though all speaking the same dialect, differ entirely from those above-mentioned. There are yet to be named three Ionian states, of which two occupy the Islands of Samos and Chios, and one—Erythria—stands on the continent. The Chians and Erythrians speak the same language; but the Samians, one peculiar to themselves:—these are the four idioms of the Ionic tongue.

Of these Ionians, the Milesians were without fear; having made a league with Cyrus: nor were the islanders in danger, for the Persians had not then ventured upon the seas; nor were the Phœnicians at that time subjected to their command. These therefore separated themselves from the other Ionians, and for this reason, that they (the Ionians) were the feeblest of the Hellenistic people;—a people then of all others the feeblest; for excepting the Athenians, none of the Grecian states were at that time at all considerable. Indeed the Ionians in general, and the Athenians in particular, were ashamed of being called by their original name; and this seems to me to be the case with most of them even at present. But these twelve cities made the name their glory—built a temple for themselves alone, to which they gave the name Panionium, and from which they resolved to exclude all the other Ionians: and in fact, none, except the Smyrnians, sought to communicate with them. In like manner the Dorians of Pentapolis—the district formerly called Hexapolis, prohibited any of the neighbouring Dorians from entering

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the Triopic temple; and any of their own people who were convicted of sacrilege towards their temple, were excommunicated. Thus, for example, it once happened that, in the games celebrated in honour of the Triopian Apollo, (in which brazen tripods were assigned to the victor, and which were not to be removed from the temple, but dedicated to the god) a certain Halicarnassian named Agasicles, being the victor, set the law at naught, carrying the tripod away, and hanging it up in his house; on which account the five cities, namely Lindus, Ialyssus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus, excluded the sixth—Halicarnassus, from their communion:—such was the punishment they inflicted.

The reason, as it seems to me, why the twelve Ionian states refused to admit others to their society, was this, that when they inhabited the Peloponnesus, they occupied that number of districts;—in the same manner as the Achæans, who expelled the Ionians, are now distributed into twelve cantons—namely, first Pellene—not far from Sicyon—then Ægira and Ægæ, watered by the perennial river Crathis, from which a river in Italy takes its name; next Bura, and Helice, where the Ionians, when beaten by the Achæans took refuge; then follow Ægium, Rhypæ, Patræ, Pharæ, and Olenus, through which runs the large river Pirus; then Dyme and Tritæa; which alone of all these regions is wholly inland.

These twelve cantons, now possessed by the Achæans, belonged then to the Ionians, and gave occasion to the constitution of the twelve Ionian states (of Asia.) To affirm that these were of nobler origin, or in any respect better than the other Ionians, is absurd. The Abantes of Eubœa are a considerable part of the race, and they do not even retain the name, or indeed any thing in common with the inhabitants of Ionia, and are mingled with many nations; as with the Minyan Orchomenians, the Cadmeans, the Dryopians, the Phocidians, or a part of them, the Molossians, the Arcadian Pelasgians, the Dorians of Epidaurus, and others. Even those who came from the Prytaneum of the Athenians, and who reckon themselves the best born of all the Ionians, are sprung from ancestors who did not bring

wives with them to the continent; but took Carian women, whose parents they had killed. On which account these women bound themselves by a solemn oath, which they transmitted also to their daughters, never to sit at table with their husbands, and never to call them by that name:—thus they kept in mind the slaughter of their fathers, husbands, and children, and the violence done to themselves:—this happened at Miletus. Some of these Ionians, in electing kings, chose (exclusively) Lycians of the family of Glaucus, son of Hippolochus: others fixed upon Caucon, Pylians, descended from Codrus, son of Melanthus; and some (elected kings indifferently) of both races. These indeed prided themselves more upon the Ionian name than others;—but in truth all are Ionians who sprung from the Athenians, and who observe the Apaturian festival, which is celebrated by all except the Ephesians and Colophonians, who were excluded on the pretext of a murder.

Panionium is a sacred place on mount Mycale, looking towards the north, which the Ionians in common have devoted to the Heliconian Neptune. This Mycale is a steep promontory, stretching out westward from the continent, opposite to Samos. Here the inhabitants of all the Ionian cities celebrate the festival called Panionia:—the names of all the Greek festivals like all Persian proper names end in the same letter. We have mentioned the Ionian cities; those of the Æolians are the following:—Cyme, called Phryconis, Larissa, Neon-Tichus, Temnos, Cilla, Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Ægæa, Myrina, and Grynia; these are the eleven ancient cities of Æolia:—Smyrna, which made the twelfth on the continent, was taken by the Ionians. Though the climate of Æolia is inferior to that of Ionia, its soil is better. The Æolians lost Smyrna in the following manner:—

Certain Colophonians being vanquished in a sedition, and exiled from their country, were received by the Smyrneans. Some time afterwards, the fugitives observing that the Smyrneans were celebrating a feast of Bacchus without the city walls, shut the gates and possessed themselves of the city. The Æolians soon came in aid of the citizens; but it was at length

agreed that the Ionians, (Colophonians) on restoring to them their goods, should retain the town. The Smyrneans were therefore distributed among the other eleven cities, in which they obtained the rights of citizenship. These then are the cities of the continental Æolians, not including the inhabitants of mount Ida, who are separated from the others. They have also five cities in the Isle of Lesbos; the inhabitants of the sixth, named Arisba, were reduced to captivity by their kinsmen, the Methymnians. There is also an Æolian city in Tenedos, and another in the hundred islands. These people of Lesbos and Tenedos, like the Ionians of the islands had nothing to fear (from Cyrus;) the other (continental) cities resolved to follow the course pursued by the Ionians, whatever it might be.]

SECTION XI.

THE REDUCTION OF IONIA BY THE PERSIANS.

When the Ionian and Æolian messengers arrived at Sparta—and they used the utmost expedition in the journey, they chose from among themselves a Phocæan named Pythermus, to be their spokesman. He assumed a purple robe that the Spartans might be induced to assemble in greater numbers:—and with many arguments besought them to defend the Ionian states. The Lacedæmonians heedless of this harangue, determined not to do so; and the messengers took their departure. Nevertheless, though they rejected the petition of the Ionians, they thought proper to send persons in a fifty-oared vessel—as it seems to me, as spies upon the movements both of Cyrus and of the Ionians. When these Spartans

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arrived at Phocæa, they despatched the most approved of their number, by name Lacrines, to Sardis, to inform Cyrus of the Lacedæmonian decree—"That they would not overlook any violence done to a city, upon the soil of Greece." When the herald had delivered this message, Cyrus is said to have asked the Greeks about him, who these Lacedæmonians were, and what were their numbers, that they thus ventured to lay restraints upon him: having informed himself concerning them, he is reported to have addressed the Spartan as follows:—"I have never feared men such as you, who have a space in the midst of your city set apart for the purpose of cheating each other by false oaths. If I do well the Lacedæmonians shall have occasion to mind their own affairs, instead of caring for the troubles of the Ionians." This reproach Cyrus flung at all the Greeks, who in their market-places are always buying and selling; whereas the Persians are not addicted to commerce, and have no such thing among them as a market.

After this Cyrus committed Sardis to Tabalus, a Persian; and charged a Lydian named Pactyas to bring away the treasures of Croesus and of the other Lydians. He himself then returned to Ecbatana, taking Croesus with him: as for the Ionians, he for the present disregarded them. He had first to contend against Babylon, and the Bactrians, the Saces, and the Egyptians, whom he designed to attack in person; sending one of his generals against the Ionians. Cyrus had no sooner left Sardis, than Pactyas incited the Lydians to revolt against Tabalus. Descending to the coast with all the treasures of Sardis, he hired auxiliaries, and prevailed upon the inhabitants of the coast to fight under his command. Advancing upon Sardis, he besieged Tabalus, who shut himself up in the citadel. Cyrus being informed of this while on his journey, thus addressed Croesus: "Croesus, when shall I see an end of these disorders? It seems the

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Lydians will never cease to excite troubles for me and themselves. Will it not be best at once to make slaves of them? I have, I think, acted like one who having it in his power to slay the father, has been willing to spare the children; for you, who have been more than a father to the Lydians, I lead away, but spare them their city. May I not wonder then that they rebel against me?" Thus he spoke his mind, and Croesus fearing lest he should utterly overthrow Sardis, replied, "O king, what you say is reasonable; yet indulge not all your anger, neither destroy an ancient city which was not guilty in the first instance, nor is to be blamed on the present occasion; for it was I alone who committed the first fault, and the punishment falls upon my own head. But in what has recently happened Pactyas is to blame, to whom you committed the government of Sardis, and he shall give you amends. Pardon the Lydians, and deal with them as I shall direct, and they will not again revolt from you, or be in any degree formidable: send to them your commands not to retain weapons of war; enjoin them to wear shirts under their cloaks; instead of sandals to use shoes; let their sons be taught to play on the harp, to sing, and to follow trade; and ere long, O king, you will see their men become women, so that they shall never again give you uneasiness."

Croesus gave this advice, thinking it better for the Lydians than that they should be sold for slaves, and well knowing that unless he proposed measures apparently eligible, he could not hope to change the purpose of Cyrus; and he feared lest at some future time, even if they avoided the immediate danger, they should revolt from the Persians, and bring ruin upon themselves. Cyrus pleased with the proposition, and suppressing his anger, professed himself persuaded. He then called for a Mede, named Mazares, whom he instructed to make known to the Lydians his will according to the advice of

Croesus. This Mede was also commanded to sell as slaves all who, with the Lydians, had attacked Sardis; and by all means to bring Pactyas before Cyrus alive. Having given these orders on the way, he hastened his return home to Persia.

When Pactyas learned that an army was fast advancing against him, he fled in dismay to Cyme; meanwhile Mazares the Mede, leading a considerable part of the army of Cyrus towards Sardis, did not arrive till Pactyas and his followers had escaped. He first compelled the Lydians to conform to the commands of Cyrus; and the consequence was that an entire change in their manners took place. He next despatched messengers to Cyme, demanding that Pactyas should be given up to him; but the Cymeans resolved to ask the advice of the god upon the subject at the Branchidian oracle:—a very ancient oracle, always consulted by the Ionians and Æolians; the temple is situated in the Milesian territory, above the port of Panormus. Sending therefore their messengers they inquired, “Concerning Pactyas, what would be most agreeable to the gods for them to do?” the oracle replied, “To deliver Pactyas to the Persians.” Hearing this they prepared to deliver him; but when the people at large were resolved to do so, Aristodicus, son of Heraclides, a man in high repute among the citizens, forbade them to act in this manner, as he did not confide in the oracle, or believed that the messengers had not reported it truly. They therefore sent other persons, of whom Aristodicus was one, to consult the oracle a second time. When they arrived at Branchidæ, Aristodicus himself put the question in these words, “O king! Pactyas a Lydian, came to us a suppliant, fleeing from the death threatened him by the Persians, who now demand him of the Cymeans; but we, though fearing the Persian power, dare not surrender him until we have been certainly informed by you that we ought to do so.”

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To this inquiry the same answer as before was returned, that Pactyas should be delivered to the Persians. Upon this Aristodicus, having before determined what to do, walking round the temple, disturbed the sparrows and other birds that built their nests about the edifice. While thus employed, it is said that a voice proceeded from the recess, directed towards Aristodicus, uttering these words: "Most impious of men! what is it that thou dardest to attempt? Dost thou drive away from the temple those whom I protect?" To which it is added, Aristodicus, without hesitation, replied, "O king! you protect your suppliants, and command the Cymeans to deliver up their's!" "Yes," replied the voice, "I command it, that those who so impiously approached the oracle, may quickly perish, and no more draw near to ask if a suppliant may be surrendered!"

This being reported to the Cymeans, they determined, that they might neither perish by delivering up Pactyas, nor be besieged for retaining him, to send him to Mytilene. The Mytilenians, when Mazares sent to demand him, offered to do so for a certain sum, I know not precisely how much, the bargain not having been concluded; for the Cymeans, learning the intention of the Mitylenians, despatched a ship to Lesbos, and conveyed Pactyas to Chios. But the Chians dragged him from the temple of Minerva the Protectress, and surrendered him to the Persians. As a recompense for this act, they received Atarneus, a district of Mysia, opposite to Lesbos. The Persians having by these means obtained Pactyas, kept him in ward, intending to present him to Cyrus. It was a long time after this event before any of the Chians dared to offer cakes, the produce of Atarneus, to the gods; or indeed to admit any of its fruits into their temples.

Mazares presently attacked those who had besieged Tabalus (in Sardis.) The Prienians he sold for slaves,

and invaded the territory watered by the Meander, giving it up to be pillaged by his army; Magnesia suffered the same fate: soon afterwards he fell ill, and died. To him succeeded, in the command of the army, Harpagus the Mede—the same to whom Astyages offered an unnatural repast, and who aided Cyrus in obtaining the kingdom. This man, appointed general by Cyrus, on his arrival in Ionia, drove the people within their walls, and then besieged them, by throwing up mounds. The first Ionian city attacked in this way was Phocæa.

[The Phocæans were the first of the Greeks who undertook long voyages, making known the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian seas, with Iberia and Tartessus. Their ships were not round-shaped, but galleys of fifty oars. Coming to Tartassus, they contracted friendship with the king, whose name was Arganthonius, and who had reigned at Tartassus eighty years;—he lived altogether an hundred and twenty. To this man the Phocæans so much endeared themselves that he first endeavoured to induce them to abandon Ionia, and take up their abode in his country wherever they pleased; not prevailing with them to accept this offer, and being informed of the growing power of their neighbours the Medes, he gave them a sum of money that they might surround their city with a wall: and that he gave unsparingly a sufficient proof is afforded by the extent of the walls, which are constructed throughout of stones of great size, wrought and laid with the utmost exactness. In this manner then the Phocæans became possessed of walls.]

Harpagus advancing, besieged the Phocæans, to whom he made this proposition—that he should be content if they would rase one of their battlements, and dedicate one mansion (to the king's use.) But the Phocæans unable to endure the thought of servitude, asked that one day might be given them in which to consult, after which they would give their answer: in the mean time they

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demanded that the army should be withdrawn from the walls. To this Harpagus replied, that he well knew what they were about to do; nevertheless he would give them leave to deliberate. As soon as Harpagus had withdrawn the army, the Phocæans drew their galleys to sea, putting on board their children, their wives, all their goods, and the images even from the temples, with the consecrated gifts; leaving only pictures, or statues of stone or brass. Then themselves going on board, they sailed to Chios; and the Persians took Phocæa, deserted of its inhabitants. The Phocæans proposed to the Chians to purchase what are called the Cœnussian Islands; but the latter were unwilling to accept the price offered, fearing lest a centre of commerce should be formed, injurious to their own island. The Phocæans therefore directed their course towards Cynus (Corsica) where, twenty years before, at the command of an oracle, they had founded a city, called Alalia; Arganthonius was by this time dead. But on their way (from Chios) the Phocæans put in at Phocæa, and put to the sword all the Persians left by Harpagus to garrison the place. Having done this, they invoked mighty imprecations upon any one of their number who should abandon the expedition; at the same time they cast a red hot ball of iron into the sea, swearing "never to return to Phocæa till that ball should re-appear." But as they were preparing to depart for Corsica, more than half of the citizens were seized with compunction, and with a passion for their homes and accustomed haunts: renouncing their oath therefore, they sailed back to Phocæa, while those who adhered to it proceeded on their voyage from the Cœnussian Islands.

When they reached Corsica they joined those who had before settled there; built temples, and continued five years; but they made so many plundering incursions upon all their neighbours, that at length the Tyrrhenians and

Carthagenians united their forces against them, furnishing both together sixty ships. The Phocæans on their part fitted out the same number of vessels; and the two fleets engaged in the Sardonian sea, when the latter obtained a Cadmean victory;* for forty of their ships were destroyed, and the twenty that remained were rendered useless by having the rostra turned aside.

Returning therefore to Alalia, they took in their children and wives, and as many of their effects as their vessels could contain; and then, leaving Corsica, sailed to Rhegium. The crews of the ships that were destroyed, were, for the most part, taken by the Carthagenians and Tyrrhenians, who carrying them ashore, stoned them. After this, whatever belonging to the Agyllanians passed over the ground where the Phocæans were stoned, became distorted, mutilated, or mad—as well sheep and oxen as men. The Agyllanians sent therefore to Delphi, to be informed how they might expiate the offence. The Pythian commanded them to do, what in fact these people still continue to perform; for to the present time they celebrate games to the honour of the dead, with gymnastic and equestrian contests:—such was the fate of these Phocæans. The fugitives who passed over to Rhegium, built a city in the territory of Ænotria:—this city is now called Hyela. It was founded at the suggestion of a Posidonian, who taught them that the intention of the Pythian was not that they should colonize the island of Cynus; but honour the hero of that name. So much for the Phocæans of Ionia.

The course pursued by the Teians was similar; for when Harpagus, by means of a rampart of earth, got possession of the wall, they all went on board their vessels, and sailed for Thrace, where they built Abdera, on the spot on which,

* A proverbial expression, meaning a victory nearly fatal to the conquerors.

before them, Timesius the Clazomenian had founded a colony, but without benefit to himself, for he was expelled by the Thracians: yet he was afterwards honoured as a hero by these Teians of Abdera. These then, (the Phocæans and Teians) alone of all the Ionians, by abandoning their country avoided servitude. The others—excepting the Milesians, all met Harpagus in the field; and like those who retired, behaved valiantly, fighting severally for their possessions: but being vanquished, and subdued, they were left to occupy their lands, on the condition of fulfilling their duties as subjects. The Milesians, as I have already said, having before made a covenant with Cyrus, remained undisturbed. Thus a second time* was Ionia conquered. As for the Ionians of the islands—dismayed at seeing their brethren on the continent overcome by Harpagus, they surrendered themselves to Cyrus.

Though thus reduced, the Ionians did not the less assemble at Panionium: and on this occasion they received, as I am informed, very seasonable advice from Bias the Prienian, which, if they had adopted, they might have been the most prosperous of all the Greeks. He advised them as follows:—"Let the Ionians, uniting all their ships in one fleet, sail for Sardinia, and there found a city for all the Ionians;—thus escaping from servitude, will they happily possess the largest of all islands, and become masters of others. But if they remained in Ionia, it did not appear that they could ever regain their liberties." Such was the opinion of Bias, given after their calamities had fallen upon the Ionians. Eligible also was the advice of Thales, the Milesian—by descent a Phœnician—who before these misfortunes happened, counselled them to establish a representative government at Tei: Tei was the centre of Ionia—each state being left at liberty to

* The first time by Cræsus.

govern itself as if independent of the others. Such were the opinions of these two men.

Harpagus having reduced Ionia, invaded the Carians, the Caunians, and the Lycians; leading with him the Ionians and Æolians.

[These Carians came to the continent from the islands where formerly they were the subjects of Minos, following his institutions, and were then called Leleges: and so far as I have been able to learn from ancient traditions, they paid no kind of taxes; but as often as Minos required it, they manned his vessels; and he, always successful in war, acquired extensive territories, and rendered the Carians the most celebrated of all the people of that age. To this people three inventions are attributed, which the Greeks have adopted, namely, the crest upon the helmet;—symbols upon the shield; and the leathern handle, by which it is held: for in former times the buckler was managed only by thongs, passing round the neck, and over the right arm. It was afterwards that the Carians, expelled from the islands by the Dorians and Ionians, arrived upon the continent. This, at least, is the account given of this nation by the Cretans; but they do not assent to it—believing themselves to be aborigines of the continent, and always to have borne the name by which at present they are known; and in confirmation of their belief, they show at Mylassa an ancient temple of the Carian Jove, into which they admit none but their (ancient) kinsmen—the Mysians and Lydians; for they affirm that Lydus and Mysus were the brothers of Cares; on which account they hold communion in matters of religion with those two nations, while they exclude every other people, even though using the Carian tongue.

The Caunians I believe to be aborigines; though they affirm themselves to have come from Crete. Either they have assimilated their language to that of the Carians or these have conformed to those;—but which has actually happened I cannot certainly pronounce. In their institutions they differ

widely from all men, and even from the Carians. It is deemed creditable among them for men, women, and children, to assemble in companies—as age and friendship may determine—for the purpose of intoxication. They worshipped at first in temples dedicated to foreign deities; but changing their mind on this subject, they resolved to serve none but the gods of their ancestors: the whole nation therefore, even the youths, took arms, and beating the air with their lances, advanced to the Calyndian mountains, declaring that they were expelling the strange gods from their country. These instances may serve as a sample of their manners.

The Lycians came in ancient times from Crete, the whole of which island was formerly possessed by Barbarians. Sarpedon and Minos, the sons of Europa, disputing for the sovereignty of Crete, the latter prevailed, and expelled Sarpedon with his adherents, who being thus exiled, came into Asia, and settled upon the Milyadian territory;—such was then the name of the country now occupied by the Lycians:—the Milyans were then called Solymians. For some time they were governed by Sarpedon, and were called at that time, as they are even now by some of their neighbours—Termilians. But Lycus, son of Pandion, having been driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, came among the Termilians, and was received by Sarpedon; and in course of time it happened that the name of this stranger was adopted by the people, who afterwards were called Lycians:—their laws are partly Cretan—partly Carian. One of their customs is entirely peculiar to themselves;—that the children take the mother's, not the father's name. So if a Lycian is asked for his pedigree, he gives the names of the mothers of the family, from one generation to another. And if a free woman marries a bondman, the children are reckoned free-born; but when a free citizen, even of the first rank, takes a foreign wife, or a woman of low condition, the children are ignoble.]

The Carians without displaying any instance of valour, were reduced to servitude by Harpagus; the same may be said not only of the Carians, but of all the Greeks

settled in the country. For besides others, there are the Cnidians—a Lacedæmonian colony, whose lands, called Triopium, reach down to the coast. The Cnidian territory commences at the Peninsula of Bybassia, and a small part excepted, is surrounded by the sea;* for towards the north it is washed by the Ceramian gulph, and on the south by the Sea of Syme and Rhodes. The small neck of land†—measuring about five stadia, the Cnidians attempted to cut through, while Harpagus was occupied in reducing Ionia;—intending by this means to convert their territory into an island:—all within this neck being their own, and having no connection, except by the Isthmus, with the continent. All hands were employed upon this work. But the workmen were, as it seemed in a supernatural manner, wounded by splinters of the rock, on all parts of their bodies, and especially in the eyes. They sent therefore to Delphi, to inquire what it was opposed them. The Pythian, as the Cnidians report, thus replied—

Nor fortify, nor dig—for Heaven,
Had, if it pleased, an island given.

The Cnidians on receiving this answer, ceased from their digging, and when Harpagus arrived with his army, they surrendered without resistance.

The inland country above Halicarnassus was inhabited by the Pedasians. When any misfortune impends over this people, or their neighbours, the priestess of Minerva acquires a great beard: this has happened on three several occasions. These alone, of all the inhabitants of Caria, withstood for any time the progress of Harpagus, or gave him any considerable trouble. They fortified mount Lida; but were ere long vanquished.

* A geographical difficulty of little importance embarrasses the rendering of this passage. I have followed the Latin version.

† That which connected them with the continent.

But the Lycians, when Harpagus arrived in the plains of Xanthus, came forth against him, and fighting—a few with many, gave signal displays of valour. But being defeated, and driven into their city, they brought into the citadel their wives, their children, their goods, and their slaves, and then set fire to the fortress—consuming all together. Having so done, they bound themselves mutually by a tremendous oath, and going forth, fought till all were slain. Those Lycians who now call themselves Xanthians, are, with the exception of forty families who were at that time absent from their homes, and so survived—strangers who have since settled in that place. Thus was Xanthus taken by Harpagus; and nearly in the same manner Caunus also; for the Caunians imitated, in great measure, the example of the Lycians.

SECTION XII.

DESCRIPTION OF BABYLON.

While, as we have related, Harpagus ravaged the Lower Asia, Cyrus in person vanquished without exception every nation of the Upper. The greater number of these conquests we pass unnoticed, narrating those only which were attended with the greatest difficulty, or which are in themselves the most worthy of being recorded. Having reduced all the continent (of Asia Minor) to obedience, he attacked the Assyrians.

Assyria contains many large cities; but of these Babylon, to which, after the destruction of Nineveh, the seat of government was removed, is by far the most renowned, and the most strongly fortified. Babylon is

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situated in an extensive plain. Each side of the city, which forms a square, measures a hundred and twenty stadia,* making the entire circuit of the city four hundred and eighty stadia:—such is the magnitude of this city Babylon! and in magnificence also it surpassed every city of which we have any knowledge. It is surrounded by a trench, deep, wide, and full of water. Within this is a wall, the width of which is fifty royal cubits, and its height two hundred cubits:—the royal cubit exceeds the common measure by three fingers' breadth. It is proper I should say in what manner the earth removed from the trench was disposed of; and how the wall was constructed. The earth as fast as it was removed from the trench, was converted into bricks, and baked in furnaces: when thus prepared, melted bitumen was used instead of mortar; and between every thirtieth course of bricks there was inserted a layer of reeds. The sides of the trench were first lined with brickwork, and then the wall raised in the manner described. On the upper edges of the wall, and opposite one to another, were constructed turrets:—between these turrets a space was left wide enough for a chariot and four horses to pass and turn. In the walls were one hundred gates, all of brass, with posts and upper lintels of the same. Eight days' journey from Babylon is a city named Is, near which runs a small river of the same name, discharging itself into the Euphrates; this river brings down with its waters clots of bitumen (*asphaltum*) in large quantities. From this source was derived the bitumen used in cementing the walls of Babylon.

Such are the fortifications of Babylon:—the city is divided into two portions by the river Euphrates, which runs through the midst of it. This river rises in Armenia, and throughout its course is wide, deep, and swift: it empties itself into the Red Sea (Persian Gulph). Each of the

* About fifteen miles: See Note.

city walls is produced to the river, where it makes an angle; and, with a coating of burnt brick, lines the sides of the river. The city is filled with houses* of three and four stories, forming streets in straight lines, and running parallel with each other:—the cross streets opening upon the river through as many smaller brazen gates, placed in the breast work of the river walls. Within the principal wall just mentioned, is a second, not much inferior to the first in strength, though less in width. In the centre of each portion of the city is an inclosed space—the one occupied by the royal palace, a building of vast extent and great strength:—in the other, stands the temple of Jupiter Belus, with its brazen gates—remaining in my time: it is a square structure, each side measures two stadia. Within the enclosure is erected a solid tower, measuring a stadium both in width and depth: upon this tower is raised another, and then another, and another; making eight in all. The ascent is by a path which is formed on the outside of the towers: midway in the ascent is a resting place, furnished with easy chairs, in which those who ascend repose themselves. On the summit of the topmost tower stands a large temple; and in this temple is a great couch, handsomely fitted up; and near it stands a golden table: no statue whatever is erected in the temple, nor does any man ever pass the night there; but a woman only, chosen from the people by the god, as the Chaldeans affirm, who are the priests of the temple. The same persons say—though I give no credit to the story, that the god himself comes to the temple, and reposes on the bed, in like manner as at Thebes in Egypt; where also, in the temple of Jupiter, a woman passes the night. A similar custom is observed at Pataris in Lycia: where there is at times an oracle, on which occasions the priestess is shut up by night in the temple.

* See Note.

Within the precincts of the temple at Babylon, there is a smaller sacred edifice on the ground ; within which there is an immense golden statue of Jupiter, in a sitting posture : around the statue are large tables, which, with the steps and throne, are all of gold, and, as the Chaldeans affirm, contain eight hundred talents of gold. Without this edifice is a golden altar : there is also another altar of great size, on which are offered full grown animals :—upon the golden altar it is not lawful to offer any sacrifices except sucklings. Once in every year, when the festival of this god is celebrated, the Chaldeans burn upon the greater altar a thousand talents of frankincense. There was also, not long since, in this sacred inclosure, a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits in height ; at least so the Chaldeans affirmed :—I did not myself see it. This figure Darius Hystaspes would fain have taken ; but dared not execute his wishes ; but his son Xerxes not only took it, but put to death the priest, who endeavoured to prevent its removal. Such was the magnificence of this temple, which contained also many private offerings.

Of this Babylon there were several monarchs—as I shall mention in my history of the Assyrians, who adorned the city and its temples. Among these, two women must be mentioned :—the former, named Semiramis, reigned five generations before the latter. This queen raised an embankment worthy of admiration, through the plain, to confine the river, which heretofore often spread over the level like a lake. The latter of these two queens, named Nitocris, excelled the former in intelligence : she left monuments, some of which I must describe. Seeing the Medes already possessed of extensive empire, and restlessly extending their power, by taking city after city—among which was Nineveh ; she resolved in good time to secure herself against them in the best manner possible. In the first place therefore, as the river Euphrates ran in a straight course through the city, she formed excavations

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to
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at a distance above it; by which means its course became so tortuous, that it three times passed a certain town of Assyria, called Ardericca;—travellers from our sea,* in descending the Euphrates towards Babylon, three times arrive at that town in the course of three days. She also raised both banks of the river to an amazing height and thickness. At some distance above Babylon, and near the river, she dug a reservoir in the marsh, of such depth as to drain it. The width of this excavation was such as to make its circuit 420 stadia. The earth removed from it was taken to raise the banks of the river: this done she brought stones, with which the sides of the lake were lined. Both these works—the diverting of the river, and the reservoir, were formed with the intention of rendering the current less rapid by its many windings, which broke its force, and at the same time made the navigation more circuitous; so that those who descended towards Babylon by water, might have to make a long circuit around the lake. These works were effected on that side which was exposed to the inroads of the Medes, and where the distance between her dominions and theirs was the least; for she wished to cut off all communication with them, and to keep them in ignorance of her movements.

Thus did this princess raise from the depths a fortification, within which she was included. The city being divided into two portions by the river, in former times, whoever wished to pass from the one to the other, was obliged to take a boat, which manifestly was a great inconvenience. This defect she supplied:—when she had dug the lake in the marsh, she availed herself of the occasion to construct another monument also, by which her fame will be perpetuated. She caused stones of great magnitude to be hewn; and when they were ready—the

* Persons from *this* sea—the Mediterranean—that is travellers from Greece.

lake being empty, she turned the waters of the Euphrates into it; which, as it filled, left the old channel dry. Then she both lined the sides of the river, and the descents from the gates, with burnt bricks, in like manner as the city walls; and with the stones already mentioned, she constructed, as near the middle of the city as possible, a bridge; binding the stones together with iron and lead. During the day, planks of wood were extended from pier to pier, so as to form a pathway: these were withdrawn at night, to prevent the people from passing over to plunder each other. This bridge was, as we have said, formed by withdrawing the water of the Euphrates into the artificial lake: when completed, the river was restored to its ancient channel: the propriety of this mode of proceeding then became apparent; by means of which the citizens obtained the accommodation of a bridge.

This same queen also executed the following machination. She constructed for herself a tomb, aloft, upon a gate in one of the most frequented ways of the city: upon the sepulchre she engraved this inscription—‘If any one of my successors, the kings of Babylon, shall lack money, let him open the sepulchre, and take what treasures he pleases. But let him beware of opening it from any other cause than necessity; for in such a case it shall not turn to his advantage.’ This sepulchre remained undisturbed till Darius ascended the throne. To this king it seemed a grievance both that this gate should remain useless, and that the wealth deposited in it, and which invited research, should not be appropriated. The gate was not used because no one could pass through it without having a dead body over his head. He therefore opened the tomb, in which he found—of treasures indeed nothing;—but the corpse, and an inscription to this effect;—‘If thou hadst not been insatiably eager for riches, and greedy of filthy lucre, thou wouldst not have

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opened the depository of the dead.' So much for this queen, and the reports that have been handed down concerning her.

SECTION XIII.

THE FALL OF BABYLON.

It was against the son of this woman that Cyrus made war: he was named like his father Labynetus, and reigned over the Assyrians. When the great king* goes out to battle, he is attended by ample provisions and cattle, drawn from the home stock; and even water from the Choaspian spring at Susa, of which alone the king drinks, is carried about for his use: for he can taste no other stream. This Choaspian water, after having been boiled, is put into vases of silver, which are transported in four-wheeled waggons, drawn by mules, following him wherever he goes.

Cyrus advancing towards Babylon, arrived at the river Gyndes, which rising in the Matienian hills, and running through the country of the Dardanians, (or Darnians) empties itself into the Tigris; and this river, passing by the city Opis, discharges its waters into the Red Sea. When Cyrus attempted to pass this river Gyndes, which could only be done by boats, one of the white horses, called sacred, full of mettle, plunged into the stream, and endeavoured to reach the opposite bank; but being sub-

* The appellation by which the Persian kings were distinguished. Thus the Ottoman emperor is called the Grand Seignior.

merged in the current, it was borne away. Cyrus enraged at the river for this injury, threatened to reduce it so low that in future women should ford it with ease—not wetting their knees. Having uttered this threat, he delayed the progress of his army towards Babylon, and dividing his forces into two bodies, measured out one hundred and eighty channels to be cut from both banks of the river; thus diverting the Gyndes on all sides. He enjoined upon his army the work of digging these trenches, and by their numbers they completed it; but the whole summer was spent there in the labour. Cyrus having in this manner punished the river Gyndes, by distributing its waters into three hundred and sixty trenches, as soon as the next spring appeared, advanced towards Babylon. The Babylonians coming out in battle array, waited his approach: when he drew nigh to the city they engaged him; but being defeated, retired within the walls. Some time before, well knowing the restless intentions of Cyrus, and seeing him attack one nation after another, they had brought into the city an abundance of corn for many years. They therefore disregarded the siege. But Cyrus, beset with difficulties, saw a long time pass away without his making any progress towards the accomplishment of his object.

At length, either at the suggestion of some one else, or from a thought of his own, he resorted to the following means:—He disposed the whole of his army, by placing one part above the city, where the river enters it, and another part below, where it makes its exit, commanding them as soon as they should perceive the river to be sufficiently shallow to enter by that way. This order being given, he himself went off with the inferior troops of the army. Arriving at the lake, he did what had been done before by the queen of Babylon in the marsh; for by making a trench from the river to the empty reservoir, he diverted the water from the ancient channel, till it so far

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subsided as to become fordable. As soon as this happened, the Persians who had been appointed for this purpose, entered Babylon by the bed of the river;—the water of which was little more than knee deep. If the Babylonians had been before apprised of the intentions of Cyrus, or if they had learned at the moment what he was doing, they would not have suffered the Persians to enter the city—nor would they have perished so shamefully; for had they closed all the gates by the river's side, and ascended the walls which ran along it, they might have taken them as in a net. But the Persians came upon them quite unexpectedly. And from the great extent of the city;—as it has been affirmed by some of the inhabitants, those who dwelt in the outskirts of the city, were made prisoners before the people in the centre of Babylon knew that the place was taken. But, as it happened, they were celebrating a festival, and were dancing and feasting when they learned what had happened. Thus was Babylon the first time taken.

B. C.
538.

SECTION XIV.

WEALTH AND MANNERS OF THE BABYLONIANS.

[The wealth of the Babylonians I shall set forth by several instances, and among others by this:—Besides the tribute which is paid to the Great King—all the countries under his dominion are divided into parts to supply provisions for his household and his army;—each part furnishing food for one month:—now the region of Babylonia is charged with the supply for four months out of the twelve; the remaining eight months being provided for by the whole of Asia. Thus

it appears that this Assyrian region, in produce, bears the proportion of one-third to the entire extent of Asia.* The government of this region (these governments are called by the Persians satrapies) is by far the richest of all the provinces: so that Tritantæchmes, son of Artabazus, to whom this government was given by the king, received every day a full measure of silver:—this Persian measure contains an Attic medimnus, and three choenices. Eight hundred horses also for the king's private use, besides those intended for war, are trained in this district, and sixteen thousand mares. So great a number of Indian dogs is maintained, that four large villages in the plain pay no other tribute than that of supplying a stipulated quantity of food for them.—Such are the revenues of the Satrap of Babylon.

Little rain falls in Assyria; but the corn receives its supply at the root; being fed with water for its nourishment from the river, till the ear is ripened. This fertilization does not take place, as in Egypt, by the river overflowing the fields; but the lands are irrigated by the hand, or by pumps:—for the whole region of Babylonia is, like Egypt, every where intersected by trenches. The largest of these canals is navigable, and turning towards the south-east, connects the Euphrates with another river—the Tigris, on which Nineveh once stood. This region is of all lands we know the richest in the gifts of Ceres. But it does not afford any produce from such trees as the fig, the vine, or the olive. Yet so favourable is the soil to the growth of corn, that it ordinarily yields two hundred fold, and sometimes three hundred. The leaves, both of wheat and barley, in this region, are four fingers broad. As for millet and sesame, (Indian corn,) the plant becomes a tree of such magnitude that, though I have personal knowledge of the fact, I forbear to mention its size—feeling assured that to those who have never visited the province of Babylonia, what I have already said of its produce will seem incredible. They use no oil except that which is made from sesame. Palm trees grow throughout the plain,

* The Persian dominions in Asia.

which, for the most part, bear fruit; and from this fruit is prepared a kind of bread, as well as wine and honey. These trees are reared in the manner of figs—the fruitfulness of the trees being secured by an artificial process, for the blossom containing the fly is tied to the fruit-bearing buds, by which means the fruit ripens without falling;—for the fly is found in the palm as well as in the wild fig.*

Nothing, the city itself excepted, more excited my admiration than what I am about to mention:—I mean the vessels which arrive at Babylon on the Euphrates:—they are round, and all formed of skins. The Armenians who inhabit the country above Assyria, construct these vessels, framing the ribs of willow branches, over which they stretch skins: nor do they distinguish the stem from the stern;—the boat being as round as a shield: the inside is lined with a matting of reeds. These vessels are borne along by the stream, loaded with goods—principally palm wine, carried in earthen jars. The course of the boat is directed by two men, standing erect, each furnished with a long pole, with which the one pulls, while the other pushes. Vessels of great size, as well as small boats, are constructed in this manner; some carrying as much as five thousand talents burden. In every one of these vessels is an ass, and in the larger several. When therefore they reach Babylon, and have discharged their cargoes, they sell the frame-work and matting of the vessel, and loading the ass with the skins, return to Armenia; for the current of the river is too strong for it to be navigated upwards. For this reason the vessels are framed of leather instead of wood. When the asses reach Armenia again, new vessels are constructed in the same manner as before.—So much for these boats.

The dress of the Babylonians is as follows:—they wear a linen tunic, reaching to the feet, and upon this a woollen garment; throwing a short white cloak over all. Their shoes are peculiar to the country; but not unlike the Bœotian buskin. They let the hair grow, and bind the head with a turban

* See Note.

(mitre). They anoint the whole body. Every one possesses a signet, and carries a wrought staff,* upon the top of which is carved an apple—a rose—a lily—an eagle, or some similar object: for custom does not permit them to carry a staff, without a device.—Such are the habiliments of the Babylonians.

The following usages formerly prevailed among them; and this which I am about to mention, was in my opinion, very wise:—it prevails also, as I have been informed, among the Enetians, a people of Illyria.† In every town, once in the year, all the marriageable young women were assembled in one place; around them stood the men: the public crier then put each of the women, separately, up to sale. He began with the most beautiful, for whom a great price was obtained; then he took the one whose charms were next in degree; and so on—each being sold on the condition that she was to be taken in marriage. The richer Babylonians, of course, who wished to marry, bid against each other to obtain the handsomest women: while the poorer citizens, who in seeking wives cared less for beauty than for gold, took the ugly girls, with the money: for the cryer, having completed the sale of the beauties, brought forward one of the most deformed;—or one who was maimed, if such should be there—offering her at a very low price to any one who would take her to wife; and he who consented received her with a dowry. Thus the handsome women obtained portions for the ugly and the deformed. No man was permitted to marry his daughter to whomsoever he would; nor might any one lead away the woman he had purchased until he had given security to marry her; or, in case of their not agreeing, to return the dowry. It was permitted to any inhabitant of the neighbouring districts to attend and purchase a wife. Such was the wise law which formerly prevailed; but it has now become obsolete. Of late they have devised other means for defending their daughters from injury and abduction. But, in fact, since the Babylonians

* σκήπτρον χειροποίητον—a manufactured sceptre.

† Afterwards called Venetians.

have lost their liberties and wealth, they have, under the pressure of want, resorted to nefarious practices in disposing of their daughters.

They have also another excellent practice.—They have no physicians by profession; but those who are diseased being brought into the public places, whoever passes the sick man, advises with him concerning his disorder; and if he has himself at any time laboured under the same complaint, or knows one afflicted in the same way—recommends the remedies by which he himself or others were cured. To pass a sick person in silence without inquiring his complaint, is deemed a breach of duty. The dead are preserved in honey. The funeral lamentations of the Babylonians are similar to those heard in Egypt. In some of their domestic usages they are—like the Arabians—peculiarly exact; yet they observe a most shameful custom, which though it is said afterwards to preserve female virtue, really degrades every woman to a level with the most abandoned of the sex. So much for the manners of the Babylonians. There are among them three tribes who live entirely upon fish—which they dry in the sun as soon as taken; when dried, the fish are thrown into a mortar, pounded with a pestle, and passed through a cloth: this powder when used, is either kneaded into cakes (puddings) or baked as bread.]

SECTION XV.

THE EXPEDITION OF CYRUS AGAINST THE MASSAGETES.

Cyrus having subdued the Babylonians, indulged the desire of reducing the Massagetes under his power;—a people said to be both numerous and powerful, inhabiting a region east of the river Araxes, and opposite to the

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Issedonians.—Some persons affirm that they are of the Scythian race.

[The river Araxes* is, according to some, larger, according to others, smaller than the Ister, (Danube.) It is said to contain many islands, scarcely inferior in magnitude to Lesbos, inhabited by men who, during the summer, live upon roots of all kinds, which they dig up: and for winter provision they collect and lay up the fruit of trees. Among their trees there is affirmed to be one species, the fruit of which has a peculiar property;—the people assembling around a fire, throw the fruit into the flames, and by the fumes emitted as it burns, they are intoxicated as completely as the Greeks are with wine:—the more is thrown in, the more inebriated do those become who sit around, till at length they begin to dance and sing. The river Araxes, as well as the Gyndes, which Cyrus drained by three hundred and sixty trenches, rises in the Matienian hills; it empties itself by forty mouths, all of which, except one, run into swamps and marshes. In these marshes there are said to be men subsisting upon raw fish, and clothing themselves in the skins of seals. The one mouth of the Araxes runs in a pure stream into the Caspian sea. The Caspian† is a sea by itself not communicating with any other; for the entire sea navigated by the Greeks, and the sea beyond the Pillars (of Hercules,) called the Atlantic, and the Red sea, are all one and the same; (i. e. communicate with each other) but the Caspian is separate and alone; its length is equal to fifteen days' passage by an oared vessel; its width, at the widest part, is equal to eight days' voyage. On the western side of this sea is extended mount Caucasus—of all mountains the greatest and the most lofty. Caucasus contains many numerous tribes of men, differing from each other; but who, for the most part, subsist upon wild fruits. Among the trees of this region there is said to be one, the leaves of which, when bruised and mixed with water, afford a dye, with which these people paint the figures of animals on their dress;—these figures do not wash out; but always remain fixt in the wool as

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fresh as at first. The manners of these people are little more refined than those of beasts.]

The Caspian is then bounded towards the west by Mount Caucasus:—on its eastern shore it has a plain, to which the eye perceives no limit. Of this boundless level the Massagetes, whom Cyrus wished to invade, occupy no small portion. Many causes excited and urged him to undertake this war. The first was the impression he entertained—derived from the circumstances of his birth, that he was something more than human. The second—was the good fortune which had hitherto attended his wars; for in whatever direction Cyrus had carried his arms, no nation had been able to escape his power. The Massagetes having lost their king, were at this time governed by a queen, whose name was Tomyris. To this queen Cyrus sent an embassy, wooing her for his wife. But Tomyris knowing well that it was not her, but the Massagetian throne that he wooed, prohibited their approach. Upon this Cyrus, finding that he should not succeed by fraud, advanced to the Araxes, and openly made war upon the Massagetes—constructing bridges across the river for the passage of his army. He also built towers upon the vessels (which formed the bridges) for the passage of his troops.

While engaged in this labour, Tomyris sent a herald to Cyrus with this message;—"O king of the Medes, cease to hasten what you are hastening;—for you know not whether the completion of it shall be of any service to you. Leave off therefore, and rule your own subjects, and bear to see us reigning over those whom we govern. But if you will not admit these counsels;—if any thing is better to you than to remain in tranquillity;—if you so earnestly desire to try your strength upon the Massagetes, Come—trouble yourself no longer with the toil of joining the river; and while we retire three days' march from the

river, do you pass over into our country. Or if you had rather receive us in your's, then do you retire while we advance." On hearing this Cyrus called together all the Persian chiefs, to whom he proposed the business, asking their opinion what he should do. They all concurred in advising him to receive Tomyris and her army in their own (the Persian) territory.

But Croesus the Lydian, being present, disapproved of this advice, and proposed an opposite plan, which he thus stated;—"O king, at the first I professed that, as God gave me up to you, if ever I saw a calamity impending over your house, I would use my utmost efforts to avert it. Now my misfortunes, though to me they have been grievous, have taught me experience. If indeed you think yourself and your men immortal, there is no need that I should declare my opinion; but if you know that you are only a man, and that those whom you command are men—then learn that human affairs turn on a wheel, which in its revolutions suffers not the same individuals always to be prosperous. As to the business now before us, my opinion is the reverse of theirs whose advice you have heard. For if we were to await the enemy in our own country, you would incur this danger;—should you be defeated, you utterly lose the empire, for it is manifest that if the Massagetes are victorious, they will not retreat, but will invade your provinces. On the other hand, if you conquer, your victory will not be so advantageous as if you had passed over into their territory, and were to pursue the vanquished and retreating Massegetes. This I oppose to the contrary opinion—that if you conquer you remove every obstacle which might prevent your advancing to the very heart of the dominions of Tomyris. And besides the reasons I have here given, it would be a dishonour intolerable for Cyrus the son of Cambyeses to retire from the country before a woman. My opinion therefore is that, passing the river, we should advance

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as far as they retreat. And then that it be attempted to overcome them in the following manner:—As I am informed the Massagetes are unacquainted with the Persian good fare, and are destitute of the chief commodities of life. Let therefore sheep be slain and prepared in abundance for these men, on which to feast in our camp;—moreover let cups without sparing be filled with unmixed wine, and provisions of all sorts be added. When this is done, let the inferior troops of the army be left behind; while the rest retires quickly towards the river. If I am not mistaken they, seeing so many good things, will betake themselves to the tables, and will leave to us an opportunity of effecting a signal exploit.”

Thus were opinions opposed:—Cyrus rejecting the first, adopted that of Croesus; and announced to Tomyris that she should retire while he crossed the river and advanced towards her: this she did as she had promised. Then Cyrus, delivering Croesus to the care of his son Cambyses, to whom he had assigned the kingdom, with many injunctions to hold him in honour, and to treat him kindly if his expedition against the Massagetes should be unprosperous, dismissed them both to Persia, while he with his army crossed the river.

The very night after he passed the Araxes, and reposed within the Massagetian territory, Cyrus saw a vision:—he thought, in his sleep, he saw the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes, having wings on his shoulders, with one of which he overshadowed Asia, and with the other Europe. This Hystaspes, son of Arsames, of the Achæmenidian family, had sons, of whom the eldest, named Darius, was then scarcely twenty years of age, and was left in Persia, not being old enough to serve in the army. When he awoke, Cyrus weighed the vision in his mind, thinking it to be of grave import. Calling therefore for Hystaspes, he took him apart, and thus addressed him;—“Hystaspes! your son is caught, con-

spiring against me and my government. I will make known to you by what means I know this certainly. The gods watch over me, and reveal to me beforehand whatever impends. Now the very last night, while I slept, I saw the eldest of your sons, having wings on his shoulders, with one of which he overshadowed Asia, and with the other Europe. From this vision therefore I cannot but believe that he is forming designs against me. You therefore, return as quickly as possible to Persia, and as soon as I return, having completed this conquest, present your son to me that he may be examined."

Thus spoke Cyrus, believing that Darius was conspiring against him. But what the divinity signified to him, was, that he should die in that place, and that his kingdom should pass over to Darius. Hystaspes thus replied to him—"O king! may no Persian ever conspire against you;—but if there be such a one, let him quickly perish; for you it is who, from being slaves, have made the Persians free; and from being ruled by others, have given them dominion over all. If however a vision has informed you that my son is plotting against you, I will deliver him into your hands, to do with him as you please." Having thus spoken, Hystaspes recrossed the Araxes, and proceeded to Persia to guard his son Darius, for Cyrus.

Cyrus advancing a day's march beyond the river, executed the plan proposed by Croesus: after which, he, with that part of the army that was composed of Persians only, retired behind the Araxes, leaving the useless troops in the camp. A third part of the Massagetian army advanced and put to the sword, after some resistance, those whom Cyrus had left: then seeing the feast, they sat down to regale themselves; and when they had partaken of victuals and wine to the full, fell asleep. The Persians then coming up, slaughtered great numbers of them, and took others captive: among these was the son of the queen

Tomyris, named Spargapises, who had commanded the Massagetian army. When she was informed of the fate of the army, and of what had befallen her son, she despatched a herald to Cyrus, with these words:—"Cyrus, insatiable of blood! be not intoxicated by this success, as by the fruit of the vine, with which, when yourselves are filled, you become so mad that you give vent to a torrent of foul language. Deceived with this poison, but not overcome in battle by manly valour, you have indeed vanquished my son. Now therefore take good advice from me;—restore me my son;—retire without loss from this region, content with having abused a third of the Massagetian army. If you will not do this, I swear by the sun—the lord of the Massageties, that, greedy as you are, I will assuredly glut you with blood."

Cyrus set at naught this message. As for Spargapises, son of queen Tomyris, as soon as he was freed from the effects of the wine, and learned his misfortune, he besought Cyrus that he might be loosened from his bonds: this being granted, the instant that his hands were free, he destroyed himself.—Such was the end of this man. Tomyris seeing that Cyrus did not yield to her proposals, collected all her forces, and advanced against him. This battle, in my judgment, was the most valiantly fought of any that has taken place among the Barbarians. According to my information, it was conducted in the following manner.—At first, it is said, the two armies stood at a distance, and discharged their arrows, then, when these were spent, they encountered each other with their spikes and daggers: in this manner the fight was sustained a long time, neither party thinking of flight: at length the Massagetes prevailed, and a great part of the Persian army was slaughtered on the field.—Cyrus himself was slain, after a reign of thirty years, save one. Tomyris having filled a vessel with human blood, caused the body of Cyrus to be sought for among the slaughtered Persians:—when

it was found, she flung the head into the vessel, and having thus mutilated the corpse, uttered these words—"Thou hast undone me, though I survive, and have conquered thee; for thou hast taken (from me) my son by fraud. It remains for me—as I threatened—to glut thee with blood." Many other accounts of the death of Cyrus are abroad, but this seemed to me the most probable.

[The dress and mode of life of the Massagetes are similar to those of the Scythians: their armies consist both of horse and foot; and they are accustomed to fight with bows, spikes, and battle-axes;—all their weapons being furnished either with gold or brass:—for the spear-heads and axes are formed of the latter metal; while their helmets, girdles, and arm-chains are adorned with gold. In like manner also their horses wore breast-plates of brass, and had their bridles, bits, and housings set with gold. They are unacquainted with iron and silver; neither of which are found in their country: but of brass and gold there is an abundance. Some customs erroneously attributed by the Greeks to the Scythians (in general) are observed only by the Massagetes. Among these, is the abuse of the laws of marriage. These people do not fix a certain limit to human life; but when any one is advanced in years, all his neighbours assemble and kill him, and with him also cattle: then cooking the flesh of all together, they feast upon it; and this they deem the happiest of all deaths. One who dies of disease they do not devour; but bury him—thinking the greatest possible misfortune has befallen him, inasmuch as it was not his lot to be immolated. They sow not; but subsist on their flocks, and upon fish, of which last the river Araxes affords them an abundant supply. They are drinkers of milk. Of all the gods, they worship only the sun, to which they sacrifice horses;—giving this reason for the practice—that the swiftest of mortals ought to be assigned to the swiftest of the gods.]

BOOK II.

EUTERPE.

SECTION I.

ACCESSION OF CAMBYSES.—DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT.

CYRUS being dead, was succeeded in the kingdom by Cambyses, his son, whose mother was Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes. She died before Cyrus, and was lamented by him with great grief; he commanded also all his subjects to make lamentations for her. This Cambyses considered the Ionians and Æolians to be slaves, inherited by him from his father. When therefore he made preparation to invade Egypt, he led forth, not only his other subjects, but these Greeks also, who were under his sway.

[The Egyptians, before the reign of Psammetichus, were wont to think themselves the most ancient of all nations. But this king, wishing to discover what people were really the first, determined in favour of the Phrygians; next to whom were the Egyptians. Psammetichus having in vain sought the means of resolving this question relative to the antiquity of nations, at length devised the following method.—He took two new-born children of persons in humble life, and com-

mitted them to the care of a shepherd, to be brought up where the flocks were fed;—commanding that they should never hear the human voice. They were to be placed in a remote hut by themselves: at certain times a she goat was to be brought to them, by which they were to be suckled;—the shepherd only waiting upon them. Psammetichus made these arrangements, wishing to hear what articulate sound—amidst their infantile cries, they would first utter. This was accomplished; for after the shepherd had kept the children, according to his injunctions, about two years, one day as he opened the door of the hut and entered, they both crawling towards his feet, and extending their hands, uttered the word *Becus*. At first the shepherd kept silence; but after a while, as the children continued, when he attended upon them, to repeat the same word, he reported it to his sovereign, who commanded them to be brought into his presence. Having himself heard them, Psammetichus next inquired what people used this sound in their language: and he was informed that, among the Phrygians, it is the name of bread. Thus convinced, after duly weighing the matter, the Egyptians concluded the Phrygians to be a more ancient people than themselves.

Such is the story I received from the priests of Vulcan at Memphis. The Greeks relate, among many other idle tales, that Psammetichus cut out the tongues of two women, to whom he committed the children to be nursed. Other accounts also I heard while conversing with the priests of Vulcan at Memphis; and wishing to know if their reports would coincide with such as I might elsewhere collect, I passed, both to Thebes and Heliopolis;—the people of which latter city are said to be the most learned of all the Egyptians. As to the accounts I received relative to matters of religion, I am not disposed to repeat them, except so far as to mention the names (of their gods.) For I am of opinion that, on subjects of this kind, one man knows as much as another. I shall only therefore refer to these things when compelled to do so by the course of my narrative. As for human affairs—in the following particulars they all agreed.—They affirmed that the Egyptians were the first of mankind who

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determined the annual revolution of the sun; *—distributing its seasons into twelve parts:—these discoveries they are said to have made by means of the stars; and in my opinion they have displayed, in this instance, much more skill than the Greeks, who, to rectify the year, insert an intercalary month every third year; but the Egyptians, reckoning their months at thirty days each, add, every year, five days to the number; by which means their year comes round always to the same point.

They affirm that the Egyptians first fixed the designations of the twelve gods; † and that the Greeks borrowed these titles from them. Moreover, that they first dedicated to these deities altars, statues, and temples; and first also sculptured animals in stone. These claims they establish, for the most part, by palpable proofs. The first man ‡ who reigned in Egypt was named Menes. In his time the whole of Egypt, except the region of Thebais, was a marsh;—no land being to be seen below the lake of Mœris, which is now a distance of seven days' sailing from the sea, up the river. And indeed I think what is said of this country is very true; for it must be evident to every person of common sense who, without prepossession, examines the region for himself, that the land which the vessels of Greece approach, is an acquisition to the Egyptians, and *the gift of the river*. The same may be said of the country which extends as far as three days' sailing above this lake; though the Egyptians did not include it in their statement.—Such is the nature of this region, which appears from the following fact—that, at the distance of a day's sailing from the Egyptian coast, and when you are in eleven fathoms' water, if you let down the lead, you draw up clay—proving to how great a distance this deposit from the land takes place.

The sea coast of Egypt measures sixty lines (of sixty furlongs, §) that is to say, as we are accustomed to define it, from the bay of Plinthine, to the lake Serbonis, near Mount

* ἐξευρέειν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

† The first man—Egypt having been long ruled, as they affirmed, by gods.

Casius. It may be remarked, that those whose territory is scanty, measure land by fathoms;—those who are less straitened, by furlongs;—those who possess much, by parasangs (a measure of thirty furlongs); while those whose country is very extensive, use the line (an Egyptian measure of sixty furlongs). Thus measured, the coast of Egypt extends to the distance of 3600 furlongs. From the coast, inland, towards Heliopolis, Egypt is an open plain,* well watered and slimy. The distance between Heliopolis and the sea is nearly equal to the length of the road from Athens, reckoning from the altar of the twelve gods, to the temple of the Olympian Jove, at Pisa:—the difference will not be found to amount to more than fifteen furlongs.

As you ascend beyond Heliopolis, Egypt (i. e. the *plain*) becomes narrower; for the Arabian mountain, running from north to south, continually rises as it approaches the Red Sea. In this mountain are the stone quarries from which the pyramids at Memphis were constructed. Thence declining, the mountain turns towards the sea, above mentioned; and at this place the country is the widest, being, as I am informed, not less than two months' journey from east to west. The eastern district yields frankincense. On the other side, towards Libya, Egypt is bounded by a rocky and sand-covered mountain, on which there are pyramids. This range extends itself, like that just mentioned on the side of Arabia. From Heliopolis, Egypt, properly speaking, is not of great width: and especially at the distance of about four days' sailing up the river, it is very much straitened. A plain separates the two above-mentioned mountains, the width of which, at the narrowest part, I should estimate at not more than 200 furlongs—reckoning from the foot of the Arabian, to the foot of the Libyan hills. But beyond this place Egypt again becomes wide. Such are the natural boundaries of this country.

From Heliopolis to Thebes is a distance of nine days' sailing; or of 4860 furlongs; or eighty-one of the Egyptian measures. If we bring these computations together, we shall

* or—an inclined plain.

have—for the sea coast of Egypt, as I have already said, 3600 furlongs.—The distance from the sea inland, as far as Thebes, is 6120 furlongs;—and from Thebes to Elephantine is 1800 furlongs. Of this region, the greater part, according to the account of the priests, and as also it appeared to me, is an acquisition to the Egyptians. For the ranges of hills which extend above Memphis, seemed to me formerly to have embraced a gulph of the sea:—in like manner as is seen in the plains of Ilium, of Teuthrania, of Ephesus, or of the Meander:—if indeed we may compare small things with great; for not one of these land-producing rivers can be compared for magnitude to a single mouth of the Nile—of which mouths there are five. Other rivers there are, though much inferior to the Nile in magnitude, which have exhibited great effects in the same mode. I might mention several:—among these, and not the least, is the Achelous, which running through Acarnania, in emptying itself into the sea, has already formed a continuous land between one half of the Echinadian islands.

There is in Arabia, and not far from Egypt, a long and narrow gulph, stretching inland from the Red Sea.* Its extreme length, if you proceed from its deepest recess, to the open sea, in a vessel with oars, will consume forty days. Yet its width, at the widest part, is not more than half a day's rowing. In this gulph there is a daily flowing and ebbing of the sea;—just such a gulph as this, I suppose Egypt formerly to have been, stretching from the North Sea (the Mediterranean) into Ethiopia: as the Arabian gulph extends itself from the South Sea towards Syria:—both of them piercing their farthest recesses, leaving only a narrow neck of land between. Now let it be imagined that the Nile were to turn its channel into this Arabian Gulph, and what would hinder its being filled with mud in some twenty thousand years? Indeed I am of opinion this might happen in half that time. Why then might not a space, even much larger than this, be filled with a deposit of earth by a river so great and mighty during the ages that have passed away before our times?

* This Gulph is what is now called the Red Sea—a name extended by the ancients to the Persian Gulph and Indian Ocean.

I therefore follow the opinion of those who give this account of Egypt; and indeed am from my own observation fully persuaded of the fact. When I see that Egypt projects far beyond the line of coast;—that shell-fish are found in the hills;—that a brackish liquor exudes from the soil, which corrodes even the pyramids; and that the only sandy mountain in Egypt is the one above Memphis. To which it may be added that, neither on the neighbouring lands of Arabia, nor on those of Libya, nor even in Syria (the maritime part of Arabia is possessed by the Syrians) is there found a soil at all resembling that of Egypt, which consists of a black and pulverized earth, such as is produced by the mud and sediment brought down from Æthiopia by the river. But the soil of Libya, as we have seen, is a reddish and sandy earth; while that of Arabia and Syria is argillaceous and stony. The priests also mentioned a fact which, to me, seemed a strong proof of what is affirmed concerning this country.—They say that in the reign of Mœris, when the river rose only eight cubits, the lands below Memphis were inundated: nine hundred years had not elapsed since the death of Moeris when I heard this from the priests. But now, unless the river rises sixteen, or at the least fifteen cubits, it does not flood that district. It seems to me, that those Egyptians who inhabit the region below the lake Mœris, as for instance the district called the Delta, and some other places—if in this manner the land continues gradually to rise, and to go on increasing in the same proportion—so that the Nile shall no longer deluge the land—will experience ever after, what they are wont to predict will happen to the Greeks. For when the Egyptians are told that Greece is watered entirely by rain, and not like their own land by rivers, they say,—“If ever the main hope of the Greeks fails them, they must miserably starve:”—or in other words — “If the god should please, instead of sending rain, to dispense a drought, the Greeks will be overcome with famine—since they have no resource for water, except in Jove* alone.” In saying this of the Greeks, the Egyptians are in

* Jove—the heavens.

the right. But now let us see how the case stands with themselves. If it should happen—as I said before—that the land below Memphis, which is that where the increase takes place, should continue to rise at the same rate as heretofore, what can follow but that the Egyptians inhabiting that district should be famished; for neither does it rain on their lands, nor, in that case would the river overflow their fields. At present indeed they receive from the earth a harvest which costs them less toil than any other people, or than any other of the Egyptians are obliged to bestow; for neither do they have the labour of breaking up the ground in furrows by the plough, nor of digging it; nor do they in any way work their arables like other men. But when the river has spontaneously come up and watered the land, and again retired, then every one sows his field: this done, he drives in swine, which tread the seed in: after this he awaits the harvest; when ripe he treads out the corn by swine (oxen) and carries it home.†

But what if we should adopt the opinion of the Ionians concerning Egypt, who say that the name belongs to the Delta only, which they reckon to commence from the watch-tower of Perseus, and extending to a distance of forty lines of sea coast, terminates at the Pelusian conservatories. The depth of Egypt from the coast, inland, they suppose to be not more than to the city of Cercasora, where the Nile divides into the Pelusian and the Canobian branches. All the rest of the country they attribute either to Libya or to Arabia. Were we to follow this opinion, it would be easy to show that, formerly, the Egyptians had no country at all. For the Delta, as the Egyptians themselves say, and I think truly, was overflowed, and has, comparatively speaking, but lately appeared. On this supposition, why should they trouble themselves with an inquiry—imagining that they were the first of men? Assuredly they ought not to have made trial what language the children would first speak. For my own part, I do not think that the Egyptians were coeval only with the region called by the Ionians the Delta; but believe that they are as ancient as the human race: and that gradually, as the land was formed, while many remained in their first settle-

ments, many descended : so it was that formerly the name Egypt was given to the Thebais—a region measuring in circumference 6120 furlongs. If then we have formed a correct idea on this subject, the Ionians are in error relative to Egypt. But if, on the contrary, they are right in this particular, then I can prove that neither the Ionians nor the Greeks reason consistently when they say that the earth consists of three divisions—Europe, Asia, and Libya :—for they ought to add a fourth, namely, the Delta of Egypt, which belongs neither to Asia nor Libya. According to this mode of reckoning, it is not the Nile which separates Asia from Libya, as that river divides at the point of the Delta, leaving this region between Asia and Libya.*

We abandon therefore the opinion of the Ionians, and adopt this conclusion—That as we call the country occupied by the Cilicians, Cilicia, and that by the Assyrians, Assyria ; so the entire space inhabited by the Egyptians, is Egypt. And we know properly of no other limit of Asia and Libya, except that formed by the boundaries of Egypt. But if we were to follow the decision of the Greeks, then we must consider the whole of Egypt to be divided into two portions, bearing a common name.—I say all Egypt, from the Cataracts to Elephantine. Of these two portions, the one must belong to Asia, the other to Libya : for the Nile in its course from the Cataracts to the sea, divides Egypt in two : as far as the city Cercasora, it runs in a single stream ; but from that city it separates into three channels ;—one, turning towards the east, receives the name of the Pelusian mouth ; another, bending westward, is called the Canobian. That which forms the direct course of the Nile is the one which, in continuation of the stream from above, arriving at the point of the Delta, parts that district in two, and discharges not the smallest nor the least noted stream into the sea at the Sebennyitian mouth. From this stream two others branch off, the one called the Saitic, the other the Mendesian. The Bolbitian and the Bucolic mouths are nothing more than artificial canals.

The opinion I have expressed relative to the extent of Egypt is confirmed by the oracle of Ammon, of which I was

informed after I had formed my own opinion. The people of Marea and Apis—cities situated on the confines of Egypt and Libya, deeming themselves to be Libyans, not Egyptians, and being impatient of the religious rites observed by the latter, and unwilling to be interdicted the flesh of the cow; sent to the temple of Ammon this profession—"That they had nothing in common with the Egyptians, living as they did without the Delta, and not holding the same opinions:" adding, "that they wished it to be lawful for them to taste of all flesh." But the god would not grant them this indulgence, saying, "Egypt was the country which the Nile inundates; and that all those were Egyptians who, living below Elephantine, drank of the river." Such was the reply of the oracle. The Nile, when at its height, inundates not only the Delta, but those districts which are said to belong severally to Libya and Arabia; extending itself in some places to the width of two days' journey on each side; sometimes more, and sometimes less.

As for the nature of this river I could not, either from the priests, or from others, collect any certain opinion. I did not fail to inquire of them why it was that the Nile, coming down just at the summer solstice, swells during a hundred days, and then, having completed that period, retires, and diminishes its stream; so that it is low throughout the winter, nor augments till the summer solstice. No Egyptian to whom I put the question, could give me any information on the subject, or tell me how it was that the Nile differed from all other rivers; or why this river alone yields no breezes. Yet there are Greeks who, wishing to appear very wise, have offered three explanations of the peculiarities of this river. Of these three explanations, two merit no further notice than just to be mentioned. The other is as follows:—That the Etesian or summer wind is the cause of the rise of the river, by preventing it from discharging itself into the sea. But often it has happened that the Etesian wind has not blown; yet the Nile has risen as high as ever. Besides, if the Etesian winds were the cause, it would follow that all rivers which flow against these winds must exhibit the same effect;—and so much the

more as their streams are feebler. But there are many rivers in Syria, and many in Libya, which undergo no such change as that which takes place in the Nile.

The second explanation—still less reasonable, but more marvellous, is that this rise happens because the Nile *flows from the ocean*, which, as they say, encompasses the whole earth. The third explanation, though the most specious, is really the farthest from the truth:—according to those who hold this opinion, the overflow of the Nile arises from the melting of snows. But now, how can it be that a river which rises in Libya, passes through Æthiopia, and discharges itself in Egypt—thus proceeding from the hotter to the cooler regions, should owe its rise to snows? There are many reasons which may convince any man that this cannot be the case. In the first place—and it is a sufficient evidence to the contrary—the winds that blow from those regions are hot. In the second place, the country is free both from rains and frosts; but where snow falls, there of necessity there will be rain within five days:—so that if there were snow, there would also be rain. Lastly, the men of those countries are blackened with the heat. Besides, kites and swallows remain there through the year, while cranes, flying from the Scythian winter, take up their abode there during that season. But, of necessity, none of these things would happen if, in the countries through which the Nile runs, and where it takes its rise, snow fell even in the smallest quantity. As to what has been said of the ocean—it is an obscure fable, destitute of proof. I know of no such river as the ocean.* Homer, perhaps, or some of the earlier poets, finding the name, transplanted it into the language of poetry.

Having rejected the several opinions above stated, it is fit that I should avow my own on this obscure subject. I proceed therefore to declare what I think to be the cause of the summer inundation of the Nile.—The sun, being driven from his former course by the tempests, during the winter season, reaches the upper parts of Libya. I may now, in a very few words, explain the whole matter; for whatever region this god is the nearest to, and passes over; that region, of course, will

experience the greatest drought, and there the brooks which feed the rivers will fail. Or to explain my meaning more at large.—When the sun passes over the upper Libya, the atmosphere in these regions being always clear, and the temperature high, and as there are no cooling breezes, he produces constantly the same effects which take place (elsewhere) during summer, when the sun is in the mid heaven;—that is to say, he draws to himself the water; and having drawn it, propels it towards the higher regions;—the winds taking up these vapours, and again scattering them, they dissolve: wherefore it is that the winds which blow from these regions—that is the south, and the south-west winds, are of all others by far the most rainy. But it seems to me that the sun does not discharge all the water which every year he draws up from the Nile; but reserves a part around himself. As the winter softens, the sun returns to his place in the mid-heavens; and then he attracts the water from all rivers alike, which before that time, being swelled with copious rains, when the lands are replete with moisture and furrowed with torrents, flow at their full height. But in summer, the rains ceasing, and the sun attracting the water, they become small. But the Nile, unlike other rivers, being destitute of rains, and yet being exposed to the influence of the sun, very naturally is less in winter than in summer. Then, like all other streams, it suffers evaporation; but it is the only river which is taxed also during the winter.—I conclude therefore that the sun is the cause of what takes place.*

I am moreover of opinion, that the sun is also the cause of the dryness of the air in this region—burning, as he does, every thing in his course.—Whence it is that the upper parts of Libya suffer a perpetual fervour. And if the quarters of the heavens could be changed, so as that where now the north stands, with its winter, there the south might take place, with its warmth; and where the south, there the north; in that case the sun, being driven from mid-heaven by the wintry north, would retire to the upper part of Europe, as now he passes to Libya. Thus traversing all Europe, I think he would do the same with the Ister, which now he effects

with the Nile. As to there being no breeze from this river, in my opinion it is not reasonable to expect winds to blow from hot countries;—a breeze comes only from a cooler part. But we must leave these things as they are, and as they ever have been.

Neither Egyptians, Libyans, nor Greeks, with whom I have conversed, know any thing of the sources of the Nile;—except only a certain scribe, keeper* of the sacred archives of Minerva at Saïs, a city of Egypt. This man, thinking, I suppose, to make sport of me, professed that he had accurate information on the subject, which he thus communicated;—he said “there were two mountains, having pointed summits, situated between Syene, a city of Thebais and Elephantine. These mountains are named, respectively, Crophî, and Mophî;—and between them are the unfathomable fountains of the Nile. One half of these waters flows northward, to Egypt, while the other half runs southward, to Æthiopia. That these springs are bottomless was proved by Psammitichus, king of Egypt, who sounded them with a line of many thousand fathoms length, and yet did not reach the bottom.” So spoke this scribe, and if what he reported actually took place, there remains no doubt on the subject. Yet I rather think (even if this story is true) that there being in this place a reflux of powerful whirlpools, formed by the rushing out of the waters between the mountains—the sounding lead would be prevented from reaching the bottom.

From no other person could I learn any thing on this subject. Other particulars, relating to regions more remote, I was informed of by those whom I questioned;—and as far as Elephantine, I was myself witness of what I describe. Beyond that city the country is acclivitous, and the current of the river so strong, that vessels passing up the stream are drawn by ropes on both sides, like an ox by the horns:—if the ropes break, the vessel is carried down by the force of the torrent. This district extends to the distance of four days’ sailing. The Nile is in this part of its course as tortuous as the

* Or, interpreter of hieroglyphics.

Meander. The same mode of navigation is necessary until twelve Egyptian lines have been accomplished: thence you arrive at an even plain, where the Nile flows around an island. The name of this island is Tachompso. The region above Elephantine is inhabited by Æthiopians, who share the above mentioned island with the Egyptians. Near the island is a large lake, around which nomadic Æthiopians feed their flocks. Having passed this lake, you again enter the channel of the Nile, which empties itself into the lake: at this place you disembark, and travel by the river's side a journey of forty days; for the river abounds with sharp rocks and breakers, on account of which sailing is not practicable. When you have passed this region of forty days' journey, you go on board another vessel, and proceed up the river twelve days; then you reach a large city, called Meroe—said to be the metropolis of all the Æthiopians. These people worship, of all the gods, none but Jupiter and Bacchus, to whom they pay great honour: they have also established an oracle of Jupiter. They make war when and where only the god by this oracle commands.

Ascending the river above this place as far as the distance already passed between Elephantine and Meroe, you reach the Automolians, or rambles, called Asmach—a word signifying—those who stand at the left hand of the king. For these Egyptians are the descendants of 240,000 warriors who retired into Æthiopia on the following occasion.—During the reign of Psammitichus they were appointed to garrison Elephantine against the Æthiopians—the Pelusian Daphne against the Arabians and Syrians, and Marea against Libya. These garrisons are still maintained by the Persians, as they were by Psammitichus, at Elephantine and at Daphne. These Egyptians at Elephantine, having maintained their post three years without being relieved, consulted together, and with common consent, revolting from Psammitichus, passed over to Æthiopia. Psammitichus being informed of this, pursued them, and coming up with them, besought them in a long harangue not to abandon the gods of their ancestors, their children, and their wives. But one of them, answering for the rest, said they doubted not to find wives where they went. They therefore

proceeded to Æthiopia, and surrendered themselves to the king of that people, who thus rewarded them;—being at variance with some of his subjects, he ordered these Egyptians to expel them, and to possess themselves of their lands. Thus the Egyptians settling among the Æthiopians, improved the manners of that nation, by imparting their own customs.

The course of the Nile is therefore known to the distance of four months' sailing beyond the confines of Egypt; for that is the time found on computation to be consumed in passing from Elephantine to the Automolians,—the direction of the river in this part is from the west. Of the country beyond the region we have named no one possesses exact information, only that it is a desert, rendered uninhabitable by the heat. Other accounts I heard from certain Cyrenæans, who professed that they had visited the oracle of Ammon, and had conversed with Etearchus, king of the Ammonians; in conversing with whom on various matters, it was mentioned that no man knew the springs of the Nile; upon which Etearchus said that once some Nasamones paid him a visit (a Libyan people inhabiting Syrtis, and a small part of the territory east of Syrtis). These Nasamones being asked if they had any thing new to report relative to the deserts of Libya, said that there were at one time among them certain headstrong youths, the sons of powerful chiefs, who, when arrived at manhood, among other exploits which they contrived, resolved to choose five of their number by lot, to explore the wilds of Libya, and to discover more than any travellers had yet seen. The parts of Libya contiguous to the northern sea (the Mediterranean) from Egypt to the promontory of Solocis, where Libya ends, is occupied by many Libyan nations, as well as by the Grecian and Phœnician colonies. But more remote from the sea, and beyond the maritime nations, the country is occupied by wild beasts; and beyond this wild region are sands, frightfully parched, and destitute of all things. But to continue our narrative.

These young men, it is said, sent out by their comrades, being well furnished with vessels of water, and with provisions, traversed at first the inhabited district:—that passed—

they arrived at the region of ferocious animals, and from thence penetrated the desert, having the westerly wind in their faces as they travelled. After consuming many days in crossing the region of sand, they at length saw trees growing in the plain: these they approached to gather the fruit, which then hung upon them. As they were eating, little men, much below the common standard, came upon them, seized, and led them away. Neither party understood the language of the other. These men led the Nasamones over an extensive bog; after passing which they arrived at a city, the inhabitants of which were of like diminutive stature with their guides, and their complexion was black. By the city ran a large river, the course of which is from west to east; and in this river crocodiles are seen. Such is the account given by Etearchus, the Ammonian king, who added, that the Nasamones returned home, as the Cyrenæans said, and that the men among whom they had arrived were all sorcerers. This river was, in the opinion of Etearchus, which opinion seems probable, no other than the Nile; for the Nile flows from Libya, which it divides in the midst; and, as I conjecture, inferring what is unknown from what is manifest, it runs from the same quarters as the Ister (or runs parallel with the Ister). For the Ister, rising in the country of the Celts, by the city Pyrene, divides Europe in two parts: but the Celts are beyond the pillars of Hercules, and border upon the Cynesians, who occupy the region the farthest to the west in Europe. The Ister, passing through Europe, discharges itself into the Euxine, at the place occupied by a Milesian colony. The Ister running through inhabited countries, is well known to many; but the Nile, taking its course through the uninhabited deserts of Libya, hides its sources from the knowledge of man. Concerning so much of its track as I could, by diligent inquiry, gain information, I have here stated all I have learned. It discharges itself, as we know, in Egypt;—and Egypt lies nearly opposite to the lofty coast of Cilicia, from which coast to Sinope, on the Euxine, is a distance in a straight line that may be passed by a good traveller in five days.* And this Sinope is opposite to the

mouth of the Ister. Thus I make the Nile, in traversing the whole of Libya, to equal the Ister. So much for the Nile.

I now proceed to give a more detailed account of Egypt; for this country contains more wonders than any other, and many works with which those of no other region can be compared: it claims therefore a more particular description.

SECTION II.

MANNERS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF THE EGYPTIANS.

The Egyptians, as their climate is unlike other climates, and their river unlike other rivers, so in manners and laws are they in almost all respects opposed to the rest of the world. Among these people the women frequent the market and keep shop; while the men sit at home and weave. Other nations in weaving drive the shuttle above the woof; but the Egyptians beneath. Men carry burdens on the head, women on the shoulder. When others go abroad, they stay at home; and even take their meals in the high ways, alleging that whatever is not really indecorous, may well be done in public. No woman discharges the priestly office either to god or goddess; but men always to both. Sons are not compelled to support their parents, if they are not disposed to do so; but daughters must, whether willing or not, perform that duty. Elsewhere, the priests of the gods wear their hair; but the Egyptian priests are shaven. With other nations it is the custom to shave the head in mourning, especially for near relatives; but the Egyptians, on the death of their friends, suffer the hair of the head and beard to grow long, which before was cropped. Other people feed apart from animals; but the Egyptians take their meals along with beasts. Other men subsist on wheat and barley; but among the Egyptians it

is a thing especially held in contempt. They prepare their meal from *Olyra*, called by some *Zea* (*spelt*); and they knead dough with the feet, while they work clay with the hands; with which also they remove impurities. The Egyptians and those nations who have learned the custom of them, practise circumcision. The men wear two garments; the women only one. The rings and cordage of sails, other nations fasten on the outside of the vessel; the Egyptians within. The Greeks when they write and reckon numbers with pebbles, carry the hand from left to right; but the Egyptians from right to left; and in doing so they say—they write *dexterously*; but the Greeks are *sinister* in writing. They use two species of writing, of which the one is called sacred, the other popular.

Being excessively religious, beyond any other people, they practise many observances, such as the following.—They drink from brazen cups, which are scoured every day; and from this nicety no one is exempt. They are clad in linen, always fresh washed; for to this particular they pay the most exact attention: *—they are ambitious rather to be clean than fine. The priests shave themselves completely every third day, in order that no vermin or other loathsome thing may be found upon them while waiting upon the gods. The priests wear linen only, and shoes of the papyrus; nor is any other kind of clothing or sandal lawful to them. They wash twice in the day, and twice during the night, in cold water. And to say all in a word, they practise ten thousand ceremonies. These priests enjoy, however, not a few privileges;—for they do not use or consume any of their own property; but sacred bread is baked for them, and a plentiful supply of the flesh of oxen and geese is provided for each, every day. Wine of the vine also is given them; but fish they are not permitted to taste. The Egyptians sow no beans; nor do they eat, either raw or cooked, such as may grow spontaneously; nor can the priests endure even to see them, deeming all pulse to be unclean. They have not one priest to each god; but many, of whom one is high-priest, and he is succeeded by his son.

Bulls they reckon sacred to Epaphos, and examine them in

* Τα τε αἰδία περιταμνοῦνται καθαριοτήτος εἵνεκεν.

the following manner.—If the examiner spies a single black hair he deems the animal unclean. This scrutiny is made by one of the priests, appointed for the purpose, who searches the animal, standing up, and turned over, and with the tongue drawn out, to see if it be faultless in all the prescribed particulars, which I shall presently mention. He looks narrowly at the hairs of the tail, to see if they all grow in a natural manner. If in all these respects it be clean, the priest signifies the same in a billet, bound about the horns, and affixing a piece of sealing earth (clay) he impresses it with his signet. The animal is thus led off. The penalty of death is attached to the crime of sacrificing an unsealed bull. Such is the mode of examining the victim. The established practice of sacrificing is as follows.—The sealed animal being led to the altar, where he is to be slain, they kindle a fire; then they pour wine on the altar, near the victim, invoke the god, and inflict the fatal wound. The stroke given, they cut off the head, and then flay the carcase. Having heaped dire execrations on the head (of the victim) they carry it forth, and if there is a market at hand, frequented by Greek strangers, they sell it to them; but if there are no Greeks in the neighbourhood, they throw it into the river. The imprecation pronounced over these heads is as follows.—“If any evils impend over those who sacrifice, or over Egypt at large, let them be converted upon this head.” In these ceremonies concerning the head of the victim, and the libation, all the Egyptians, on all occasions, observe a uniform practice. Hence it is that no Egyptian will, by any means, taste the head of any creature that has breathed.

The mode of embowelling and of burning the victim, differs according to the nature of the worship; and how this is performed in the chief festival of the principal goddess I now proceed to relate.—When the beast has been flayed, and the prayers finished, the contents of the lower cavity are removed, leaving however the viscera and the fat; but they cut off the legs, and the extremity of the loins, and the shoulders and the neck. Having so done, they fill the body with clean (consecrated) loaves, and honey, and raisins, and figs, and frank-

incense, and myrrh, and other perfumes. These being stuffed in, they burn the whole, pouring over it a plenty of oil. Before performing this sacrifice they fast. While the victim consumes, they all beat themselves (or bewail) and when they have done, the residue of the victim is placed for their dinner.

All the Egyptians sacrifice the male of this species, young and old, if clean; but it is unlawful to sacrifice the female, which is sacred to Isis. For the image of Isis, being in the form of a woman, with the horns of a cow, as the Greeks depict Io, all the Egyptians alike *worship cows with a more profound reverence than any other cattle*. On which account it is that no Egyptian, man or woman, will kiss a Greek on the mouth, or will use the cleaver of a Greek, or his spit, or his dish, or will taste the flesh even of clean beef that has been cut with a Grecian carving-knife. Bulls or kine that die, are buried in the following manner:—the kine are deposited in the river: the bulls and oxen are buried in the suburbs of each city: one, or sometimes both of the horns being left above the surface, to mark the spot. When the carcase is decayed, and the appointed time arrived, there comes a barge to each city, from an island of the Delta, called Prosopitis, an island nine lines in circumference, and containing a great number of towns; among which is one named Atarbechis, where is a temple consecrated to Venus. From this place, then, comes the barge, to take away the bones of these bulls and oxen. The men of this city, in great numbers, disperse themselves, going some to one, some to another town, for the purpose of exhumating the bones, which, when they have collected, they bury all in one place. In this manner also other cattle, dying a natural death, are interred. Such are their laws relative to such animals: nor do they kill these.

All those who have part in the rites of the Theban Jove, or who occupy the Thebaic mead, abstain from sheep, and sacrifice goats. The Egyptians do not all worship alike the same gods, excepting Isis and Osiris, who, they say, is Bacchus; but in the worship of these, there is no diversity. For those who have a temple consecrated to Mendes, or in-

habit the Mendesian plain, abstain from goats, and sacrifice sheep. The Thebans, and those who with them abstain from sheep, give this reason for the rule that is imposed upon them : — ‘ Hercules’, say they, ‘ wished by all means to see Jupiter, who would not be seen by him : at length, as Hercules persisted in his endeavours, Jupiter adopted the following device ; slaying a ram, he put the horned scalp of the head he had severed on his own, and clothed himself with the fleece ; thus attired, he showed himself.’ Hence it is that the Egyptians give to the image of Jupiter the ram’s face ; and from the Egyptians, the Ammonians, being a colony of mingled Egyptians and Æthiopians, and using a language compounded from those of both people, do the same. And it seems to me, that the name Ammonians was hence acquired. For the Egyptians call Jupiter Ammoun. The Thebans do not sacrifice rams, which on this account are deemed sacred by them. Yet on one day in the year, in the feast of Jupiter, they slay a ram, and flay it, and with the fleece invest the image of Jupiter, and then bring an image of Hercules to it. This done, all who are about the temple bewail the ram, and then give it sepulture, in a consecrated coffer. Concerning this Hercules, I heard that he was of the number of the twelve gods. Of the other Hercules, known to the Greeks, I could hear nothing in any part of Egypt. And indeed it seems that it was not the Egyptians who took the name—Hercules, from the Greeks ; but the Greeks from them ; and among the Greeks, those who give the name Hercules to the offspring of Amphitryon. Many proofs convince me that this is the fact, among which I mention only one ;—that both the parents of Hercules, Amphitryon, and Alcmena, were originally from Egypt : besides, the Egyptians protest that they know nothing even of the names, Neptune, or the Dioscures ; nor have ever given these gods a place among their divinities. And indeed, if they have received from the Greeks the name of any dæmon, certainly not of these ; or if they had, they would not have lost the memory of them ; especially if they then made voyages, as some of the Greeks at that time frequented the seas, I cannot but be firmly of opinion that the Egyptians

would rather have preserved the knowledge of these gods than of Hercules. But Hercules is one of the primeval deities of the Egyptians; for as they affirm it was seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis, when the twelve gods, of whom Hercules is reckoned one, were produced by the eight.

Wishing by all possible means to obtain certain information on this point, I made a voyage to the Phœnician Tyre, having been informed that there was in that city a temple consecrated to Hercules. This temple I inspected; it is richly furnished with various offerings, and within it are two pillars, the one of refined gold, the other of an emerald, which by night shone with exceeding splendour. While conversing with the priests of the god, I asked them how long it was since their temple was built, and I found that they did not accord with the Greeks; for they said the temple was consecrated when Tyre itself was raised; and that the foundation of Tyre took place 2300 years ago. I saw at Tyre also another temple of Hercules, called the Thasian. I went therefore to Thasos, where I found a temple dedicated to Hercules by those Phœnicians who, sailing in quest of Europa, founded the city of Thasos: and this took place five generations before the birth of Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, in Greece. The result of these researches makes manifest the high antiquity of the god Hercules. Those Greeks therefore, as I think, do well who consecrate two temples to Hercules, one to the Immortal, surnamed the Olympian, whom they worship with sacrifices; the other to the hero, whom they celebrate with a festival. The Greeks, indeed, inconsiderately affirm many other things on this subject; as for instance, the following foolish story, concerning Hercules. They say that when he arrived in Egypt, the Egyptians crowned him, and led him forth in solemn triumph, to be immolated to Jupiter. At first he resigned himself quietly to them; but when they brought him near the altar, he put forth his strength, and slew them all. Now it seems to me that those Greeks who relate this story prove their utter ignorance, both of the native character, and of the institutions of the Egyptians, with whom it is not

lawful to sacrifice any living thing, excepting sheep, bulls, and calves, and of these such only as are clean; and geese also;—how then should they sacrifice men? Besides, Hercules being but one, and only a man, as they say, how should he have the power to slaughter thousands? So much for these matters, which I hope both gods and heros will take in good part!

Those of the Egyptians who do not sacrifice goats, male or female, give this reason.—The Mendesians number Pan among the eight gods; and these eight gods, they say, were the first of the twelve gods that came into being. Painters and sculptors delineate and carve the image of Pan as the Greeks do, with the face of a she-goat, and with the legs of a ram. Not that they think him to have this form; for they believe him to be like the other gods. For what reason they thus represent him, it would be disagreeable to me to mention.* The Mendesians reverence all goats; but chiefly the rams, and therefore goat-herds enjoy peculiar honours, and when he who is chief among them dies, the whole Mendesian plain is given up to lamentations. In the Egyptian tongue, both a goat and Pan are called Mendes. The Egyptians deem the hog a foul animal, and therefore if any one, in passing, does but touch this animal with his garments, he goes instantly into the river, and washes; and for the same reason swine-herds, and these only, though native Egyptians, are excluded from all the temples of the land; nor will any one give a swine-herd his daughter in marriage, nor take one of his to wife. The swine-herds therefore intermarry only with their own class. It is not permitted to sacrifice a pig to the other gods; but to Luna and Bacchus only, at the same time—the time of full-moon, they sacrifice pigs, and eat of the flesh. Why they abhor offerings of swine in their other festivals, and in this should sacrifice them, is indeed explained by the Egyptians; but though I know the reason they assign, I think it not fit to be mentioned. The sacrifice of swine to Luna is thus performed:—the end of the tail and the spleen

* Ου μοι ἡδίων ἐστι λέγειν.

are wrapped together in the omentum by the worshipper, and covered with all the fat of the belly, and thus burned. The rest of the flesh is eaten at the time of the same full moon ; but on no other day would it be tasted. The indigent, who from poverty cannot do this, mould pigs of dough, which they bake and sacrifice.

On the eve of the feast of Bacchus, every man kills a pig before the door of his house, and then gives it to be carried away to the swine-herd of whom he received it. The Egyptians celebrate another feast of Bacchus, which, excepting the swine, is in all respects nearly the same as that observed by the Greeks. With all these ceremonials it seems to me that Melampus, son of Amythaon, was not unacquainted, for it was he who taught the Greeks the name and worship of Bacchus ; yet neither did he fully make known these matters, which certain philosophers, better informed, afterwards explained at large. I affirm then that Melampus, being a sage, and having accomplished himself in the art of divination, and acquired the learning of the Egyptians, communicated much of what he had learned to the Greeks, and among other things, this worship of Bacchus, in which he made few alterations. For I say it was not by mere fortuity that the same ceremonies were practised at once in Egypt and in Greece, in the worship of this deity : if so, those observed in Greece would have been analogous to the customs of that people, and not lately introduced. And again, I utterly deny that the Egyptians received this, or indeed any other usage, from the Greeks. But I believe that Melampus learned what relates to the worship of Bacchus from Cadmus, the Tyrian, and from those who came with him from Phœnicia, and settled in the country now called Bœotia.

Almost all the names of the gods came into Greece from Egypt. For, upon inquiry, I have found that they are foreign (from the barbarians) and I think, for the most part, from Egypt : for as I have already said, excepting Neptune, and the Dioscures, Juno, Vesta, Themis, and the Graces and the Nereids, the names of all the other gods have existed from the remotest ages in Egypt. I report at least what the

Egyptians themselves told me. And those gods, of whom they profess not to know the names, received appellations, as I think, from the Pelasgians:—Except Neptune, for the knowledge of this god came from Libya; for the name of Neptune existed anciently among no people but the Libyans, who have always honoured him as a god. As to the Heros, the Egyptians do not celebrate their festivals.

These and some other practices, which I shall mention, the Greeks received from the Egyptians; but some also from the Pelasgians, who taught them first to the Athenians, and they to the rest of the Greeks. For the Pelasgians and Athenians who were then first numbered among the Greeks, occupied together the same region, whence it happened that the former also were reckoned to be Greeks. Whoever has learned the orgies of the Cabiri, as practised by the Samothracians, will acknowledge the truth of what I affirm: for those Pelasgians who dwelt with the Athenians, at first occupied Samothracia, and from them the Samothracians learned these rites. The Pelasgians formerly offered with their prayers, sacrifices of all things to the gods; as I learned at Dodona. But they gave no title or name to any of them; nor indeed had they heard of any such appellations. They designated them only as Theoi (founders) because by them all things were established and distributed throughout the world. But after a long course of time, they learned the names of the gods from Egypt, and last of all that of Bacchus. At length they consulted the oracle of Dodona concerning these appellations. This oracle of Dodona, the most ancient of all, was at that time the only one in Greece. When therefore the Pelasgians enquired at Dodona—"Whether they should admit the appellations coming from abroad?" The oracle replied, "Use them." From that time therefore in their worship they have used the names of the gods:—afterwards the Greeks received them from the Pelasgians.

Whence sprang each of the gods;—or whether they were all from eternity;—what were their qualities, and what their appearances, was not known among us before yesterday, so to speak. For Hesiod and Homer, whom I reckon my elders

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by not more than four hundred years, were the first who framed a Theogony for the Greeks, and bestowed appellations upon the gods, and distributed among them their several honours and functions, and indicated their forms. The poets said to have lived before these, were, in my opinion, after them. What I first mentioned I learned from the priestesses of Dodona; but the opinion relative to Homer and Hesiod is my own.

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Concerning the oracles, as well that of Greece as that of Libya, the Egyptians speak as follows.—The priests of the Theban Jupiter say, that two women, who were priestesses, were carried off by the Phœnicians, of whom one is known to have been sold into Libya, and the other into Greece; and these women were the first founders of the oracles established in the said countries. When I inquired whence it was that they obtained this accurate information, they replied—“That a diligent search had been made after these women, who, for a long time, could not be found; but at length the particulars that have been mentioned, were learned.” Such was the account I received from the Theban priests; but the Dodonian prophetesses give the following account.—“Two black pigeons flew from the Egyptian Thebes—one to Libya, while the other came to themselves. This pigeon perching on a beech tree, spoke with the voice of man, and pronounced that there was to be on that spot an oracle of Jupiter. The Dodonæans believing that this was a divine annunciation, addressed to them, fulfilled the injunction.” They say also that the pigeon which flew away to Libya, commanded the Libyans to institute the oracle of Ammon; for that also is an oracle of Jupiter. This is the relation given me by the Dodonæan priestesses, of whom the eldest is named Promeneia, the next Timarete, and the youngest Nicandra. The Dodonæans who attend at the Temple agreed in the same story. My own opinion of which is as follows.—If indeed the Phœnicians carried away the holy women, of whom, as they say, one was sold into Libya, the other into Greece, I think this last was sold into that part of Greece, formerly called Pelasgia—which the Thesprotians occupy, where having been in servi-

tude, she erected a chapel to Jupiter, under a beech tree. It was natural that a woman who had ministered in the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, and had come from thence, should bring with her a recollection of that deity, and that having acquired the Greek tongue, she should establish there an oracle. And it is probable that she said that her sister had been sold into Libya by the same Phœnicians. It seems to me moreover, that this woman was called a pigeon by the Dodonæans, because she spoke a foreign tongue, and seemed to them to utter sounds like the chattering of birds. But after a time, as they say, the pigeon spoke with the voice of human kind; that is to say, she spoke a language understood by themselves; whereas while she spoke a foreign language, she seemed to them to chatter like a bird. For how could it be that a pigeon should speak with the voice of a man? In saying that the pigeon was black, they signified that the woman was an Egyptian. The manner of prophesying is the same at Dodona, as at the Egyptian Thebes. The art of divination from victims is of Egyptian origin, and there also, first, were instituted sacred assemblies, and processions, and common supplications; and from them the Greeks learned these institutions, of which this is proof to me, that they have been practised in Egypt from remote times, but in Greece only of late.

The Egyptians convoke religious meetings, not once, but frequently in the year. This is done with peculiar zeal at Bubastis, in honour of Diana; then at Busiris, to Isis, to whom there is a vast temple consecrated in that city, which is founded in the centre of the Delta.—Isis, in the Greek tongue is,—Mother Earth—(Ceres.) The third in rank of these convocations is held at Saïs, and is devoted to Minerva;—the fourth, at Heliopolis, to the Sun;—the fifth at Buto, to Latona;—and the sixth at Papremis, to Mars. The festival at Bubastis is conducted in the following manner.—Men and women together, in great numbers, sail in barges of all sorts. During the voyage some of the women make a clatter with rattles, and men play the flute, while the rest, both men and women, sing and clap their hands. As often, in the course of

the voyage, as they approach any town they haul the barges ashore;—and then some of the women do as I have said, while others utter taunts, and bawl at the women of the place; others dance, and put themselves in strange attitudes.—All this is repeated at every city near which they sail. When they reach Bubastis, they celebrate a feast, and offer great sacrifices, during which more wine of the vine is consumed than in all the year besides. Such is the description given of this festival by the people themselves; and on this occasion there are assembled, as the natives report, 700,000 (or 70,000) men and women, besides children.

I have already related (c. 40, p. 121.) how the festival of Isis is celebrated at Busiris. Men and women, a countless multitude, beat themselves and lament after the sacrifice; but it is not permitted to me to say for whom they do this.* The Carians who reside in Egypt carry this ceremony to a still greater extreme; for they actually cut their foreheads with knives, thereby making it evident that they are strangers, not Egyptians. When they assemble for sacrifices at Saïs, on a certain night, they all hang many lights abroad round their houses:—these lamps are filled with salt and oil; and on the surface floats a wick which burns all night. This is called the feast of lamp-lighting. Nor is it confined to those who assemble at Saïs; for the Egyptians throughout the land observe the night of this sacrifice by similar illuminations. A religious reason is given for the blazing honours bestowed upon this night. At Heliopolis and Buto the congregations perform sacrifices only. But at Papremis, sacrifices and sacred rites, as elsewhere. As the sun declines a few of the priests are occupied around the image of the god; while a multitude bearing wooden clubs, station themselves at the entrance of the temple: others, in number more than a thousand, who have vows to accomplish, stand about also; each bearing a club. The image which is kept in a small chapel of wood overlaid with gold, is, on the eve of the festival, brought into another sacred edifice. The few priests who remain with the image draw a four-wheeled carriage, on which is placed the shrine, and the image it contains; but the priests who

occupy the entrance refuse it admission within the temple : then the devoted priests advancing to aid the god, strike them ; and so a fierce contest with clubs ensues :—skulls are fractured : and, as I believe, many die of the wounds they receive. The Egyptians indeed affirm that no one is actually killed.

The natives affirm this festival to have been instituted on the following occasion :—they say that the mother of Mars inhabited this temple, and that Mars who was nursed from home, when he grew up, wished to converse with his mother ; but her attendants, not having seen him before, suffered him not to pass, and forbad his entrance. He then, taking with him men from another city, violently attacked the attendants, and made his way to his mother. Hence arose the custom of beating in the feast of Mars. The Egyptians first of all men observed decencies in the temples : which elsewhere are not attended to, except by them and the Greeks : for other nations have conducted themselves in the very temples of their gods in a manner which they can excuse only by taking beasts as their examples. But the Egyptians, in this and other instances, conduct their religious services with more propriety.

SECTION III.

ANIMALS OF EGYPT.

Egypt, though bordering on Libya, does not abound with wild animals. All such that are found are deemed sacred ; and some are reared with men, others not. If I were to give the reasons of these consecrations, I must enter upon religious discussions, which I have professed especially to avoid, and which I have introduced only when compelled by my subject to do so. Their law relative to wild animals is as follows :—

Among the Egyptians there are certain persons—men and women, who are the appointed guardians of the several species of animals; and this dignity descends from father to son. The inhabitants of towns fulfil their vows in this manner:—when they pray to the god to whom the animal belongs, they shave the heads of their children—the whole—one half, or a third, and weigh the hair against silver: the amount is given to the guardian of the animals, who therewith purchases scolloped fish for their food:—for this is the provision assigned to them. If any man wilfully kills one of these animals, he pays the forfeit of his life:—if unwittingly, he lays down such a fine as the priests shall please to appoint. But he who kills an ibis or a hawk—wilfully or not, must of necessity die for it. Very many animals are domesticated in Egypt, and the number would be greater than it is, if the increase of cats were not lessened, as it is said, by the male of that species destroying the young. When a fire happens the fate of the cats is a matter of pious solicitude; for the Egyptians, allowing the conflagration to consume what it may, range themselves so as to take best care of the cats; while these—to the infinite grief of the people, slipping aside, or leaping over the heads of their protectors, tumble into the flames. In whatever house a cat dies by a natural death, all the inmates shave their eye-brows; but when a dog dies they shave entirely. Dead cats are taken to the sacred asylums at Bubastis, where they are embalmed, and receive sepulture. But dogs are buried in the consecrated repositories of their own cities: and in like manner are interred ichneumons; while shrew-mice, and hawks, are carried to Buto:—the ibis, sacred to Mercury, to the city of Mercury—Hermopolis. Bears, which are rare, and wolves—a species not much larger than foxes, are buried wherever they may be found.

The following particulars relating to the crocodile may be mentioned. These animals eat nothing during the four most winterly months. They are quadrupeds, and frequent both land and water. The female lays and hatches its eggs ashore, and passes the greater part of the day on dry land; but the whole night in the river: for the water is then warmer

than the air and the dew. Of all mortal creatures known to us, this, from being the smallest, becomes the largest; for the egg is not much bigger than that of a goose; and the young one is in proportion. But when it attains its full size it measures seventeen cubits, and sometimes more. It has the eyes of a hog;—teeth projecting, and large in proportion to the size of the body. It is the only animal that is destitute of a tongue; and unlike all other creatures, the lower jaw is immoveable, while the upper rises and falls. Its talons are of prodigious magnitude; its hide scaly, and on the back impenetrable. The crocodile is blind in the water: but very quick-sighted out of it. Frequenting the water so much, the inside of its mouth is infested with leeches: other creatures, both birds and beasts avoid it; but with a small bird named the trochilus, to which it owes a debt of gratitude, it lives in amity; for when the crocodile ascends from the water, and yawns, which most often he does towards the western breeze, the trochilus getting into his mouth, devours the leeches; while he, well pleased with the service, hurts not the bird. With some of the Egyptians the crocodile is sacred; while others pursue him as an enemy. The inhabitants of the Thebais and of the shores of the lake Moeris, regard them with the highest veneration. Each person rears a crocodile which they train to the hand, and from its ears suspend clustered jewels and gold, and encircle the fore-feet with rings: he is fed with the utmost possible delicacy and care upon bread and the flesh of victims, and when he dies he is embalmed and placed in some consecrated repository. But those who inhabit the territory of Elephantine, eat the crocodile, which they consider to be not at all sacred. This animal is called in Egypt not *crocodile*, but *champsä*:—the former appellation having been given it by the Ionians, on account of its resemblance to the lizard, which they find in their hedges. Crocodile hunting is conducted in various modes; that which to me seems the most worthy of being described, is as follows:—having baited a hook with the chine of a pig, the huntsman lets it down into the mid-stream of the river, while he stands on the brink, having with him a living pig, which he strikes; the crocodile hearing

the cry, follows the sound, and meeting the chine, swallows it : the people then draw him ashore ; when he is brought to land, the huntsman first of all blinds his eyes with mud ; in which, if he succeeds, he easily accomplishes his object ; but if not, with difficulty.

The hippopotamus is deemed sacred in the district of Papremis ; but not so to the other Egyptians. The nature and appearance of this animal are these.—It is a quadruped, and cloven-footed :—having the hoof like an ox :—the nose flat :—the mane of a horse ; the teeth exposed and projecting :—the tail and the voice like a horse. In size he equals the very largest ox : his hide is so dense that, when dried, polished javelins are made of it. The river produces also otters, which are deemed sacred. Of all fishes those chiefly venerated are, that called *lepidotus* and the eel ; which, as they say, are the holy personages of the Nile. Among (water) birds the fox-goose holds the first rank. Yet there is another sacred bird called the phœnix, which indeed I have never seen, except in paintings ; for they come but rarely—not oftener (as the Heliopolitans affirm) than once in five hundred years. He then comes, they say, on the death of his father. The figure of this bird, if he resembles his picture, may be thus described :—his wings are golden and red : in size and appearance he greatly resembles an eagle. The phœnix is said—but for my own part I give no faith to the story, to act as follows :—He comes flying from Arabia to the temple of the sun, bearing (the body of) his father, conclosed in myrrh, which he buries in that temple. He brings him, it is said, in this manner :—first he moulds an egg of myrrh, as large as he is able to bear, and makes a trial of bearing it :—having proved his power to transport the mass, he hollows out the egg, and places his father in the cavity ; this done, he fills up the excavation with more myrrh, so as to make the weight of the whole equal to what it was before. All being plastered up, away he goes, with his burden, to the temple of the sun in Egypt. Such, say they, are the performances of this bird.

There are about Thebes sacred serpents entirely innoxious to man. They are of diminutive size, and have two horns sprout-

ing from the crown of the head, and when they die, they are buried in the temple of Jupiter, to whom they are said to be sacred. There is a district of Arabia, opposite nearly to Butos, which I visited, in order to inform myself relative to the winged serpents. When I arrived, I beheld the skeletons of serpents, an ineffable multitude:—the heaps of spines, were some larger, some less, and many smaller. This district where the spines are scattered about, is an exit from between mountains: the defile opens upon an extensive plain, which borders upon the plain of Egypt. The story goes, that in the spring the winged serpents fly from Arabia towards Egypt, when they are encountered in this pass by the birds—ibis, which suffer them not to proceed, but kill them. It is for this achievement, as the Arabians say, that the Egyptians hold the ibis in so much honour; and indeed they themselves acknowledge that they honour these birds on this account. The ibis may be thus described:—It is all over of a deep black; it has the legs of a stork; the bill crooked, and in size equal to that of the crex:—this is the form of the black ibis which fights with the serpents; but the species—for there are two—which most besets the haunts of man, has the head, in part, and the neck quite bare; the plumage white, except that of the head, throat, and extremities of the wings and tail, which, as I said, are all deep black; the legs and beak resemble those of the other species. As to the form of the serpent (above mentioned) it is much like a water snake: it sustains its flight, not with wings like a bird, but rather with membranes, such as those of the bat. So much for the sacred animals of Egypt.

SECTION IV.

HABITS AND USAGES OF THE EGYPTIANS.

Those of the Egyptians who inhabit the arable part of the

country are, of all men, the most eminent in storing the memory, and by far the most erudite of any persons with whom I have made acquaintance. The regimen they observe is as follows.—In pursuit of health they take a variety of strong medicines during three successive days of every month, believing that diseases of all kinds to which man is liable arise from the repletion of food. The Egyptians, next to the Libyans, are indeed of all men the most healthy. This, in my opinion, is attributable to their climate, which is not variable : for it is by changes, chiefly, that diseases are produced among men ; and of all changes, those of the weather are the most injurious. They subsist upon cakes, called *cyllestes*, made of the olyris (spelt or rye) and drink wine, prepared from barley ; for the vine does not grow in that district. Fish is used for food, of which some is eaten raw, being only dried in the sun, and some corned in brine. Of birds also they eat the quail, the duck, and smaller kinds, not otherwise cooked than by being cured. But other birds and fishes—excepting always those deemed sacred, they eat either baked or boiled.

In the convivial meetings of the rich, when supper is ended, there is borne about the image of a corpse, placed in its coffin, carved and painted as near as possible to the reality, and in length one cubit, or sometimes two. This is presented to each of the guests, and he is thus addressed—“ Looking at this, drink and be merry ; for such shall you be after death.”—Such is the practice at feasts. The Egyptians are too much attached to the customs of their ancestors to adopt any others. Among other things remarkable is a certain ballad, which is sung in Phœnicia, also in Cyprus, and elsewhere ; each people giving to it a name of their own : it is very much the same as that sung by the Greeks, and called by them *Linus* ; and while many things I met with in Egypt perplexed me, so this—whence the Egyptians received this song, for it seems certain that it has been in use among them from the most remote ages. The name they give it is *Maneros* ; and they say that the first king of Egypt had an only son so named, who died a minor, and that these lamenta-

tions are in honour of him. This is the first and the only ode extant among them.*

In one particular alone the Egyptians resemble some of the Greeks—namely the Lacedæmonians—their youth in meeting the aged, yield and give them the path, and rise from their places when their seniors enter. In this they are utterly unlike the rest of the Greeks. Instead of a salutation, the Egyptians, in meeting, do reverence to each other, dismissing the hand to the knee. They wear linen garments, having about the legs, fringes called *calasires*: over all they throw a cloak of white woollen cloth.—Yet they never wear woollen garments in entering the temples; nor are they buried in that material, which would be thought unholy. These observances are similar to those called the Orphæan, and the Bacchæan, in which the Egyptians agree with the Pythagoreans. For to none initiated in these rites, is it lawful to be buried in woollen; and a religious reason is given for the observance. Other institutions of this people may be mentioned. Each month and day is dedicated to one of the gods. They also, in observing the day of a man's birth, predict what will befall him—how he will die—and what sort of person he will be. Some of the Greek poets have followed the same practices. More prodigies have been noted by the Egyptians than by all other men besides; for whenever a prodigy occurs, they write it down, and preserve an account of the corresponding event; and if afterwards any thing similar happens, they anticipate what will take place. Their opinion relative to divination is this:—they think the art is possessed by no mortal, but by certain of the gods only. They have therefore among them oracles of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerva, of Diana, of Mars, of Jupiter; and that which above all the rest is esteemed by them, the oracle of Latona at Butos. The manner of giving responses at these several oracles is different at each.

The medical art is thus distributed by the Egyptians;—every disease has a physician to itself, who cures nothing else: all places are filled therefore with medical practitioners;—for there are doctors of the eyes, and doctors of the head, and

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doctors of the teeth, and of the stomach, and of all inward complaints. Their lamentations and funerals are conducted in the following manner.—On the demise of a man of respectability, all the females of the household cover their heads, and even faces with mud; and then leaving the corpse at home, traverse the city, lamenting, with their loins girt, and their bosoms bare. With them follow all the relatives. The men lament by themselves; they also girded. This done, they carry the dead to be embalmed. There are certain persons who practise this art. These, when they receive the corpse, exhibit to the persons who bring it, wooden models of bodies, painted to resemblance as patterns. The most elaborate of these models represents, they say, him whose name on this occasion I do not think it lawful to mention.* The second model is of an inferior kind, and cheaper; and the third is still less costly. These models being set forth, the embalmer asks—to which pattern they will have the dead prepared. The relatives agreeing as to the price to be paid, depart. The embalmers then proceed, at their own home, with their work, as follows—if the most costly method is to be practised. In the first place, with an iron hook, they extract the brains by the nose, or what remains by drugs injected. Then, with a sharp Ethiopian stone, they open the body, from which they remove all the contents; and having cleansed them, and suffused palm wine, they inject pounded aromatics. Then filling the cavity with pure bruised myrrh, and cassia, and other aromatics, excepting frankincense, they sow it up, and afterwards corn it in nitre, in which it lies seventy days; longer is not permitted. This time elapsed, the body is washed, and then bound about with bandages of fine linen (cotton) bespread with gum, which the Egyptians in most things use instead of glue. The relatives having received the body thus prepared, enclose it in a wooden case, which they make in resemblance of the human form. When so enclosed, they consign it, as a treasure, to the family sepulchre, placing it erect against the wall. This is the most costly mode of preserving the dead.

Those who, to avoid excessive expence, choose the middle

mode, have their relatives embalmed in the following manner. The body, instead of being opened and embowelled, is filled with an oil drawn from the cedar, and then steeped the allotted time in nitre; after which the injection, by its efficacy, clears the cavity of its contents, while the nitre has dissolved the flesh, leaving to the corpse only the skin and bones. This done, they deliver it to the relatives, without bestowing upon it further pains. The third method of embalming, practised only for the most indigent, consists in cleansing the body with drugs, and corning it the seventy days; after which it is delivered to those who remove it. Women of distinction are not carried to the embalmers till three or four days after death. If any one, whether an Egyptian or a stranger, is torn by a crocodile, or has perished in the river, when the body is found, the people of the city near which it lies, are bound, by an irrevocable necessity, to embalm it, and bury it with honour in the consecrated repositories. Nor is it lawful for any one, except the priests of the Nile, not even the relatives or friends of the deceased, to touch the body:—and these priests handle and bury it as if it were something more than the corpse of a man.

The Egyptians avoid adopting the customs of the Greeks, indeed I may say of any other people whatever. Yet though this is true of the Egyptians in general, there is a large city called Chemmis, in the plain of Thebes, near to Neapolis, where there is a quadrangular temple, surrounded with palm-trees, which is dedicated to Perseus, son of Danae. The vestibule of this temple is formed of stones of prodigious magnitude, upon which stand two colossal statues: within the precincts there is a chapel, containing an image of Perseus. The people of Chemmis affirm that Perseus frequently appears in that country, and often within the temple; and then one of the sandals he has worn is found, which measures two cubits in length. When he appears—so they say—the whole of Egypt is unusually productive. In his honour they celebrate a festival after the manner of the Greeks; for they have gymnastic games, with exercises of every kind; and to the victors they propose prizes of cattle, mantles, and skins.

When I inquired why Perseus was wont to appear to them only, and why they distinguished themselves from all their countrymen by celebrating gymnastic contests, they replied, "that Perseus was a citizen of their's, both Danaus and Lyncea, who sailed to Greece, being Chemmitans. Then reckoning the genealogies of these, they found Perseus in the line of descent. He, coming into Egypt, for the reason assigned by the Greeks, brought from Libya the Gorgon's head, and arrived among them acknowledging them all as his kinsmen. For when he came into Egypt he had already learned from his mother the name, Chemmis; and they had instituted gymnastic games to him at his command."

The customs before-mentioned are observed by all the Egyptians inhabiting the country above the marshes; but those who occupy the swampy levels, conform themselves to the usages of all the other Egyptians. Among other things, each man takes only one wife, like the Greeks. To augment the supply of food, they have discovered the following means.—When the inundation of the river is at its height, and the fields are covered with a sheet of water, a multitude of lilies grows in the water: this plant by the Egyptians is called the *lotus*. These being reaped, are dried in the sun, and in the centre of the lotus is what resembles a poppy seed, which being pounded, is made into loaves, and baked. The root of the lotus is also eatable, being of a mild sweetness: it is bulbous, and about the size of an apple. There is also another species of lily, not unlike the rose; this likewise grows in the river. The fruit of this plant is contained in a calix, growing on a separate stalk, from the same root, and is much like the comb of wasps: in this are many grains, fit for food, in size equal to the olive. These are eaten either green or dried. Moreover the papyrus, which springs up yearly, when it is gathered from the marshes, is used;—the upper part being cut off, is converted to various uses, while the lower part, which is left about a cubit in length, is eaten, or sold. Those who wish to taste the papyrus in perfection, have it baked in a bright oven, and so eat it. Some of these Egyptians subsist entirely upon fish, which, as soon as taken, are drawn

and dried in the sun ; and when so prepared are eaten, without other cooking.

Gregarious fishes are not, for the most part, produced in rivers ; but being bred in inlets, at a certain season of the year, betake themselves to the open sea ; the males leading the van : after a time they return to their proper haunts, the females then taking the lead : when the young are spawned, it is said the males devour the greater number, the species being continued by those that happen to escape. Fish of these kinds, if taken on their way seaward, are found to be bruised on the left side of the head ; but if caught when returning towards the shallows, they are bruised on the right side : which happens in this way ; — when they are outward bound, they coast along with the shore on the left ; but in returning they have it on the other side ; and that they may not be carried out of their course by the strength of the current, they press as near as possible upon the bottom. When the Nile begins to rise, the hollows and ditches in the lands near the river, as the water oozes into them, are soon filled, and instantly almost all these cavities abound with small fish. The reason of which, as it seems to me, may easily be given ; for as the Nile, in the preceding year, retires, the fish deposit their eggs in these cavities, and themselves take their departure with the latest ebb : in the returning season, no sooner does the water again come up, than these deposited eggs vivify, and fill these pools with life. So much for these fish.

The Egyptians inhabiting the borders of the marshes make use of an ointment pressed from the fruit of the Sillicyprian tree, called by them *Kiki*, which is thus obtained :—On the margins of the river and of the lakes they plant this tree, which in Greece grows spontaneously ; but when so cultivated yields an abundance of fruit of a fetid smell : this, when gathered, is either beaten and pressed, or toasted ; when the oil runs from it, and is collected. It is a fat oil, and not less proper for the lamp than that of the olive ; yet it diffuses a strong odour. The means devised to avoid the gnats which swarm in prodigious numbers, are these. Those who reside

(94)

at some elevation above the marshes, avail themselves of towers which they ascend to sleep; for the gnats, to avoid the winds, do not fly high. While those who dwell on the very margins of the marshes, instead of towers, practise another contrivance. Every man possesses a net, which, during the day, he employs in catching fish, and which at night he uses in his bed-chamber, where he places it over his couch, and so sleeps within it. For if any one sleeps wrapped in a cloak or cloth, the gnats will bite him through it; but they never attempt to penetrate the net.

The Egyptians frame their vessels of burden from a species of the thorn-tree, which in appearance much resembles the lotus of Cyrene, from which a gum exudes in drops. From this thorn they cut pieces of wood, of about two cubits in length: these are put together in the manner of tiles, to form the vessel. The pieces are connected by stout and long wooden pins. When the sides are thus formed, they place transverse beams above, without using any ribs; the joints are stopped on the inner side with the papyrus. The rudder is made to pass through the keel:—the mast is formed of the thorn; and the sails are of papyrus. These vessels are not able to stem the current of the river, except with a wind directly favourable; but are drawn along from the shore. In passing down the stream, the plan they adopt is this:—from the tamarisk-tree is formed a shutter or hurdle, wattled with reeds: they provide also a pierced stone weighing about two talents. The hurdle is fastened crossways by a rope to the bow of the vessel, and receives the current, while the stone is suspended by another rope from the stern. The vessel or barge, as it is called, is therefore borne swiftly along by means of the hurdle; while its course is directed by the stone which hangs in deep water behind. The Egyptians have great numbers of barges of this kind, and some of them carry many thousand talents' burden.

When the Nile comes up upon the country, the cities only are seen rising above the waters, and have an appearance very much resembling that of the islands of the Ægean Sea:—all besides throughout Egypt is one expanse of water. While

this continues, vessels no longer observe the channel of the river, but take their course across the plains. Thus those who pass from Naucratis to Memphis, sail by the Pyramids; whereas otherwise they would pass the point of the Delta, by Cercasora: and thus also in sailing from the sea and Canobis to Naucratis, you pass over the plain near the cities called Anthylla and Archandrus. Anthylla is a place of note, and its revenues are assigned always to the wife of the reigning king of Egypt, for the purchase of her shoes. This custom was established while Egypt was subject to the Persians. The other city, just mentioned, seems to me to have received its name from the son-in-law of Danaus—Archandrus of Phthia, son of Achæus. There may indeed have been some other Archandrus, who gave his name to the city; but assuredly the name is not Egyptian.

Thus far I have reported the result of my personal observations, or knowledge, or researches. I now proceed to relate the history of Egypt as I heard it from the people themselves; with which however I shall mingle some things that fell under my own inspection.

SECTION V

REMOTE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

The priests affirm that the first king who reigned in Egypt was Menes: he raised a dyke at Memphis; for anciently the river flowed near the sandy hills which skirt Libya; but he, filling up the river, at the turn it makes about a hundred furlongs southward of Memphis, laid the old channel dry, and led the stream mid-way between the mountains. And indeed in the time of the Persians, this elbow of the Nile, where it is shut out by a dyke, was watched with especial

B. C.
2235
to
2173.

care, being newly banked up every year; for if the river were to break over this mound, all Memphis would be in danger of inundation. This Menes—the first of the kings, having drained the ground which he had secluded, founded on the spot the city now called Memphis. Memphis is situated in the narrowest part of Egypt. Without the city he dug a reservoir from the river towards the north and west; for towards the east it was bounded by the Nile itself. The same monarch reared at Memphis a vast and justly renowned temple of Vulcan. After him reigned 330 kings, whose names the priests recounted to me from a record. In this long succession of princes there were included eighteen Ethiopians, and one woman—a native Egyptian. The name of this Egyptian queen was the same as that of the Babylonian queen—Nitocris. It is reported of her that she signally avenged her brother—a king whom the people had slain,—transferring the sovereign authority to her. She procured her revenge in destroying many of the Egyptians by a stratagem. — She caused a spacious subterraneous hall to be excavated, and concealing her purpose, professed that she had a new design to execute.* Then she invited to a feast many of the Egyptians—those especially whom she knew to have taken part in her brother's death: while they were feasting, she let in the river, by a large but secret canal, upon them. Such is the story of this queen, concerning whom it is added that, as soon as she had accomplished her purpose, she withdrew into a sepulchre,† in order to escape the vengeance of the people. Of the other kings they related nothing memorable or illustrious, excepting only the last of them, named Mœris, who constructed the celebrated vestibule to the northern front of the temple of Vulcan. He also dug a lake, the extent of which I shall presently mention; and in the midst of it raised two pyramids, which I shall at the same time describe. The other kings left no

B. C.
1424.

* The text seems altered in this place: the author probably wrote—
'professing to construct a banquetting-room.'

† Literally—'she threw herself into a chamber filled with ashes.'

signal monuments of their reigns. Passing them by therefore, we mention the monarch who succeeded them, named Sesostris. This king first—as the priests affirmed—sending a fleet of ships of war from the Arabian Gulph, subdued the nations inhabiting the shores of the Red Sea. Proceeding onwards, he came to a sea too full of shallows to be navigated. Returning thence, as they say, he raised a large army, which he led through the countries, subduing all that came in his way. Whenever he met with a people who opposed him valiantly, and pertinaciously clung to their liberties, he erected columns in their land, on which were inscriptions, setting forth his name, and descent, and how by his forces he had vanquished them. But in those cities which he had taken easily, and without resistance, he set up pillars, bearing inscriptions of the same import; but accompanied with an ignominious emblem of the womanish cowardice of the people. In this way he traversed the continent, till he passed from Asia into Europe, subduing as well the Scythians as the Thracians. And here, as I think, the progress of the Egyptian army terminated; for in these regions are seen the columns just mentioned, but not further. From thence, retracing his steps towards home, he arrived at the river Phasis. Nor am I able certainly to affirm whether this king Sesostris himself settled a portion of his army as a colony in this region, or whether a part of his men, indignant at his wanderings, remained behind on the margin of the Phasis. Yet the Colchians appear plainly to be Egyptians. I say this as well from my own observation as from the assertions of others. Being solicitous to discover the fact, I made inquiries of both people, and found that the Colchians have more recollection of the Egyptians than the Egyptians of the Colchians; yet the latter think them to be of Egyptian extraction, and to have descended from the army of Sesostris. This indeed I had before conjectured, not merely because the Colchians are black in complexion, and have woolly hair—for the same may be said of some other nations; but rather because of all men none but the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians, *originally* practised circumcision; for the Phœnicians and

Syrians of Palestine, themselves acknowledge that they learned this custom of the Egyptians. And the Syrians on the banks of the Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours, the Macrones, profess that they have in this usage only of late followed the Colchians. These then are the only people circumcised, and these evidently have all herein followed the Egyptians. But of the Egyptians and Ethiopians it cannot be said which derived it from the other; it seems to be of high antiquity. That the nations above named learned it by intercourse with the Egyptians, I am convinced from this circumstance, namely, that the Phœnicians who settle among the Greeks cease to do so; and their descendants are never thus distinguished. I will now mention another instance of similarity between the Colchians and the Egyptians. These two people alone fabricate linens in the same mode. Besides that their mode of life, and their language are alike. The Colchian linen is indeed by the Greeks called *Sardonian*, while that brought from Egypt is named from the people who make it.

Of the columns erected in different countries by Sesostris, few are now to be seen. Yet in the Syrian Palestine I myself saw some bearing the above-mentioned inscription, and the emblem of ignominy. And there are in Ionia two images of this man, cut in the rock.* The one is seen in the road from Ephesus to Phocæa; and the other in that from Sardis to Smyrna; in both of them the figure is carved the height of five spans, holding in the right hand a spear; in the left, a bow, and the habiliments agree therewith, being partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian.† From shoulder to shoulder, across the chest, there is carved an inscription in the Egyptian hieroglyphic character, to this effect:—"This region I acquired with my arms." Who he was, or whence, is not there made known; but is elsewhere declared. And hence it has happened that some persons, though very erroneously, in seeing these sculptures, have imagined that they represented Memnon. This Sesostris, as the priests relate, returning to

* Bas reliefs, probably similar to those of Persepolis.

† The bow was an Ethiopian weapon

Egypt with captives from a multitude of cities and countries he had conquered, was received at the Pelusian Daphne by his brother, to whom he had committed the government of Egypt. This brother inviting him and his sons to his home, collected a quantity of wood around the house, and set fire to it. Sesostris informed of this, forthwith consulted with his wife, who accompanied him. She advised him, as he had six sons, to take two of them, and lay them across the burning materials as a bridge, over which the rest might pass, and be saved. This Sesostris did: two therefore of his sons were burned, while the others, with their father, escaped. When he regained his home, he avenged himself on his brother.

The host he led back with him from the conquered countries, he employed in drawing those enormous stones which, in this king's reign were collected at the temple of Vulcan. He also compelled them to dig unwillingly all those trenches by which Egypt is now intersected. Before this trenching, Egypt everywhere was permeable by cavalry and chariots; but since that time, though a level region, it has become inaccessible to horses and chariots, by reason of the infinity of canals crossing it in every direction. The country was thus intersected by the king for the benefit of those cities which were situated at a distance from the river, and which, when the inundation subsided, suffering the want of water, were obliged to drink from brackish ponds. It is this king who is affirmed to have parcelled out the whole of Egypt, bestowing a square lot of equal size upon every man; and upon each a certain tax was imposed, to be paid yearly. If any one's lot happened to be infringed upon by the river, he made known the fact to the king, who despatched overseers to ascertain, by measurement, how much such a parcel of land had lost, in order that in future a proportionate part of the tribute might be remitted. I am of opinion that from hence geometry took its rise, which afterwards was introduced into Greece. For it was from the Babylonians that the Greeks learned concerning the pole of the earth—the solar gnomon, and the twelve parts of the day.

This king Sesostris, alone of the Egyptian monarchs, ruled over Ethiopia. He left monuments of himself in figures of stone, placed in front of the temple of Vulcan. Two of them, representing himself and his wife, are thirty cubits high; the others are of his four sons, twenty cubits high. A long time afterwards a priest of Vulcan refused to permit a statue of Darius the Persian to be placed in front of these colossal images. "For," said he, "the exploits of Darius are not comparable to those of the Egyptian Sesostris, who, besides conquering as many nations as the Persian, subdued also the Assyrians, whom Darius was unable to reduce. It would not, therefore, be just to place in front of his statues, the image of one whose deeds are inferior." Darius, it is said, excused this reply.

B. C.
1357.

After Sesostris, his son Pheron is said to have ascended the throne. He undertook no military expedition; but it happened to him to become blind in the following manner:—The river rising at that time to the height of eighteen feet, and overflowing the fields, there happened a gale of wind, which produced a swell of waves. The king, in a fit of passion, seizing a spear, threw it into the midst of the billows. Presently his eyes were affected with disease, and he became blind. Ten years he continued in this state. In the eleventh year there came to him an oracular message from the city Buto, to this effect—"That the time of his punishment was expired, and he should see again, if he washed his eyes with a lotion administered to him by a virtuous woman." He therefore first sought the remedy from his own wife; but without effect: then he made trial of many others. At length he found the expected cure; when, bringing together all the women who had afforded him no relief, he placed them in a certain city, now called Erythrebolus (Red-soil) where, shutting them up together, he burned them all with the city: he afterwards married the woman by whose means he had recovered his sight. The offerings he made on this occasion were various in all the more noted temples; but that gift which chiefly deserves record, as especially it attracts attention, consists of two obelisks, at the temple of the sun, each

formed of a single stone, and each measuring a hundred cubits in length, and eight in breadth.

The next monarch was, as it is said, a Memphian, who, in the language of the Greeks, is called Proteus. The beautiful and well furnished sanctuary of this king is seen at Memphis, on the southern side of the temple of Vulcan. Around this sanctuary dwell certain Phœnicians of Tyre, and all this district is called—the camp of the Tyrians. Within the sacred precincts of Proteus, is an edifice named the Temple of the foreign Venus: and I conjecture that this temple was dedicated to Helen, daughter of Tyndarus, both because I have heard that Helen lived with Proteus, and because that the name—the Foreign Venus is a peculiar cognomen, or appellation; for among all the other temples of this goddess, none is so designated. When I inquired of the priests concerning Helen, they gave me the following account.—Alexander (Paris) having carried off Helen, sailed for his own country. But while passing the Ægæan sea, strong contrary winds drove him into the Egyptian sea; and not abating, carried him on till he arrived in Egypt, at Tarichea, by the Canobian mouth of the Nile. He came ashore near the temple of Hercules, which still exists.—According to the law of the place, if any man's servant took refuge in this temple, and received the sacred stigmas—surrendering himself to the god, it was not lawful for him to be laid hold of.* This law has continued in force from its first institution to the present day. The attendants of Paris being informed of the law of this sanctuary, fell away from him, and seated themselves as suppliants to the god, intending to accuse and injure him, by relating his conduct towards Helen, and the wrong he had done to Menelaus. This accusation they preferred, not only before the priests, but in presence also of the warden of the river's mouth, whose name was Thonis. This officer, hearing these things, instantly despatched a message to Proteus, at Memphis, to this effect:—"A stranger has arrived—by nation a Trojan;

B. C.
1291.

* See an allusion to this usage, Gal. vi. 17.—"Henceforward let no man trouble me," &c.

but who has perpetrated a wicked deed in Greece, having seduced the wife of his host, and leading her, and having also immense treasures, has been borne by contrary winds upon your coasts.—Shall we then suffer him to sail away unhurt; or shall we seize what he has brought?" To this inquiry, Proteus replied, "This man, whoever he may be, having thus evil entreated his host;—arrest, and bring him to me, that I may know what he will say."

Thonis having received this answer, apprehended Paris, and detained his ships, and then conducted him to Memphis, with Helen and his treasures: he also brought the suppliants (servants). All being arrived, Proteus asked Paris who he was, and where he had sailed. And he in reply declared his family, and his country, and the course of his voyage. Proteus then inquired whence he had taken Helen. Paris then prevaricated, and falsified his story, in which he was confuted by the suppliants, who narrated all the circumstances of the crime. In the end, Proteus pronounced this sentence—"If it were not that I make it an inviolable rule not to put to death any stranger who may have been driven upon my shores by adverse winds, I would avenge upon you the quarrel of that Greek. You!—the most wicked of men, who, while receiving hospitalities, have perpetrated the worst of all crimes—approaching the wife of your host: nor was that enough; but you stole and carried her away: nor did that even content you; but you come loaded with the spoils of your hosts' house. Now since I must forbear to put a stranger to death, I forbid you to take away this woman, or the treasures, which I will retain for the Greek, in case he should wish to come and take them away. As for yourself, and those who sail with you, I enjoin you, within three days, to steer away from my country, to some other. If not, I shall look upon you as enemies."

Such were the circumstances under which, according to the priests, Helen came to Proteus. And it seems to me, that Homer had learned this story; yet not thinking it well suited to the epic forms, he adopted another; and yet in doing so, makes it manifest that he was not ignorant of this. This

appears when, in the *Iliad*, (and no where else does he give a different account,) he describes the wanderings of Paris with Helen; he mentions that he came, in the course of his various journeyings to the Phœnician Sidon. He refers to this in that part of the *Iliad*, entitled the Bravery of Diomed,* the verses are as follow :—

“ There lay the vestures of no vulgar art,
Sidonian maids embroidered every part,
Whom from soft Sidon youthful Paris bore,
With Helen touching on the Tyrian shore.”

Il. VI. 360. (Pope.) Gr. 289.

He mentions the same subject again in the *Odyssey* :—

“ These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,
Bright Helen learned from Thone’s imperial wife;
Who swayed the sceptre where prolific Nile
With various simples clothes the fattened soil.”

Od. IV. 315. Gr. 227.

And again, where Menelaus addresses Telemachus :—

“ Long on the Egyptian coast by calms confined,
Heaven to my fleet refused a prosperous wind;
No vows had we preferred, nor victims slain !”

Od. IV. 473. Gr. 351.

In these passages, the poet makes it evident that he was acquainted with the fact, that Paris wandered into Egypt. For Syria borders upon Egypt, and the Phœnicians to whom Sidon belongs, inhabit Syria. From these verses, and especially from the last, it appears that the Cyprian poems are not Homer’s, but of some other author: for in the Cyprian poems it is said that, on the third day after leaving Sparta, Paris arrived at Ilium, with Helen; having had a favourable wind and a smooth sea. Whereas, in the *Iliad* it

* The poems of Homer were anciently distributed into portions, severally designated from the principal subject contained in them.

is said, that he led her by a devious course. So much for Homer and the Cyprian verses. When I inquired of the priests whether the account of the Trojan war given by the Greeks was fictitious or not; they said that the following facts had been learned from Menelaus himself.

After the carrying away of Helen, a large army of Greeks, espousing the cause of Menelaus, proceeded towards the Trojan territory. Having disembarked, and formed their encampment, they despatched an embassy, in which Menelaus himself was included, to Ilium. The ambassadors, when they entered within the walls, demanded Helen, and the treasures stolen by Paris; as well as vengeance for the injury. To this demand the Trojans replied, by affirming what they have always since maintained—with and without oaths—that they had neither Helen nor the treasures in question, which were all in Egypt; and that it was unjust that they should be required to undergo a penalty on account of what was in possession of Proteus, the Egyptian king. The Greeks thinking themselves mocked by the Trojans, besieged the city till they took it. When the fortification was captured, as Helen did not appear, and as they still received the same declaration as at first, the Greeks at last believed the statement, and therefore sent Menelaus to Proteus. Menelaus arriving in Egypt, and sailing up to Memphis, related all that had happened—was treated with signal hospitality—received Helen unhurt, and with her, all his treasures. And yet, though thus obliged, Menelaus evil-requited the Egyptians. For being desirous to depart, and the winds continuing a long time contrary, he perpetrated a lawless deed—seizing two youths, the sons of Egyptians, he sacrificed them as victims. When this became known, Menelaus being hated and pursued by the Egyptians, sailed away towards Libya, and what course he took from thence, they know not. With these events they professed themselves to be accurately acquainted, partly by inquiries, and partly because some of these circumstances had taken place among themselves. Such then is the account given me by the Egyptian priests; and I am inclined to assent to so much of it as relates to Helen, and I think that if she had indeed been in Troy,

the Trojans would have delivered her to the Greeks, with or without the consent of Paris. For truly, neither Priam nor the members of his family were so infatuated as to put in peril their own persons, their children, and their city, merely that Paris might retain Helen as his wife. Or even if at the first they had formed such a resolution, after many of the Trojans, in every encounter with the Greeks, had perished; and when, if the epic poets are to be believed, more than two or three of the sons of Priam had fallen, I cannot but think that, even if Helen had been the wife of Priam himself, he would have surrendered her to the Greeks, to be freed from the ills which pressed upon him. Nor may we suppose that Priam being old, the royal authority was about to pass into the hands of Paris; for Hector was at once the eldest, and a man much superior to his brother, and who, on the death of Priam, would succeed him. And that Hector should yield to his brother, whose conduct had been so iniquitous, and thereby bring upon himself personally, and upon all the Trojans, the heaviest calamities, is not at all probable. But they had not Helen with them: yet in declaring this truth, they were not believed by the Greeks. And this happened, if I may declare my opinion, by the appointment of divine providence, that so they, utterly perishing, might make it evident to mankind, that the gods inflict great punishments upon those who commit great crimes. This at least is the light in which the facts appear to me.

To Proteus succeeded Rampsinitus, who, as a memorial of his reign, left the western portico of the temple of Vulcan. Opposite to this porch he placed two statues, five and twenty cubits in height. The Egyptians give the name of summer to the figure which stands on the northern side; while they call the other winter:—the former they worship and propitiate; the other, on the contrary, they treat with contempt. This king amassed, they say, an amount of riches which none of his successors has been able to surpass, or even nearly to equal.* Wishing to place his wealth in security, he erected

B. C.
1237.

* If in making this translation I had thought myself at liberty to excise the worthless portions of my author's work, I should certainly

an edifice of stone, of which one of the walls formed the exterior of the palace. The man who executed the work, adopted the following contrivance.—He prepared a single stone of the wall, which might readily be removed from its place by two men, or even by one. The building being completed, the king deposited his treasures in it. After some time had elapsed, the architect, being at the point of death, summoned his sons—he had two—and to them declared in what way he had provided for the competency of their future lives, by the contrivance he had executed in building the royal treasury. Then he accurately described to them the mode of extracting the stone; giving them its measurement, and telling them that if they regarded his instructions, they would become the dispensers of the royal treasures. The sons did not long delay, after the death of their father, to set themselves to the work. Approaching the palace by night, they discovered the stone, easily removed it, and bore away much of the treasure. When next the king happened to open the treasury, he wondered to see the diminution of money in the jars. Nor did he know whom to accuse; for the seals were entire, and the treasury shut. After two or three times opening the place, and seeing the treasure each time diminished—for the thieves had not ceased to carry on their depredations—he took this course:—He commanded gins to be made, and placed among the jars containing the money. The plunderers, coming as before, one of them, in approaching a jar, fell in, and was instantly detained by the trap: as soon as he understood his misfortune, he called his brother, and telling him what was his situation, enjoined him immediately to enter, and to cut off his head, lest being seen and recognized, he, as well as himself, should miserably perish. The other approving this counsel, obeyed, and then refitting the stone, went home, carrying with him the head of his

have omitted the foolish story which occupies the following pages. The reader may well save the time required to peruse it. Gibbon says with truth—Herodotus writes sometimes for children, sometimes for philosophers.

brother. As soon as it was day, the king entering the treasury, was astounded on seeing the headless body of the thief in the trap, while the building was untouched and neither entrance nor exit could be seen. In his perplexity he adopted the following measures.—He caused the body of the thief to be suspended on the wall, and placing guards about it, commanding them to seize and bring to him, any one whom they might observe to weep, or express commiseration. The mother of this youth was grievously distressed by the suspension of the body, and conversed with her surviving son, whom she enjoined, by any means that were practicable, to contrive to unfasten and bring away the corpse of his brother: and she threatened, that if he neglected to do so, she would herself go to the king and make known to him in whose hands the treasure was. Thus treated by his mother, and unable to move her from her purpose, he had recourse to a stratagem. He procured several asses, which he loaded with vessels filled with wine, and then drove them along. When he came near the guards who watched the suspended body, he drew the pendant plugs of two or three of the vessels; as the wine ran out, he struck his head, and bawled aloud, as if he knew not towards which of the asses he should first turn. The guards seeing so much wine running out, rushed into the road, stayed the vessels, and received the wine, thinking it a fortunate accident for themselves. He feigning anger, reviled them all. The guards endeavoured to soothe him, and at length he affected to be softened, and to dismiss his wrath. In the end he drove his asses out of the road, as if to set them again in order. More conversation took place, and as the men began to jeer and jest with him, he gave them one of the vessels of wine: receiving this they turned aside, thinking only of emptying it. They took hold therefore of the youth, and insisted upon his remaining to drink with them: he seemed to be persuaded and remained; and they so civilly treated him in their potations that he gave them another vessel of wine. The guards then drinking profusely, became completely intoxicated, and presently fell asleep on the spot where they had drunk. The youth, when the night was far advanced, first disengaged the body of his

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brother, and then, for mockery, shaved all their right cheeks. This done, he placed the corpse upon the asses, and drove them home:—thus accomplishing the behest of his mother. The king was deeply chagrined to learn that the body of the thief had been stolen; and resolving by all means to discover who it was that had executed these schemes, commanded his own daughter to frequent public places, and to form acquaintance indiscriminately with all she might meet, and to win from them a confession of their most villainous and most astute exploits; and if any of those she met with should mention the robbery in question, to detain him. The young thief becoming acquainted with this plot, and being resolved in every way to surpass the king in cunning, cut off the hand of a man recently dead, which he concealed under his cloak. Thus provided he visited the king's daughter, and when she put to him the question, he confessed that the most atrocious act he had ever committed was the having cut off his brother's head, when caught in a trap in the king's treasury;—and the most cunning deed, was the making the guards drunk, and so taking away the suspended body of his brother. She hearing this, endeavoured to seize the youth; but the thief put forward the dead hand, which she laid hold of, thinking to detain him: while he, leaving it with her, escaped by the door and fled. When this was related to the king he was amazed, both at the adroitness and the audacity of the man, and in the end, sending a herald from city to city, promised security and even handsome entertainment to the man if he would present himself before him. The thief confiding in the promise, came forward, and Rampsinitus greatly admiring his ability, gave him his daughter in marriage, deeming him the most expert of men: for as the Egyptians were accounted to surpass in intelligence all mankind, so he, all the Egyptians.

After these events, this king, as the priests affirmed, descended alive into that place beneath the earth where the Greeks suppose Hades is situated; and there he played at dice with Ceres, sometimes gaining the advantage, and sometimes losing the game. He again made his way to the upper regions, having received from her, as a gift, a golden towel.

This descent and return of Rampsinitus is, they say, commemorated by the Egyptians in a festival, which indeed I know to have been observed in my time; but whether on this, or some other account, I am not able to say. A mantle woven the same day by the priests is worn by one of them, whose eyes are bound with a turban. The other priests then conduct him into the road leading to the temple of Ceres, and retire. This blinded priest, as they say, is conducted by two wolves to the temple of Ceres, distant about twenty furlongs from the city, and then is brought back from the temple by the wolves to the same spot. Let every one believe these Egyptian stories to whom they may appear credible. For my own part I propose to myself, throughout this history, only to report what I have heard from others. According to the Egyptians, Ceres and Bacchus preside over the infernals; and the Egyptians also are the first who have maintained the doctrine that the soul of man is immortal; for they affirm, that when the body perishes the soul enters always into some other animal; and when it has made the circuit of all terrestrial and marine animals and birds, it, again puts on the human body. This circuit, they say, is accomplished in three thousand years. There are, among the Greeks, those who have adopted this opinion—some earlier, others later, and have professed it to be their own. The names of these men I know, but refrain to mention.

Up to the time of Rampsinitus, and during his reign, all Egypt, it is said, enjoyed the benefits of good government, and great prosperity. But he was succeeded by Cheops, who hurried forward every wickedness: for he closed all the temples; and having first prohibited sacrifices, then commanded all the Egyptians to labour for himself. On some he imposed the task of bringing stones from the Arabian quarries to the Nile. These stones, being conveyed in barges across the river, he obliged others to receive, and transport them as far as what is called the Libyan mountain. These labours they performed in companies of 100,000 men each, which was relieved every three months. During ten years of the time in which the people were thus oppressed, they formed a road,

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along which these stones were conveyed. And this work I think was little inferior to the pyramid itself; for the length of it was five furlongs, the width ten fathoms, and the height eight fathoms, where the level is at the greatest elevation above the ground. It is formed of polished stones, sculptured with the figures of animals. Ten years we say were consumed in forming this causeway, and a long period in excavating the eminence on which the pyramids stand, where he constructed a sepulchre for himself, in an island, made by leading the waters of the Nile in a canal to the place. The pyramid which occupied twenty years in building, is quadrangular;—each side measuring, both in width and height, eight hundred feet. The stones are polished, and fitted in the most exact manner, and none of them is less than thirty feet in length.

The mode of constructing the pyramid was this:—It was built in the manner of steps, which some call copings, others altarets. When one grade was completed, they raised upon it the stones required for the next, by means of small pieces of wood (wedges?) The stone thus elevated from the ground to the first range, and from that to the one above it, when it reached its resting place was placed on another machine (or system of wedges) ready prepared to receive and raise it; for as many ascents as there were, so many machines also: or perhaps there might be one machine, easily lifted, which was lifted from grade to grade, as often as a stone was to be raised.—We mention both methods as we heard them. In finishing the structure, they began at the summit and worked downward to the base. Upon the pyramid is signified in Egyptian characters, what sum was expended in the purchase of radishes, onions, and garlick, for the workmen. And I remember that my interpreter, when he read the inscription, told me that it amounted to 1,600 talents of silver. If so, what must we, in reason, suppose to have been the cost of the iron employed in the work, and of the provisions and clothing of the workmen, calculating for the time above mentioned? and, as I think no little time ought to be reckoned for cutting the stones—for bringing them, and for forming the excavations.

To such an extreme of wickedness did Cheops proceed, that

when he wanted money, he shamelessly employed his daughter to collect it by the worst means. How much she amassed is not said; but it is affirmed, that, besides what she gathered for her father, she, wishing to leave a monument of herself, exacted from each man the value of one stone; and with these stones it is said she constructed a pyramid — namely, that which stands between the three, and in front of the great pyramid. Each side of her pyramid measures 150 feet. This Cheops reigned, as the Egyptian say, fifty years: on his death his brother Chephren ascended the throne, who followed the same course, as well in other things, as in constructing a pyramid: yet not of the same magnitude—we measured both, neither does it contain subterranean chambers; nor a channel, like the other, from the Nile, forming within the structure an island, on which it is said the body of Cheops reposes. The first range of this pyramid of Chephren is faced with variegated Ethiopian marble: it measures less, by forty feet, than the other, near which it stands: both occupy the same activity, which rises about a hundred feet above the plain. This king reigned, it is said, fifty-six years. This period of 106 years is stated to have been a time of utter wretchedness to the Egyptians; for during the whole of it the temples that had been closed were never opened. And in such detestation is the memory of these kings held that the Egyptians unwillingly mention their names; and designate the two pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philition, who, at that time, fed his herds in that region.

B. C.
1132.

Mycerinus, son of Cheops, reigned after Chephren. He disapproved the conduct of his father—opened the temples, and the people, harrassed with extreme miseries, he allowed to mind their own affairs, and to fulfil the rites of religion. He is said to have surpassed all other kings in the equity of his decisions; and he is extolled on this account above any monarch that has ever reigned in Egypt. Though always judging impartially, yet he was accustomed, when any one thought himself aggrieved by his decision, to make him a present in order to mitigate his chagrin.—So indulgent was Mycerinus towards the people! Yet, while thus pursuing their

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1076.

welfare, calamities befel him ; the first of which was the death of his daughter, an only child : exceedingly afflicted by this misfortune, and wishing to give her sepulture in some extraordinary mode, he caused a wooden heifer to be formed, hollow within, and overlaid with gold, and in this he deposited the remains of his daughter. This heifer was not placed under ground, but in my time remained visible. It is at Saïs, and stands in a richly furnished chamber of the royal palace. Aromatics of all kinds are every day burned before it ; and at night a lamp constantly burns near it. In an adjoining chamber stand colossal wooden statues, which, as the priests of Saïs affirm, represent the women of Myrcerinus : there are about twenty of them. Whether or not the account given of them is correct, I am unable to say. There are those who give a different account of the heifer and of the colossal figures, affirming that, on occasion of a disagreement between Mycerinus and his daughter, she, through chagrin, destroyed herself, and was thus deposited by her father, while her mother cut off the hands of the maids who had taken part with him against his daughter ; for which reason these statues are mutilated in the same manner. But I think this is an idle tale ; at least what relates to the hands of the colossal figures ; for when I saw them it appeared that the hands had fallen from decay, in the course of ages ; and indeed they were then lying at the feet of the statues. The heifer above mentioned, is covered in part by a purple mantle : the neck and head are thickly embossed with gold. Between the horns is a golden disk, representing the sun. The heifer is not in a standing posture ; but kneeling, and in size is equal to the largest animal of the kind. Once in every year it is brought from its chamber, and sees the day ; on which occasion the Egyptians lament a god not to be named by me while speaking on such a subject. It is said that the daughter, while dying, entreated of her father that once in every year she might see the sun.

After the death of his daughter, a second calamity befel this king.—An oracular message was sent to him from Butos, to this effect—“ That he had six years only to live, and should die in the seventh.” He, taking this in ill part, returned to

the god a reproachful answer, complaining that his father and uncle who had closed the temples, and had neglected the gods, and ruined their people, had both lived to an advanced age; while he who was religious, must so speedily die." In answer to this reproach a second message arrived from the oracle, which ran thus,—“He must so speedily die because he had not accomplished that which it was necessary should take place; for Egypt was fated to be oppressed during one hundred and fifty years:—this had been understood by the two kings, his predecessors, but not by him.” Hearing this, Mycerinus perceived himself already condemned: he therefore caused a great number of lamps to be prepared, which were every night to be lit; and he passed day and night without intermission in drinking and voluptuousness; or in wandering through the plains and groves wherever he knew that soft delights were followed. This he did with the intention of falsifying the oracle, (*or, of defrauding it*) for in turning the nights into days, he thought to make twelve years of six. This king also left a pyramid—much smaller indeed than that of his father, each of the four sides measuring 280 feet. Half of its height is faced with Ethiopian marble. Some Greeks, there are, who erroneously say that this pyramid was raised by the courtesan Rhodopis. To me it is evident that they know not who Rhodopis was, or they would not have attributed to her a pyramid, which must have cost—so to speak—countless thousands of talents. Besides, Rhodopis flourished in the reign, not of Mycerinus, but of Amasis, very many years after the time of the kings who built these pyramids. Rhodopis was a woman of Thrace, the slave of Jadmon (son) of Hephæstopolis, the Samian; and she was the fellow-servant of Æsop the fabulist. That Æsop belonged to Jadmon is proved, among other things, by this—that after the Delphians, at the instigation of the oracle, had often made proclamation for some one who would take up (or receive) the forfeit imposed on them for the death of Æsop,* no one appeared but the grandson of Jadmon, who also bore that name, and he took it up. Æsop therefore must have been the slave of his ancestor.

Rhodopis was brought into Egypt by Xanthus the Samian, and was there redeemed at an enormous price by a citizen of Mitylene, named Charaxus, son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the song-writer. Rhodopis thus liberated, remained in Egypt, where she amassed great wealth—that is to say, great for such a one as Rhodopis; yet not such as should enable her to build a pyramid like this. Riches so prodigious must not be attributed to this woman; for the value of the tenth part of her fortune may still be seen by any one who wishes. Rhodopis, wishing to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, imagined such a thing as no one else ever dreamed of offering at a temple.—She expended the tenth part of her possessions in making an immense number of iron spits, for roasting oxen: these she dedicated at Delphi; and they are at this day piled up behind the altar which the Chians placed opposite the temple. This woman became so celebrated—even beyond those of Nancratis—that her name was known throughout Greece. A like fame, though not to an equal degree, was afterwards acquired by a woman named Archidica. Charaxus who redeemed Rhodopis, returned to Mitylene, and was severely satirized by Sappho. But enough of Rhodopis.

Asychis, as the priests affirm, reigned after Mycerinus. He built the most spacious and the most beautiful of the porticos to the temple of Vulcan—that on the eastern side. All these porches are sculptured and adorned with a thousand architectural devices; but this more than any. Under this prince, it is said, there prevailed a stagnation of money, to relieve which a law was given to the Egyptians, allowing a man to pawn the (embalmed) corpse of his father, as security for a debt: and as a consequence of this law, the lender acquired an exclusive right of occupying the family depositary of the borrower; so that if he who had surrendered this valuable pledge refused to repay the debt, neither he, nor any of his house, could be buried in the family vault; nor indeed in any other place. This king, wishing to surpass all the kings of Egypt, his predecessors, determined to construct a pyramid of bricks. It bears an inscription, cut in stone, to

the following purport:—"Contemn me not in comparing me with the pyramids of stone. For I excel them as much as Jupiter excels the other gods.—I was constructed with bricks, formed of clay, that was lifted from the bottom of the lake by a scoop." Such were the deeds of this king.

After him reigned a blind king, named Anysis, of the city Anysis. During his reign Egypt was invaded by a large army of Ethiopians, under Sabacon, their king. The blind Anysis retired, and took refuge in the marshes; and the Ethiopian ruled Egypt fifty years: the acts of his reign were such as these.—When any Egyptian committed a crime, he refused to inflict death; but enjoined the criminal, according to the proportion of his guilt, to raise a mound of earth at the city to which he belonged. By this means the cities became elevated much higher than they were raised even in the time of Sesostris, by those who dug the trenches. It seems to me that among all the cities of Egypt, in this way elevated, none was so much raised as Bubastis, the city where stands the justly celebrated temple of Bubastis. Other temples are indeed more spacious, or more costly; but none excels this in the agreeableness of its aspect. Bubastis, in the Greek tongue, is Diana. The plan of this temple may be thus described. Excepting the entrance, the entire precincts are insulated; for there are canals from the Nile, which do not communicate—each, after surrounding one side, terminating at the entrance to the temple. The width of these canals is a hundred feet, and they are overshadowed with trees. The porch rises to the height of ten fathoms, and is adorned with admirable figures, six cubits in height. The temple, which is situated in the centre of the city, is exposed to view on every side; for while the city around has been elevated, the temple stands on its original level; and so may every where be seen (*as at the bottom of a basin*). The outer wall is covered with sculptured figures. Within the precincts there is a sacred grove of large trees, surrounding the great edifice, which contains the image of the goddess: the temple (*including the whole of the sacred spot*) measures a furlong, both in length and breadth. Opposite to the entrance is a causeway of stone,

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1006.

nearly three furlongs in length, and 400 feet in width: this road passes through the principal square of the city, and runs east and west to the temple of Mercury. Throughout the way there are lofty trees. Such is this temple.

The retreat of the Ethiopian king from Egypt happened, as they say, in the following manner:—He took his departure from the circumstance of having seen a vision, in which he thought he saw a man standing before him, who advised him to collect together all the priests of Egypt, and cut them asunder. After seeing this vision, he is reported to have declared, that he thought the gods had herein presented him with an occasion on which, by violating all principles of religion, he might become obnoxious to calamities from the gods themselves, or from men. This he would not do; but thought rather that the time was arrived when he was destined to quit the throne of Egypt: for while he was yet in Ethiopia, the oracle consulted by the Ethiopians had declared to him that he should govern Egypt fifty years. As therefore that period was now expired, and as moreover he had been affrighted by this vision of the night, Sabacon voluntarily departed from the country. When he had retired, the blind king, leaving the marshes, again governed Egypt, after spending the interval of fifty years upon an island, which he had embanked with ashes and earth. For when the Egyptians, without the knowledge of the Ethiopian, brought him their appointed contributions of corn, he commanded them, with their gift, to bring ashes also. This island none before Amyrtæus had been able to find:—his predecessors during more than 700 (or 500) years, had sought for it in vain. The name of this island is Elbo; it measures every way about ten furlongs.

B. C.
715.

After Anysis, a priest of Vulcan, named Sethon, reigned. He neglected and contemned, as useless, the military order in Egypt; and among other dishonours which he put upon them, he took from them the allotment of acres which, under the former kings had been given them—twelve to each. Afterwards, when Sanacharib* king of the Arabians and Syrians, invaded Egypt with a great army, not one of the military class would come to his aid. The (*royal*) priest, deprived of help,

entered a temple, and before the image, deplored the evils with which he was threatened : as he bitterly wept, sleep fell upon him, and he saw in vision the god standing by, and bidding him take courage, assuring him he should suffer no ill if he opposed the Arabian army ; for he himself would send him *auxiliaries*. Thus confirmed, the king led forth such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him ; and formed his camp at Pelusium, where the invading army was to enter. Among his followers there was not a single warrior ; but only shopkeepers, artificers, and the very dregs of the people. After he had reached this station, during the night, a deluge of field mice spread through the enemies' camp, devouring their quivers, their bow-strings, and the straps of their shields ; so that in the morning, finding themselves stripped of their arms, they took to flight, and many of them were slain. A statue of this king now stands in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his hand a mouse, with an inscription in these words—"Whoever looks at me, let him be pious."

Thus far I have reported what I learned from the Egyptians, and their priests, who affirmed that from the first king to this priest of Vulcan, there were 341 generations of men ; and that there had been the same number of high-priests and of kings. Now 300 generations of men are equivalent to 10,000 years ; three generations filling one hundred years. The forty-one remaining generations make 1340 years. So that, as they say, it is 11340 years since any god has assumed the human form ; nor had such an event taken place before, nor has it since happened among the Egyptian kings. Within the above-mentioned period, they affirm, the sun has four times risen contrary to his common course ; and twice he has risen where now he sets : and where now he rises, twice he has set. Yet these alterations have produced no changes in Egypt—neither in the productions of the earth, nor in those of the river ; nor have they occasioned diseases or deaths.

The priests of Jupiter adopted the same course with me as they did with Hecataeus, the historian ; who when at Thebes was reckoning himself to have descended from a god—his ancestor in the sixteenth remove. They led me, though I

made no such pretension, as they led him, within the interior of a spacious temple, where they shewed to me, and numbered, as many colossal statues of wood as there had been high priests; for every pontiff, during his life, places there a statue of himself. These the priests shewed, and numbering, declaring that, beginning with the one last deceased, they ascended in a direct line throughout, from son to father. Hecatæus, as I said, claiming descent from a god, the priests confuted by opposing to his reckoning this line of priests, and they refused to admit that a man had been born of a god, and affirmed that each of these colossal figures represented a Piromis, born of a Piromis, to the number of 345, not one of whom, from the last to the first, was born of either god or hero. This title *Piromis*, if translated into our language, means *good and virtuous*. These personages represented by the statues I have mentioned, were, as they affirmed, altogether different from gods: yet they said that before the time of these men, there were gods who ruled in Egypt, and who dwelt with men; and that among them one always exercised supreme power. Orus, son of Osiris, whom the Greeks call Apollo, was, they say, the last of these gods who reigned in Egypt: he had dethroned Typhon. Osiris is, by the Greeks, named Dionysus (Bacchus.)

Now among the Greeks, Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan, are reckoned the most recent of the gods. Whereas among the Egyptians, Pan is of the most ancient order, being one of the eight primitive deities; while Hercules comes in the second rank; being one of the twelve, and Bacchus in the third; as he sprung from the twelve. How many years elapsed from the age of Hercules till the reign of Amasis, I have already declared, as it was communicated to me by the Egyptians. Pan they place then at the most remote period—Bacchus at a less distance; yet between him and Amasis they reckon 15,000 years. And in making these computations, the Egyptians profess to have the most exact and certain information; as these reckonings have always been attended to, and always recorded. From Bacchus, son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, to our own times, is a distance of about 1600 years.

From Hercules, son of Alcmena, less than 900 years. And from Pan, son of Penelope—for from her and Mercury, according to the Greeks, Pan received his being; till my time, not 800 years have elapsed: that is to say, he was born after the Trojan war.

Of these two accounts let every one adopt that which to him shall seem the most credible. My own opinion is declared. If these also, namely Hercules, son of Amphitryon, and Bacchus, son of Semele, and Pan son of Penelope, were persons known in Greece, and who had grown old there, then it must be said that—mere men as they were—they bore the names of those primitive gods. But now, as to Bacchus, the Greeks affirm that, as soon as born, Jupiter sewed him up in his thigh, and bore him to Nysa, which is beyond Egypt, in Ethiopia. What became of the infant Bacchus they do not inform us. To me it has become manifest that the Greeks learned the names of these gods after those of the other divinities, and that from the time they were acquainted with them, they date their existence. And this also is the opinion of the Egyptians.

SECTION VI.

MIDDLE, AND MORE AUTHENTIC PERIOD OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

I now proceed to narrate those events in the history of Egypt which are confirmed by the testimony of other nations, concurring with that of the natives;—still interspersing some facts which fell under my own observation.

On the death of Sethon, priest of Vulcan, the Egyptians became free; yet not so as to be for a moment without kings. But they established twelve—dividing the whole of Egypt into so many parts. These twelve

kings intermarried, and reigned on the principle that no one should overthrow the others; nor seek to possess more than his neighbours; but that they should maintain among themselves the strictest friendship. These constitutions they formed and defended with the most binding sanctions;—especially because, at the very moment when the twelve governments were set up, an oracle pronounced—“That he among them who should perform a libation in the temple of Vulcan with a brazen cup, would reign over all Egypt.”—They were accustomed to assemble in all the temples.

These kings, resolving to leave a common monument of themselves, decreed to form a labyrinth, a short distance above the lake of Moëris, and nearly opposite the city of Crocodiles. This work I have seen; and it surpasses its fame. And if any one were to put together all the munitions and other works which the Greeks have executed, they would appear inferior in labour and expense to this labyrinth alone: we must not except even the justly celebrated temple at Ephesus, nor that at Samos. The pyramids indeed surpass expectation; and any one of them might well be matched against many of the greatest works of Grecian art put together. But the labyrinth surpasses even the pyramids. This structure consists of twelve contiguous roofed courts (*or halls*) whose entrances are opposed to each other—six towards the north, and six towards the south. The same outer wall surrounds all these halls. The chambers are double, one set being subterraneous; the other set, placed upon those, rises above the surface: they are in number 3000, half above, and half below. The upper chambers we passed through, and inspected, and therefore speak of them from ocular knowledge; but the lower I must describe on report only; for the Egyptians who were the wardens of the place, would by no means show them, saying that in them were contained the sepulchres of the

kings who built the labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. What we say of these lower chambers rests therefore on the authority of our informers. The upper, which surpass human works, we ourselves beheld. The passages through the vaults, and the winding ways through the courts—various as they are, present innumerable wonders. You pass from a hall into chambers, and from chambers into closets; and from them into other vaulted rooms. The roofs, as well as the walls of all these chambers, are of stone; and the latter are sculptured with many figures. Each hall is surrounded with columns of white marble, joined in the most exact manner. The last turn of the labyrinth presents a pyramid, forty fathoms in height, and covered with large sculptures;—the path to it is underground.

Such is the labyrinth: and yet the lake named from Moeris, near which the labyrinth is situated, excites even more admiration. The circuit of this lake measures 3600 furlongs, or sixty Egyptian lines; an extent equal to the sea coast of Egypt. Its greatest length is from north to south; and its greatest depth is fifty fathoms. That it is an *excavation*, made by the hand of man, is evident; for in the middle, nearly, of the lake, stand two pyramids, each rising fifty fathoms above the level of the water, and which measure as much below that level: on the summit of each is a colossal statue of stone, seated on a throne. These pyramids are therefore one hundred fathoms in height;—one hundred fathoms being just equal to a stadium (*furlong*) of six plethra. The fathom is six feet, or four cubits. The foot consists of four palms; the cubit of six. The water of this lake does not spring from the soil, which is utterly destitute of moisture; but flows from the Nile by a trench. Six months of the year the current sets into the lake; and during six it returns. In the season of this reflux, a daily revenue, amounting to a talent of silver accrues to

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the royal treasury from the produce of the fish:—during the flow, the fishery yields daily twenty minæ.

The people of the country affirmed, that this lake communicates, by an underground passage, with the Syrtian gulph in Libya; it makes a turn towards the west, through the midland near the hills above Memphis. Not seeing any where the earth raised by this excavation, and being curious to learn how it had been disposed of, I inquired of those who inhabited the margin of the lake, where the earth might be which had been removed in forming it. They told me—and I readily believed them—that it had been *borne away*.—For I remembered to have heard a similar fact that had taken place at Nineveh, in Assyria. Some thieves devised the means of carrying away the vast treasures of Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, which were preserved in subterranean depositaries. These thieves began digging in their own house; and proceeded to work their way by measurement underground, towards the royal palace. The earth removed from the passage they threw every night into the Tigris, which ran through Nineveh; and so they went on till they had effected their purpose. Such, as I understood, was the means adopted in digging the Egyptian lake; except, indeed, that the removal took place during the day, instead of the night; for as fast as the earth was dug, the Egyptians carried it to the Nile; the river receiving, dispersed it.

While these twelve kings continued to administer justice, it happened that on an occasion when they were performing a sacrifice in the temple of Vulcan, the last day of the solemnities, they were to make a libation. The high-priest brought forth the golden cups, with which they were wont to pour forth the wine; but mistaking the number, he brought eleven for the twelve. Consequently he who stood the last of them—Psammitichus, not having a cup, took off his brazen helmet, and used it for making the libation.—All the other kings—as on other occasions,

so now, wore helmets. Psammitichus used his helmet without any sinister intention. But the others reflected upon the deed, and compared it with the oracular prediction which had affirmed that he who should perform a libation with a brazen cup would be sole king of Egypt. Finding on examination (*by torture?*—*βασανίζοντες*) that Psammitichus had acted without design, they would not adjudge him to death; but yet thought proper to banish him to the marshes, and to strip him of the greater part of his power; forbidding him to leave that district, or to hold intercourse with the rest of Egypt.

This same Psammitichus had heretofore fled from Sabacon, the Ethiopian, who had put to death his father Neco: and he had taken refuge in Syria: but when the Ethiopian, from the influence of the dream, retired, Psammitichus was brought back by the Egyptians of the Saitic district; and now after he had reigned, was again compelled to go into exile among the marshes, on account of the helmet. Knowing himself to be aggrieved by them, he entertained the thought of avenging himself upon his persecutors. When with this view he sent to consult the oracle of Latona, at Butis—an oracle which the Egyptians deem less fallacious than any other; and there came a reply announcing ‘that retribution would arrive from the sea, when men of brass should appear.’ To this message he gave little heed, thinking it utterly incredible that men of brass should come to his aid. But not long afterwards some Ionian and Carian pirates, driven by stress of weather, made the Egyptian coast, and came ashore—they were clad in brazen armour. It happened that an Egyptian, seeing them, who had never before seen men panoplied in brass, arrived in the marshes, and announced to Psammitichus that brazen men had arrived and were ravaging the campaign. He, gathering from this that the oracle was accomplished, made friendship with these Ionians and Carians; and promising great things to them, engaged

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them in his service. Having prevailed with them, he, by their aid, conjoined with the Egyptians of his party, vanquished the kings.

Psammitichus having made himself master of all Egypt, constructed a porch to the temple of Vulcan, at Memphis. It fronts the south. He built also a hall for Apis, where that divinity is fed when he appears.—Apis, in Greek, is Epaphus. It is opposite to the porch, and is surrounded with a colonade ornamented with sculptures. Instead of pillars there are colossal figures, twelve cubits in height.

Upon the Ionians, and those who with them had aided him, Psammitichus bestowed lands on the opposite banks of the Nile: these lands were called The Camps. He fulfilled towards them also, all the promises he had made, and committed to them Egyptian children, who were to be taught the Greek language. The interpreters now found in Egypt are the descendants of these scholars. These Ionians and Carians long inhabited the lands allotted to them: they are situated near the sea, a short distance below Babastis, and at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile. Afterwards, in the time of Amasis, these Greeks were removed to Memphis, where they formed the king's guard against the Egyptians. From the residence of these Greeks in Egypt it has followed that we have held frequent intercourse with that country, and by this means have become accurately informed of whatever has since taken place there, including the reign of Psammitichus. These were the first strangers, speaking another language, who had resided in Egypt. Even in my time there were to be seen, on the lands from which they were removed, vestiges of their docks, and the remains of their demolished habitations.—Thus was Psammitichus made master of Egypt.

[I have already frequently mentioned the principal Egyptian
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oracle, and it well deserves a more particular description.—This oracle is sacred to Latona, at Butos—a large city before mentioned, which those who arrive from the main, see opposite to them soon after entering the Sebennyitic mouth of the Nile. In the same city there is also a temple of Apollo and of Diana, besides this of Latona. The latter, in which is the oracle, is of great magnitude, and has a porch ten fathoms in height. But of all the admirable objects that are here to be seen, that which to me appeared the most amazing is a temple or chapel of Latona, standing within the sacred precincts, formed of a single stone—from the base to the summit—from end to end: and the walls (*of the sides and back*) are of the same dimensions—namely, forty cubits every way. The roof is formed by another stone, which projects four cubits beyond the sides. This then is, in my opinion, the most wonderful of all that is to be seen in the precincts. Next to it, I should mention the island called Chemmis: it is in a deep and spacious lake, which adjoins the temple of Latona. The Egyptians affirm, that this island floats; but for my own part I did not perceive that it swam or moved; and I was astounded at hearing that there could be a floating island. Upon it stands a spacious temple of Apollo, and three altars (*or, altars of three sides*). The island is thickly planted with palm trees, and other kinds, both fruit-bearing and fruitless. The Egyptians, in affirming that this island floats, add, that before it floated, Latona, who is one of the eight deities that first existed, dwelt at Butos, where the oracle now is: and that having been entrusted with Apollo by Isis, she hid and saved him in what is now called the floating island, when Typhon arrived who sought to find the son of Osiris. For they say that Apollo and Diana are the offspring of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. In the language of Egypt, Apollo is called *Orus*, Ceres *Isis*, and Diana *Bubastis*. It was from this Egyptian tradition, and from nothing else, that Æschylus, son of Euphorion, first of the early poets, borrowed the tale that Diana was the daughter of Ceres. On this occasion it was, as they say, that the island became unfixed.]

Psammitichus reigned in Egypt fifty-four years; during twenty-nine of which he sat down before Azotus, a large city of Syria, besieging, till at length he took it. No city that we have knowledge of has endured so long a siege. To this king succeeded his son Neco, who was the first to undertake a canal, leading into the Red Sea, and which after him Darius carried on: it extends a distance of four days' voyage, and its breadth is such that two galleys may work their oars abreast in it. The canal derives its water from the Nile, a short distance above Bubastis: it discharges itself into the Red Sea, near an Arabian town called Patumus. The excavation was commenced in that part of the Egyptian plain which borders upon Arabia. The mountain which stretches towards Memphis, and which contains the quarries, is above this plain, at no great distance. The canal, commencing at the foot of this hill, was continued for some length, from west to east, and then turning through the defiles, left the mountains, and was carried southward into the Arabian Gulph. The shortest track from the northern sea to the Red Sea, which is the same as the southern sea, passes by mount Casius, which divides Egypt from Syria: for this mountain is but 1000 furlongs from the Arabian Gulph. But the canal is so much longer than this, as it is more tortuous. In digging this canal in the reign of Neco, 120,000 Egyptians perished. He desisted in the midst of the work, being opposed by an oracular prediction, which declared, that "He wrought for a barbarian."—The Egyptians call all those barbarians who do not speak their language.

Having desisted from this work, Neco betook himself to military exploits. He therefore constructed galleys, some on the northern sea, and some on the Arabian Gulph for the Red Sea. Of these vessels the stocks (*or docks*) may yet be seen. The fleets he employed, as occasion served (*or, to supply his armies on their marches*). Neco, in-

vading the Syrians, overthrew them at Magdolus, and then took Cadytis, a great city of Syria.* The dress he wore in these actions he dedicated to Apollo, sending it to Brachidas, of the Milesians. After this, having reigned in all sixteen years, he died, leaving his kingdom to his son Psammis.

[During the reign of Psammis, there arrived in Egypt messengers from the Eleans. These people boasted that they had earned a fame surpassing that of any other men, by the just and excellent regulations they had established at the Olympian games. And they believed that not even the Egyptians—the wisest of mankind, could invent any thing more admirable. The Elean messengers, on their arrival in Egypt, declared the purpose of their visit. The king forthwith summoned those of the Egyptians who were reputed the most wise. When they were assembled, they listened while the Eleans described what took place at the games by their appointment. After mentioning all, they said they had come to learn “ If the Egyptians could produce any institutions more equitable than these.” The Egyptians, having consulted together, inquired of the Eleans whether their own citizens contended in the games. To which they replied, that whoever would, whether Eleans or others, were free to come forward in the games. The Egyptians then said, “ If it were so, they had greatly sinned against equity ; for it was impossible but what they should favour a man of their own town, to the prejudice of a stranger. If, therefore, they wished to establish rules truly equitable, and if, indeed, they had come to Egypt for advice with this intention, they should establish contests in which strangers only—to the exclusion of all Eleans—should be admitted.” Such was the advice given by the Egyptians to the Eleans.]

SECTION VII.

LATER PERIOD OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

B. C.
595.

Psammis, after reigning six years only, made an expedition into Ethiopia, and presently dying, was succeeded by his son Apries; who, next to his great grandfather Psammitichus, enjoyed greater prosperity than any former Egyptian king, during five-and-twenty years of his reign. Within that period he led an army against Sidon, and fought the Tyrian at sea. But when the fated time came that he should suffer misfortunes, it happened—as I shall more fully narrate when I come to speak of Libyan affairs (Melpomene, 159), and briefly here—that he sent forth an army against the Cyrenæans, which was almost cut to pieces. The surviving Egyptians, murmuring against Apries, imputed to him the design of sending them out to be destroyed, in order that, afterwards, he might more securely govern the rest of the people. They therefore revolted from him. Those who returned to their homes, as well as the friends of such as had perished, enraged against him, openly rebelled.

Apries being informed of this, sent Amasis to appease them with words. When he arrived, and endeavoured to win the Egyptians to forsake their enterprise, one of them, standing behind him, placed a helmet on his head, declaring that he thereby appointed him to the kingdom. That this was not disagreeable to Amasis he presently made manifest. For no sooner had the revolted made him their king, than he prepared to lead them against Apries. Apries learning this, despatched a man in whom principally he confided, named Paterbemis, enjoining him to bring Amasis alive. When he reached the place

where Amasis happened to be on horse-back, Paterbemis called to him. But he replied only by an insulting gesture. Paterbemis notwithstanding entreated Amasis to return to the king, who had sent for him; but he answered, "that he was preparing to do so, and that Apries should have no reason to complain of his delay; for he would come himself, and bring others with him." Paterbemis did not fail to understand the meaning of this reply; and after observing the preparations, made all speed in returning to the king, that he might declare to him instantly what was going on. But Apries, seeing Paterbemis return without Amasis, allowed him no room to explain; but giving way to anger, commanded that his ears and nose should be cut off. The other Egyptians who hitherto had adhered to Apries, seeing a man of such rank so shamefully mutilated, restrained themselves no longer; but revolted with the others, and yielded themselves to Amasis.

When Apries was informed of what had taken place, he armed his auxiliaries, and led them against the Egyptians: for he had with him 30,000 Carians and Ionians.—He was then at Saïs, occupying his spacious and magnificent palace in that city. The two armies met and prepared to engage near Momemphis.—Apries leading the strangers against the Egyptians, and Amasis commanding Egyptians against the strangers.

[There are in Egypt seven classes of persons, namely, the priests, the warriors, the herdsmen (*or rustics*), the swineherds, the shopkeepers (*or victuallers*), the interpreters (*or expounders of law and religion*), and lastly, the pilots (*or mariners*). These are the several classes, and they receive appellations derived from the employments they exercise. The warriors are called either Calasiries or Hermotybies: and their districts—for all Egypt is divided into districts (*Nomes*), are as follow:—The Hermotybies occupy Busiris, Saïs, Chemmis, Papremis,

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the island Prosopis, the half of Natho. Their full complement amounts to 160,000 men. No individual among them learns any mechanic trade; but all are given up to war. The Calasiries occupy the following districts: Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athrybis, Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anysis, Myecphoris—an island opposite to Bubastis. These are the districts of the Calasiries: they may amount, at the most, to 250,000 men. Nor are these permitted to exercise any craft except that of war: and the profession is hereditary.

Whether the Greeks have learned this distinction from the Egyptians, I am not able certainly to determine, seeing that the Thracians, Scythians, Persians, Lydians, and, indeed, almost all the Barbarians, hold those of their citizens who learn mechanic arts in the lowest rank of honour; and allow this discredit to attach even to the posterity of such persons; while those only are deemed noble who have no connection with handicrafts; and especially those who are devoted to the profession of arms. All the Greeks have adopted these notions; but especially the Lacedæmonians; while the Corinthians, less than other Greeks, despise artizans. In Egypt the warriors, with the priests, enjoy special privileges:—twelve plots of ground, free from tribute, are assigned to each: each plot measures every way a hundred Egyptian cubits: the Egyptian cubit is equal to that of Samos. This allotment of ground was the right of each. Some other privileges they enjoyed only by turns. One thousand of the Calasiries, and one also of the Hermotybies, served for a year, as the king's body guard; and while on this duty, besides the parcel of ground, there was given to each daily, five pounds weight of parched corn (*or baked bread*), two pounds of beef, and four drinks of wine: such was the constant allowance of the body guard.]

The armies meeting—Apries leading his auxiliaries, and Amasis with all the Egyptians—near Momemphis, they presently engaged. The strangers fought well; but being greatly inferior in numbers, were overcome. It is

said to have been the opinion of Apries, that not even a god could deprive him of his kingdom : so securely did he think himself established. Yet, nevertheless, he was then vanquished. Being taken alive, he was conducted to Saïs—once his own residence, but now the royal palace of Amasis. For some time he was there entertained, and kindly treated by Amasis. But at length, as the Egyptians complained that it was not right for him to cherish one who was his and their own greatest enemy, Amasis abandoned Apries to the Egyptians, who strangled him, and then interred him in the family sepulchre.

[These are in the temple of Minerva, very near the sacred edifice, and on the left hand as you enter. All the kings born in this district have been buried by the Saïtes within this temple. And the tomb of Amasis even, is placed there, though at a greater distance from the edifice than that of Apries and his ancestors. There is in the court of the temple a large chamber of stone, ornamented with columns in imitation of palm trees, and with other embellishments : in this chamber are seen folding doors, within which is the depositary of the dead. At Saïs also, in the temple of Minerva, behind the chapel, and adjoining the wall of the temple, is the sepulchre of him whose name on such an occasion as this it would be impious to mention. Within the sacred precincts stand obelisks of great size ; and near them a lake, adorned with a margin of stone ; it is circular, well constructed, and in extent, equal, as it seemed to me, to that in Delos, called the Circular. On this lake they perform the adventures of *him* :—these performances are called *mysteries* by the Egyptians ; and although I am well acquainted with all these matters I refrain from speaking of them, as I should also of the rites of Ceres, called by the Greeks the Thesmophoria (*Institutions*) of which, though not from ignorance, I would say no more than what it is lawful to utter. The daughters of Danaus were the persons who brought these rites from Egypt, and taught them to the Pelasgian women : afterwards, when the Peloponnesus was overrun by

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the Dorians, these rites were lost, except only among the Arcadians, who, not being driven from their lands, preserved the ceremonies.]

Apries being thus removed, Amasis reigned in his stead : he was of the district of Saïs, and of a city named Siuph. At first the Egyptians contemned Amasis, and held him in very low esteem ; for he was a man of ignoble extraction ; nor had his family become conspicuous. But afterwards, without absurd severity, and by a well-imagined device, he brought them back. Among a thousand other precious vessels, Amasis had a golden pan, in which he himself and all his guests, were accustomed to wash their feet. This vessel he broke up, and formed from it an image of a divinity, which he solemnly set up in a frequented part of the city. The Egyptians flocking to the image, paid it the most devout adoration. When Amasis was informed of this, he convoked the people, and made known the whole truth, saying,—“ This image was formed from a wash-pot which lately we used for the vilest purposes :—*then* we cleaned our feet in it :—anon, we reverently worship it. Now,” said he, “ it has happened to me as to this vessel : once, indeed, I was one of the people ; but now I am your king. Thus I enjoin you to honour and regard me.” By this means he won the Egyptians, and taught them that they owed him their service.

The plan he followed in conducting his affairs was this :—From early in the morning till the time of full-market, he assiduously despatched the causes that were brought before him. After that time, he drank and jested with his companions, indulging in low jokes and pleasantries. His friends offended by this conduct, reproved him. “ Sire,” said they, “ you behave not in a manner fitting your station : you descend too low. You ought to sit gravely on a venerable throne, through

the day, transacting business. Thus shall the Egyptians, knowing themselves to be governed by a great man, speak better of you. At present your behaviour is altogether unkingly." To this reproof he replied. "Those who use the bow stretch the cord when they would employ it; and afterwards release it. The bow ever bent, breaks; nor can serve its purpose when most needed. Such is the constitution of man.—If always he will be intently occupied, and never abandon himself to merriment, before he is aware he will become either mad or paralytic. Well knowing this, I divide my time between business and pleasure." Thus he answered his friends.

It is said of Amasis, that while a private person, he had been addicted to drinking and jesting, and was any thing rather than a man of business. And moreover, that when the means of supporting his pleasures failed him, he was accustomed to make predatory excursions. On these occasions, when accused by one and another of having possessed himself of their goods, which he denied, both parties would refer themselves to some common oracle, to decide the controversy: by many he was convicted, and by many also suffered to escape. When, therefore, he became king, all those gods who had absolved him of the charge of theft, he neglected, disregarding their temples, and making no provision for their maintenance, deeming them unworthy of respect, and having only lying responses to offer. But those which had convicted him of theft he esteemed as truly divine, and possessing authentic responses; and he treated them accordingly.

At Saïs, Amasis constructed a most admirable portico to the temple of Minerva, surpassing any building of the kind, both in height and extent, and in the size and quality of the stones. He placed also there colossal statues, and androsphinxes of vast magnitude: and, moreover, brought together, for the repair of the temples,

stones of prodigious size. Of these, some were brought from the quarries opposite to Memphis, and some of surpassing bulk, from Elephantine—a distance of twenty days' sailing from Saïs. Among these things, not the least admirable—in truth the most so—is an edifice formed from a single stone, which was brought from Elephantine. Three years were consumed in conveying it; during which time two thousand men—all of the class called Mariners (*or pilots*)—were employed in the labour. This structure measures, in length, twenty cubits; its width is fourteen, and its height eight: this is the external measurement of the house-of-one-stone. The internal measurements are, eighteen cubits and twenty digits, in length, by twelve cubits wide: the height five cubits. This chapel stands beside the entrance: it was not drawn within the precincts, which circumstance they account for by saying, that the architect, while the work was in progress towards its destined site, wearied with the toil, in which so long a time had been consumed, heaved a deep sigh: Amasis taking this sigh to heart, (*or thinking it portentous,*) would not suffer it to be drawn any further. Others, indeed, say, that it was not brought within the precincts because one of the workmen, in using a lever, was crushed.

Amasis dedicated, in all the more renowned temples, gifts which from their magnitude claim attention; as for instance, the supine colossus at Memphis, in front of the temple of Vulcan—in length seventy-five feet. Upon the same base stand two colossal figures, wrought in Ethiopian marble, each measuring twenty feet: one on the one side, the other on the opposite side of the edifice. There is at Saïs a similar statue, lying in the same manner as that at Memphis. It was Amasis also, who constructed at Memphis, the spacious and most beautiful temple of Isis.

Under Amasis Egypt is said to have enjoyed an unex-

amplified prosperity, both in the fertility spread over the land by the river, and in the products of the industry of the people; and it is affirmed, that Egypt then contained twenty thousand inhabited cities. This Amasis it was who established among the Egyptians the law that every man, once in each year, should declare to the magistrate of his district, whence he had derived his living: in default of doing so, or if he failed to show that he had followed an honest calling, he was adjudged to die (*or he was stretched on the rack till he died*). Solon, the Athenian, taking this law from Egypt, gave it to his countrymen, who thinking it liable to no objection, have ever since continued to observe it.

Amasis was an admirer of the Greeks; and besides other favours, granted to some of them, gave up the city of Naucratis, for the residence of those who arrived in Egypt. And to those who did not wish to settle in the country, but visited it only on trading voyages, he granted lands, where they might erect altars and temples to the gods.

[The most spacious of their temples, as well as the most celebrated, and the most frequented, is that called—the Grecian, erected at the common charge of the following cities:—Of the Ionians—Chios, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomenæ:—Of the Dorians—Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus and Phaselis:—Of the Æolians—Mitylene alone. These are the proprietors of this temple; and these only have right to appoint presidents of the mart. Those other cities which claim this right, pretend to that which does not belong to them. Distinct from this temple, the people of Ægina have consecrated a temple to Jupiter, for themselves;—the Samians one to Juno; and the Milesians one to Apollo. Anciently, there was in Egypt only one emporium (*of foreign commerce*), namely, that at Naucratis, and whoever arrived at any other mouth of the Nile, was obliged to take oath, that he came there unwittingly, after which adjuration he was required forthwith to proceed in the same vessel to the Canobic mouth;

or, if prevented doing so by contrary winds, to transport his cargo in country barges round the Delta to Naucratis:—so were the privileges of this city secured. When the old temple at Delphi was by accident burned, the Amphictyons fixed the sum of 300 talents to be expended in building that which now exists; and the Delphians were charged with a fourth part of the whole, as their share. They therefore wandered from city to city, collecting donations; and from Egypt bore away no inconsiderable contributions. For Amasis gave them a thousand talents of alum; and the Egyptian Greeks twenty pounds.

With the Cyrenæans, Amasis formed friendship and alliance, and resolved to take a wife from that people, moved either by his feeling of amity towards them, or by a wish to marry a woman of Grecian extraction. The lady he espoused, named Ladice, was the daughter of an illustrious Cyrenæan, by some called Battus, by others Arcesilaus, by others Critobulus. For some time after his marriage, the wife of Amasis had no child, and he, accusing her of using enchantments, threatened her with a cruel death. Ladice denied the charge, yet without mitigating the animosity of her husband. At length she made a vow to Venus, promising to send an image of the goddess to Cyrene, if her petition should be fulfilled: this happened, and she regained her husband's affection. Ladice accomplished her vow to the goddess, by causing an image to be made, which she sent to Cyrene, and which, even in my time, was preserved;—it turns away from the city. When (*afterwards*) Cambysis conquered Egypt, and learned of herself who she was, he sent her unhurt to Cyrene.

Amasis dedicated offerings in Greece, (*the Grecian towns* :) of these, one was a gilded statue of Minerva, sent to Cyrene, together with a likeness of himself, drawn to the life. Then he dedicated to Minerva, of Lindus, two images in marble, and a thoracle of linen, which deserves to be noticed. Also two statues of himself, carved in wood, sent to the spacious temple of Juno, in Samos, and which, in my time, stood there behind the doors. These gifts to Samos were sent in consequence of the friendship subsisting between himself and Polycrates, son of Ajax. The offerings sent to Lindus were not made from friend-

ship, but because, as it was said, the temple of Minerva at that place was built by the daughters of Danaus, when, fleeing from the sons of Egyptus, they arrived there. Amasis also conquered Cyprus, never before subdued; and compelled the people to pay him tribute.]

BOOK III.

THALIA.

SECTION I.

CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY CAMBYSES.

AGAINST this Amasis Cambyses, son of Cyrus, made war, leading with him—besides the other people under his sway—the Greeks of Ionia and Æolia. The cause of the war was this. Cambyses sending a herald into Egypt, demanded the daughter of Amasis, and this demand he made at the suggestion of a certain Egyptian, who was enraged against Amasis, because that prince had torn him from his wife and children to send him to Persia, when Cyrus had requested Amasis to furnish him with the most skilful oculist in Egypt. The Egyptian therefore urged Cambyses to ask the daughter of Amasis, that either he might give her with grief, or, in withholding her, make Cambyses his enemy. But Amasis, anxious, and indeed dreading the power of the Persians, knew not how either to give or to deny. He well knew that it was not with the respect due to a wife that Cambyses would treat his daughter. After consideration, he therefore adopted the following course.—There was a daughter of Apries, the late king, tall and beautiful, and the only survivor of her family: her name was Nitetis. This young lady Amasis sent, richly attired and adorned with gold, to Persia, as his own daughter.

After a time, when Cambyses saluted her by the name of her father (*as he supposed*) the damsel thus addressed him:—"O king, you have not learned that Amasis has imposed upon you in sending me thus attired to you, as his own daughter, while in truth I am the daughter of Apries;—that king, his lord, whom, when he had incited the Egyptians to revolt, he put to death." This information, together with his own cause of quarrel, enraged Cambyses, and impelled him to invade Egypt:—at least so say the Persians.

But the Egyptians claim Cambyses as their own, saying that he was the son of this daughter of Apries, and that it was Cyrus, not Cambyses, who sent to demand the daughter of Amasis. In affirming this they err greatly. Indeed they cannot be ignorant—for the Egyptians, if any people, are well acquainted with the Persian institutions—that their laws do not permit a spurious son to reign, when there is a legitimate son living. Besides, it is known that Cambyses was born, not of an Egyptian mother, but of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes of the Achæmenian family. But they have perverted history in order to feign relationship to the house of Cyrus. This is the true reason of the story.

They narrate also another story, to which I give no credit.—A certain Persian lady, say they, visiting the women of Cyrus, when she saw the children of Cassandane, who were standing about, excelling others in stature and beauty, praised them with lively admiration. "And yet," said Cassandane, "though the mother of such children, Cyrus treats me with contempt; while he honours her who came from Egypt." This she said in envy of Nitetis; and immediately Cambyses, the eldest of her sons, exclaimed—"But now, my mother, when I am a man, I will turn every thing upside down in Egypt." He was about ten years old at the time of this incident. The women admired this speech, and afterwards, when he

became king, he remembered the threat, and invaded Egypt.

Another incident concurred also to promote this invasion. There was among the (*Greek*) auxiliaries of Amasis, a certain Halicarnassian, named Phanes, a man able in the council, and valiant in the field. This person, incensed on some account against Amasis, fled from Egypt by sea, and sought a conference with Cambyses. But as he was held in high repute among the auxiliaries, and was moreover accurately informed of whatever related to Egypt, Amasis endeavoured by all means to pursue and take him. He sent therefore a chief and trusty officer of his household, in a galley, to follow him. This officer actually arrested Phanes in Lycia, and yet failed to lead him back to Egypt; for by a well-concerted stratagem he effected his escape, having intoxicated his guards: he went off to Persia. Cambyses was then preparing to march against Egypt; but was in doubt how he should convey his army across the arid desert. Phanes, besides revealing to him the affairs of Amasis, gave him advice in what way to effect the passage of the deserts;—he recommended that Cambyses should send an embassy to the king of the Arabians, intreating him to afford a safe passage to his army.

This is the only way in which Egypt is accessible (*from the east*). For the country from Phœnicia to the borders of the city Cadytis—a city of the Syrian Palestine, not much less, I think, than Sardis, with the maritime towns, as far as Jenysus, belongs to Arabia. Again from Jenysus to the lake Serbonis, near which Mount Casius approaches the sea, the country belongs to the Syrians; and from the lake Serbonis, in which, as they say, Typho was hid, Egypt begins. Now between Jenysus, Mount Casius, and the lake Serbonis—a space not of small extent, being a journey of three days, the land is utterly destitute of water.

A circumstance observed by few who make voyages to Egypt I have to mention. From the whole of Greece, as well as from Phœnicia, there are brought into Egypt twice every year, earthen vessels, filled with wine; and yet—so to speak—not one of these wine jars is afterwards to be seen in Egypt. How then—let any one say—are they disposed of? this I will explain. Every mayor of a town is required to collect all this pottery within his jurisdiction, and send it to Memphis: these being filled with water, are sent forward to the arid desert of Syria, and so come round to their first home. In this way, from the time they first conquered Egypt, the Persians have opened the road thither, by providing themselves with water for travelling into that country through the arid desert. But at the time of which we are now speaking, there was no such provision of water. Cambyses therefore, under the direction of the Halicarnassian stranger, sent messengers to the Arabian to ask safe passage; which he obtained—giving and receiving the pledge of truth.

[No men keep their plighted word more religiously than the Arabians. They take oath in the following manner.—Those who wish to pledge their faith stand together, while a third person, with a sharp stone, makes an incision in the palm of the hand, near the mid finger, of both parties, and then, taking a shred from the garment of both, asperses with the blood seven stones, placed between them; while this is done they invoke Bacchus and Urania. This ceremony completed, he who has given his faith introduces the other party, the stranger, or his fellow-citizen, if it be with a neighbour that he has covenanted, to his friends, who also hold themselves bound to respect the engagement. The Arabians acknowledge as divinities only Bacchus and Urania; and they shave their locks in the very fashion, as they say, in which Bacchus shaved his; that is, in a circle round the temples. Bacchus they call *Orotal* and Urania *Alilat*.]

When the Arabian had given his word to the messengers of Cambyses, he adopted the following measures: vessels of camels' skins he filled with water, and with them loaded all his live stock of camels: these he drove into the arid region, there to await the army of Cambyses. This is the most credible of the accounts given; we must however mention one less probable, since it has been affirmed. There is in Arabia a river of some size named Corys, which empties itself into the Red Sea. From this river, it is said, the king of the Arabians led water by means of a canal (*or hose*) of bulls' hides, and other skins, sewed together, of length sufficient to reach from the river to the arid region. There he dug large reservoirs to receive and preserve the water. The distance is a journey of twelve days. It is affirmed there were three of these canals (*or pipes*) laid at some distance from each other.

Psammenitus, son of Amasis, encamped, awaiting Cambyses, at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile. Amasis did not survive to the time of this invasion, but had just died, after a reign of four-and-forty years, during all which time no signal reverse of fortune had happened to him. After death he was embalmed, and deposited in the sepulchre he had himself constructed in the temple. In the reign of his son Psammenitus, a great phenomenon happened in Egypt, for there was rain at the Egyptian Thebes, which the people affirm had never been seen in that region before, nor ever since, to the present time. For in Upper Egypt it never rains: but then it fell in showers.

The Persians having made their way through the arid plains, halted near to the Egyptians, in preparation for battle. There it was that the auxiliaries of the Egyptian king, being Greeks and Carians, indignant at Phanes for leading a foreign army against Egypt, acted as I am to describe. Phanes had left his sons in Egypt: these the

Greeks led forth before the camp, and in sight of their father, they placed a vessel between the two armies, and then, bringing each of the youths separately to the vessel, slew him over it: when all were butchered, they poured in wine and water, and the entire army of auxiliaries drank of it. After this the fight commenced: a hardly contested battle ensued: a vast number of both armies fell; at length the Egyptians turned and fled.

[A remarkable fact was pointed out to me by the people who live on the spot where this battle took place.—The bones of the slain being heaped apart—the Persians lying by themselves as they fell in their ranks, and the Egyptians separately also;—the skulls of the Persians are so weak, that you may, if you please, break them in, by throwing a pebble; while those of the Egyptians are so strong, that you scarcely produce a fracture by dashing a stone at them. The cause of this they say is, and I readily assent to it, that the heads of the Egyptians are shaved from infancy, and the skull is thickened by the sun: from the same cause, the Egyptians are, of all men, the least subject to baldness: hence their skulls become so stout. But on the contrary, the Persians have feeble skulls, because they screen them from the sun from the first, by thickly folded turbans. Such at least was the fact, which I myself witnessed. I observed also a similar appearance on the field at Papremis, where lay those slain by Inarus, the Libyan, under Achæmenes, son of Darius.]

The Egyptians driven from the field, fled in disorder, and were shut up in Memphis. Cambyses then sent a Mitylenean bark up the river, with a herald—a Persian, to invite the Egyptians to treat with him. But they, when they saw the vessel entering Memphis, rushed together from the ramparts, destroyed the bark, tore the men limb from limb, and bore them to the walls. After this they sustained a siege for some time, and at length yielded. Meanwhile the Libyans in the vicinity, being

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put in fear by what had taken place in Egypt, surrendered themselves without resistance, and agreed to render a certain tribute, and they sent gifts. The people of Cyrene and Barca also, moved by the same fears, did the like. The offerings of the Libyans Cambyses received amicably, while those of the Cyrenæans he contemned, because, as I suppose, they were too small; for they sent only 500 pounds of silver; he snatched at the money, and threw it among the soldiers.

On the tenth day after Cambyses had taken the citadel of Memphis, and when Psammenitus, king of Egypt, had reigned just six months, he compelled the conquered king, with other Egyptians, to sit in mock state at the entrance of the city: and further to make trial of his fortitude, he adopted the following means.—He attired the daughter of Psammenitus in the habit of a slave, and sent her with a pitcher to fetch water; she was accompanied by other virgins, selected from the most noble families, and all clad in the same garb of servitude. When this procession came where the king and his nobles were sitting, the fathers answered to the cries and lamentations of their daughters by their own loud grief, in seeing their children thus humiliated. But Psammenitus, after taking a glance at the spectacle, only cast his eyes to the ground. When these had passed, bearing their water-pots, there next came the king's son, with two thousand Egyptian youths of the same age, bound with ropes round their necks, and with bridles in their mouths. These were led forth to expiate the death of those who had perished in the ship of Mitylene: for the royal judges had given sentence that, for each man then killed, ten Egyptians of the highest rank should die. When these were led past, and it was known they were going to execution, the nobles seated with their king wept in grievous affliction; but he did not vary from his behaviour on the former occasion. After they had passed, it

happened that a man advanced in years, who had been his familiar companion, but who now had lost his all, and was as poor as the veriest beggar, passed by where Psammenitus, and his nobles were sitting; and as he went he asked alms of the soldiers. On seeing this Psammenitus burst forth into weeping, and smiting his head, called his friend by name. There were spies at hand who observed all that took place, to report it to Cambyses. He, wondering at the conduct of the Egyptian king, sent a messenger with this inquiry—"Psammenitus! Cambyses your sovereign demands why, when you beheld your daughter humiliated, and your son going to death, you uttered neither cry nor lamentation; but when a mendicant, who, as he is informed, is not of your house passed, you honoured him with your sorrow?" To this he replied, "Son of Cyrus! the misfortunes of my family are too heavy to be expressed by lamentations; but the griefs of my friend were worthy of tears, who, on the threshold of age, has fallen from the height of prosperity into extreme destitution." This reply was approved by Cambyses, when reported to him, and it is affirmed that Croesus, who attended Cambyses to Egypt, wept, as did also the Persians who were present. Even Cambyses seemed to be overtaken by some compassion, and instantly commanded that the son should be rescued from among those who were to perish, and the father brought from the suburbs into his presence. Those who were sent found the son of Psammenitus no longer surviving, for he had first been killed. But Psammenitus they led before Cambyses, with whom he afterwards remained unmolested; and if he had not been found to be intermeddling with state affairs he might have received the vicegerency of Egypt. For it is the custom of the Persians to honour the sons even of those kings who have revolted from them, and to bestow upon them the government of the conquered country. That this rule obtains

in the administration of their empire might be proved by many instances, among which these may be mentioned. Thannyras the Libyan, son of Inarus, was put in possession of his father's kingdom, as was also Pausiris, son of Amyrtæus ; and yet none ever injured the Persians more than Inarus and Amyrtæus. But Psammenitus devising mischief, received the reward of his conduct ; for being detected in inciting the Egyptians to revolt, he was seized and condemned by Cambyses to drink the blood of a bull, and presently died. Such was the end of this prince.

Cambyses intent upon prosecuting his designs, went from Memphis to Saïs. No sooner had he entered the palace of Amasis, than he commanded the body of that king to be brought forth ; and when this was done he ordered it to be flogged and pricked, and the hair to be plucked from it, and every other indignity to be inflicted he could devise. As his people toiled at this work—for the corpse having been embalmed resisted their endeavours, and was not easily divisible—Cambyses impiously commanded it to be burned. I say impiously, for the Persians think fire to be a god : to burn the dead is therefore (*for different reasons*) forbidden by the laws of both these nations. By those of the Persians, because they think it wrong to offer the dead body of a man to a god. But on the contrary, the Egyptians consider fire to be a real wild animal, which devours whatever it can lay hold of, and which, when glutted, expires with what it has swallowed. Now it is utterly unlawful to deliver a dead body to wild beasts : for this very reason they embalm the dead, that they may not lie and be eaten by maggots. The deed of Cambyses was therefore condemned by the laws of both nations. The Egyptians indeed affirm that it was not Amasis that suffered this fate ; but that of some Egyptian of similar figure, which was thus indignantly treated by the Persians, while they believed themselves to be insulting

Amasis. And they say that the king, having been informed by an oracle what would happen to him when dead, in order to avoid his fate, himself deposited the body, which the Persians flogged, within his own sepulchre, and at the same time enjoined his son to place his body in the very deepest recess of the vault. No such substitution of one body for another I believe actually took place; the whole I consider as an extravagant fiction of the Egyptians.

After this, Cambyses devised three expeditions; one against the Carthagenians, another against the Ammonians, and another against the Macrobian Ethiopians, who inhabit that part of Libya which lies on the southern sea (*Abyssinia*). In concerting the means of accomplishing these intentions, he determined to send a naval expedition against the Carthagenians, while a division of the army should march against the Ammonians. And it was arranged to send, in the first place, spies among the Ethiopians, who were professedly to gain a sight of the Table of the Sun, said to exist in Ethiopia; or to inform themselves of the truth of the common report; while they were to glance at whatever might fall under their notice; and to cover their design they were to carry gifts to the king.

This Table of the Sun has been thus described.—In the suburbs of the city there is a meadow, filled with the flesh of all kinds of quadrupeds, cooked: these provisions it is the duty of the magistrates of the city to place every night; and during the day whoever pleases may partake of the feast. The natives pretend that the earth produces these provisions every night. This is what is called the Table of the Sun.

When Cambyses had determined to employ spies, he forthwith sent to Elephantine for some of the Ichthyophagian race (fish-eaters) who were masters of the Ethiopian language. In the mean time, while they were

on their way, he gave orders for the sailing of the expedition against Carthage. But the Phoenicians refused to comply with the order, being, as they said, bound by solemn treaties; indeed it would be, as they declared, a wickedness for them to make war upon their own sons.* These refusing, none others were deemed equal to the enterprise. Thus the Carthagenians escaped the danger of subjection to the Persians. Cambyzes did not think fit to attempt compelling the obedience of the Phoenicians by force, both because they had surrendered themselves voluntarily to the Persians, and because the whole naval power was dependant upon that people. The Cyprians also had surrendered themselves to the Persians, and were now engaged in the invasion of Egypt.

When the Ichthyophagians came to Cambyzes from Elephantine, he despatched them to Ethiopia, having instructed them in what they were to say, and charged them with the presents, which consisted of a purple cloak—a twisted golden collar, with bracelets—an alabaster box of ointment, and a cask of palm wine. These Ethiopians, to whom Cambyzes despatched this embassy, are reported to be the highest in stature, and the handsomest of all men. In many of their customs they are distinguished from the rest of mankind; among these may be named their mode of electing to the sovereignty; for they choose him to be king who excels his fellow-citizens in size and proportionate strength. When the Ichthyophagians arrived among the Ethiopians, and offered to their king the gifts they brought, they thus addressed him:—"The king of the Persians—even Cambyzes, wishing to form friendship and society with you, has sent us, commanding us to confer with you, and present to you gifts of such things as he is himself most pleased with." But the Ethiopian having

* Carthage was a colony from Tyre.

learned that they came as spies, spoke thus to them ;—
 “ Nor has the Persian king sent you with gifts, as if he cared much to be my friend, nor do you speak truth ; for it is as spies of my power that you come ; nor is he an honest man ; for if he were honest, he would not covet other lands than his own ; nor would he bring into servitude men who have done him no wrong. But now give him this bow, and with it these words : ‘ The king of the Ethiopians advises the king of the Persians to lead against the Macrobian Ethiopians an army surpassing their’s in number, when the Persians can bend thus easily bows as stout as this. Meanwhile let him thank the gods who have not inspired the sons of Ethiopia with the desire to add another land to their own.’ ” Thus speaking he unloosed the bow, and delivered it to the comers.

[Then taking up the purple robe, he asked what it might be, and how fabricated ; and when the Ichthyophagians truly described the purple, and the mode of dying, he said, “ the men are deceptive, and deceptive are their garments.” Next he put questions relative to the twisted collar of gold, and the bracelets ; and when the messengers exhibited the beauty of them, the king laughing, and mistaking their use, said, “ we use stronger *fetters* than these.” Then he made inquiries about the ointment ; and when informed of its composition and application, he said the same of it as of the cloak. When he came to the wine, and had inquired the mode of preparing it, he took a draught, which vastly delighted him : he then asked what food the king made use of, and also what was the longest term of life among the Persians : they replied, bread was his food, and they explained the culture of wheat ; adding, eighty years is the extreme period of a long life. Upon this, the Ethiopian said he wondered not that they lived so few years, since they subsisted on rottenness (*κοπρος*) nor could they attain even that number of years, if it were not for the aid of the drink—meaning the wine. In this article alone, he allowed themselves to be inferior to the Persians.

The Ichthyophagians inquiring in return of the king what was the term and manner of life of the Ethiopians, he said that most of them reached the age of one hundred and twenty years, and that some surpassed that term. Their food was boiled flesh, and their drink milk. When the spies expressed wonder at the age attained by the Ethiopians, the king led them to a fountain, by washing in which the body was made sleek as if it were oil; and it had a fragrance like that of violets. The water of this spring, as the spies affirmed, was so weak (*subtile*) that nothing could float on its surface—neither wood, nor bodies lighter than wood—but all went to the bottom. And moreover, if what is said of this spring be true, it is by the abundant use of it that these people are so long-lived. Leaving this fountain, the spies were conducted to the common prison, where all the prisoners were secured with fetters of gold; for among these Ethiopians, brass is of all metals the rarest and the most precious: after seeing the prison, they inspected the Table of the Sun, above-mentioned.

Finally, the spies examined the coffins of the dead, which are said to be prepared from crystal, by the following process.—When the corpse is dried—whether in the manner practised by the Egyptians, or by some other mode, they cover the whole with gypsum; then they paint it ornamentally, as near to the life as they are able. After this, they surround it with a hollow column of crystal, which is dug in abundance in their country, and is of a kind easily wrought. The body thus placed in the midst of the column, is perfectly visible; nor does it emit an unpleasant smell, or become in any way offensive: the crystal being throughout transparent, the body is seen on every side alike. The nearest relatives of the deceased keep the column in their houses during one year—offering to it the first-fruits of all, and performing sacrifices. After that time, it is carried forth, and stationed somewhere in the vicinity of the city.]

The spies having inspected every thing, returned, and gave an account of their mission to Cambyses, who fired with rage, instantly resolved to attack the Ethiopians,

though he had made no provision for the sustenance of the army, nor reflected that he was about to carry his arms to the extremity of the earth. In truth he set forward after hearing the narration of the Ichthyophagians, more like a madman than one in the possession of reason; and he commanded all the Greeks who were with him to remain behind, while he led on the whole of the land forces. When the army reached Thebes, he separated from it about 50,000 men, commanding them to reduce the Ammonians to slavery, and to burn the oracular temple of Jupiter; while he, with the main body, proceeded against the Ethiopians. But before the army had accomplished a fifth part of its destined journey, the whole of the provisions which they carried with them was exhausted. When their bread was spent, they devoured all the beasts of burden that could be eaten. If when he learned the state of things, Cambyses had altered his purpose, and led back the army, he might, even after his first fault, have been accounted a wise man; but instead of this, without reflection, he still continued advancing. The men so long as they could collect the produce of the earth, either roots or herbs, sustained life; but when they reached the sands, many of them had recourse to a dire expedient: for taking by lot one man in ten, they devoured him. Cambyses learning this, and horrified at this devouring of one another among his people, abandoned his expedition against the Ethiopians—turned back, and reached Thebes, after losing a great part of his army. From Thebes he descended to Memphis, where he dismissed the Greeks. So terminated this expedition against the Ethiopians.

Those who were sent to attack the Ammonians proceeded from Thebes, under the conduct of guides, and arrived, it is known, at a city named Oasis, inhabited by Samians, said to be of the Æschryonian tribe, and which is distant seven days' journey from Thebes across the

sands. This region, in the Greek language, is called—The island of the happy. So far this division of the army is known to have arrived; but what became of it afterwards no man knows; unless we admit what is reported by the Ammonians, or by those who repeat what they have heard from them. For the army neither reached the Ammonians, nor returned home. The account given by the Ammonians is this—When they had advanced over the sands, about half-way between Oasis and the place of their destination, it happened that while they were taking dinner, there blew a great and rushing wind from the south, bringing with it heaps of sand, under which they were buried, and utterly disappeared. Such is the story told by the Ammonians.

At the time when Cambyses arrived at Memphis, Apis, whom the Greeks call Epaphus, appeared among the Egyptians. When this manifestation took place, instantly the Egyptians put on their best attire, and gave themselves to jollity. Cambyses observing their rejoicings, undoubtingly concluded that it was on account of his late misfortunes; and therefore summoned the magistrates of Memphis. When they appeared before him, he said—“When I first was at Memphis, the Egyptians acted in no such way; why then do they rejoice, when I come after losing great part of the army?” To this they replied, that their god, who was wont to manifest himself only at distant intervals, had appeared to them, and that when he appeared then all the Egyptians were accustomed to rejoice with feasting. Cambyses hearing this, said they lied, and as liars he put them to death. These persons having suffered, he next called the priests into his presence, who affirmed the same as the last; upon which he said he would not be ignorant if indeed a god, so tractable, was wont to come to the Egyptians; and forthwith he commanded the priests to lead Apis into his presence: they went therefore to bring him.

This Apis, or as we call him Epaphus, is a steer, born of a cow that will produce no other offspring; and the Egyptians say that a flash from heaven descends upon the cow. The calf, called Apis, is known by the following signs. It is black;—has a square (*or triangular*) spot of white on the forehead;—on the back, the resemblance of an eagle—in the tail double hairs, and on (*or under*) the tongue, a beetle. When the priests introduced Apis, Cambyzes, as if in a fit of frenzy, drew his dagger, intending to strike the belly of Apis; but instead struck the thigh, and then laughing said to the priests—“O you block-heads! do the gods become such—consisting of blood and flesh, and that may feel iron? Yet such a god is worthy of the Egyptians! But now you shall have no reason to rejoice at having mocked me.” So saying he commanded those whose business it was, to scourge the priests, and gave orders that all the Egyptians who might be found feasting, should be put to death. Thus ended this festival, and the priests were punished. As for Apis who was wounded in the thigh, he wasted as he lay in the temple, and at length dying of his hurt, the priests buried him, without the knowledge of Cambyzes.

From that moment, as the Egyptians affirm, and in consequence of this atrocity, Cambyzes became mad, though indeed he was not of sound mind before. The first of his crimes was that which he perpetrated on Smerdis his brother, by both father and mother, whom he dismissed to Persia from Egypt, through envy, because he alone, of all the Persians, had drawn within two fingers' breadth of the full, the Ethiopian bow, brought by the Ichthyophagians:—not a man of the Persians could do this except Smerdis. When his brother had returned to Persia, Cambyzes saw a vision in his sleep: he thought he beheld a messenger coming from Persia, and announcing that Smerdis was seated on the royal throne, and that he touched the heavens with his head. Upon this, fearing

for himself, lest his brother should kill him and reign, he despatched Prexaspes to Persia—a man beyond any other trustworthy, to destroy him. He, proceeding to Susa, killed Smerdis—as some say, while hunting; others affirm that he led the prince to the Red Sea, and there drowned him.

This it is said was the first of the outrageous crimes of Cambyses: the second was perpetrated towards his own sister, who followed him to Egypt, and whom he married, contrary to the ancient customs of the Persians. Before doing so he convoked the royal judges, and asked them—If there was any law permitting one who wished to marry his own sister, to do so? These royal judges are approved persons among the Persians, who, during the term of their lives, or at least till they are detected in some act of injustice, judge causes among the people, and expound the ancient constitutions, and are the final arbiters of all questions. To the inquiry of Cambyses these judges gave an answer that was at once just (*or conformable to law*) and yet safe (*for themselves*). They said—They found indeed no law commanding a brother to marry a sister. But they found a law which permitted a king of Persia to do whatever he pleased. Thus, while they did not violate law, from dread of Cambyses, they avoided bringing destruction upon themselves in enforcing the law, by adducing another which gave him support in marrying his sister. Cambyses did so therefore, and not long afterwards he married another sister also; and the younger of them, who accompanied him to Egypt, he put to death. Two accounts relative to her death, as well as concerning that of Smerdis, are abroad. The Greeks affirm that Cambyses on one occasion, when his wife was present, set a lion's whelp to fight with a young dog: the dog being vanquished, a puppy of the same litter, bursting its chain, came forward to its brother's assistance. The two dogs now united, mastered the cub. This greatly

delighted Cambyses. But his wife by his side shed tears. Cambyses noticing this, asked why she wept. She said, in seeing the dog avenge his brother she wept, remembering Smerdis, who, she knew, had found no avenger. According to the Greeks she perished by order of Cambyses for this speech. But the Egyptians, say that, as they sat at table, his wife took a lettuce, and stripped it of its leaves, and then asked her husband which was the prettiest—a lettuce stripped to the core, or one thick with its foliage. When he said, one with its leaves, she replied—"But you have cut round the house of Cyrus, as this lettuce is pared." Enraged by this answer, he gave her a kick; and she being then with child, died of the blow.

Thus madly did Cambyses behave towards his own family: we say not whether this happened to him on account of Apis, or from other more common causes—such as are wont to bring misfortunes upon men. It is indeed said that Cambyses from his birth laboured under a powerful malady, called by some the sacred disease (*epilepsy*). No wonder then that, as his body was so much distempered, his mind should not be sound.

Towards the Persians in general, his behaviour was also that of a madman. To Prexaspes—a man whom he highly honoured—who performed the office of presenting despatches, and whose son was king's cup-bearer—a place of no little dignity—he is reported to have addressed the following questions:—"Prexaspes," said he, "what sort of man do the Persians think me? and in what terms do they speak of me?" To this he replied,—“My Lord, in all other respects they extol you greatly; but they say you are too much addicted to wine.” Cambyses enraged at hearing this, replied — “The Persians affirm that, by giving myself to wine, I am beside myself—that I have lost all discretion? Then, if it be so, what they before said of me was not true.” For on a former oc-

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casion, when at table with the Persian nobles, Croesus being present, Cambyses had asked—"What am I, when compared with Cyrus, my father?" To which they answered, that he was superior to his father; since he not only held his father's possessions, but had acquired also Egypt, and the dominion of the sea. So spoke the Persians; but Croesus not pleased with this decision, thus addressed Cambyses—"To me now, O son of Cyrus, you seem not comparable to your father; for it is not yet your happiness, as it was his, to leave a son like yourself." Cambyses was delighted with this reply, and praised the judgment of Croesus.

It was in the recollection of this, that Cambyses so angrily addressed Prexaspes—"Now yourself observe, whether the Persians speak truly, or whether, in saying such things of me, they are not themselves insane; for if I strike your son to the heart, as he stands there in the vestibule, it will appear that the Persians have no ground for what they affirm. But if I miss my aim, the Persians will be proved to be in the right, and that I am not of sound mind." So saying, he bent his bow, and hit the youth, who fell dead. Cambyses then ordered the body to be opened, and the wound to be examined; when the shaft was found in the heart. "There Prexaspes," said he, laughing, and in high glee—"it is proved to you that I am not mad; but that it is the Persians who have lost their wits. Now tell me, did you ever know a man hit his mark more nicely?" Prexaspes perceiving that he had to do with a mad man, and fearing for his own life, replied—"My Lord, I really think that a god could not have shot better." In a like temper, on another occasion, without any just cause, he seized twelve Persians of high rank, and buried them alive up to the head.

While pursuing this course, Croesus judged it proper to admonish him in the following terms—"O king, indulge not thus your anger, and the heat of youth; but rather

possess and command yourself. It is a good thing to look to consequences, and wise to be cautious in good time. You put men to death—your own subjects, seized without just cause;—you slaughter children. If you continue this course, take care the Persians do not revolt from you. Your father Cyrus strictly enjoined me to admonish you, and to suggest any thing that might seem to me for your good.” Thus he gave proof of his friendship: but Cambyzes answered, “And do you dare to give me counsel! You! who so prosperously administered your own kingdom! You! who so sagely advised my father to pass the Araxes, and to advance upon the Massagetes, when they were willing to come over to our side? You have then ruined yourself by the mismanagement of your state, and you destroyed Cyrus who yielded to your persuasions. But you shall have no reason to bless yourself; for of a long time I have sought to catch an occasion against you.” So saying, he seized his bow, as if to shoot at him; but Cræsus withdrew, and ran away; Cambyzes failing in his purpose, commanded his attendants to take and kill him. But they, knowing well his temper, hid Cræsus; supposing that the king would alter his mind, and seek for him; in which case they, on producing him, should receive gifts as the price of his redemption. But if he should not relent, or wish for him again, then they would put him to death. But after a very short time, Cambyzes again wished for Cræsus, and the attendants perceiving it, announced that he was still living: upon which he said, he was indeed rejoiced that Cræsus survived; but as for those who had saved him, they should not go unpunished, but die for it: and he fulfilled the threat.

Such was the furious behaviour of Cambyzes, both towards his subjects and his allies. While at Memphis, he opened the ancient repositories of the dead, and examined the bodies; and entering the temple of

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Vulcan, he made sport of the image of the deity. For there is there an image of Vulcan, nearly resembling the images called Pataëci, which the Phœnicians place at the prows of their galleys. For the benefit of those who have not seen them, I may mention that these figures represent pygmies. Cambyses entered also the temple of the Cabeiri, into which it is unlawful for any but the priest to go:—the images of this temple he burned, after deriding them in various ways:—they are similar to those of Vulcan; of whom the Cabeiri are said to be the sons.

From all these instances, it is evident to me that Cambyses was utterly deranged; for otherwise, he certainly would not have attempted to make sport of things sacred, and of established usages. For if it were proposed to men to select from all existing institutions, the very best; each people, after looking round, would prefer their own: so certain is it that every nation thinks its own customs by far preferable to any that can be found. One cannot therefore believe that any but a madman would deride a people's institutions. That all men do actually thus prefer their own usages, is a truth that may be established by many and various proofs, and among such proofs, the following may be mentioned.—Darius, on one occasion, addressing some Greeks under his sway who were present, asked, "For what sum of money would you feed upon the dead bodies of your parents?" "For no sum whatever," said they, "would we perpetrate such a deed." Darius then called for some Indians, of the tribe called Callatia, who devour their parents, and said, in the presence of the Greeks, to whom what passed was made known by an interpreter;—"On receiving what sum of money would you consent to burn your fathers when they die?" They, uttering a loud shriek, conjured him to talk of things less offensive. Now all this is the effect only of established usage. Well sung Pindar, I think when he said, 'Custom is the king of all men.'

SECTION II.

THE STORY OF POLYCRATES, AND OF PERIANDER.

[At the time that Cambyses invaded Egypt, the Lacedæmonians undertook an expedition against Samos, and Polycrates, son of Ajax, who had violently possessed himself of the island. At first Polycrates had divided the state into three parts, which he shared with his two brothers, Pantagnotus and Syloson; but presently killing one, and banishing Syloson, the younger, he held the whole island. Having confirmed himself in his authority, he formed an alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt—sending gifts, and receiving others in return. Within a very short time, the affairs of Polycrates prospered so much, that his fame was noised throughout Ionia and all Greece. Which way soever he turned his arms, he met good fortune. He had one hundred fifty-oared galleys, and a thousand archers: he drove all before him, and plundered friends and foes, without distinction; professing that he gratified a friend more by restoring what he had seized, than by taking nothing. He took many of the islands, and not a few cities on the continent: and the Lesbians, who came with all their forces to succour the Milesians, he vanquished in a naval engagement, and took them prisoners: these captives dug the entire trench, which encompasses the wall of Samos, (*the city.*)

The extraordinary good fortune of Polycrates was not hid from Amasis; on the contrary, it excited his solicitude: and when at length, still greater successes followed his fortunes, the Egyptian king wrote a letter in the following terms, which he sent to Samos:—

“ Thus says Amasis to Polycrates:—it is pleasant to be informed of the successful exploits of a friend and ally; but your too great good fortune pleases me not—knowing as I do, that the divinity is envious. For myself, and for those in whose welfare I am most interested, I would rather have something
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of prosperity in our undertakings, with some mishaps: so that we might hold out the longer—experiencing vicissitudes, rather than being in all things prosperous. For I have neither known, nor heard of any man, universally successful, who was not at last miserably overthrown. Now therefore, if you will be advised by me, you will contravene your good fortune in some such way as this:—Consider what, among all your treasures, you can find that is most valued by you, and the loss of which would most afflict your very soul:—this so cast away, that it may henceforth never more be seen. And if in future your successes are not mingled with an interchange of misfortunes, again apply a remedy such as I have proposed.”

On reading this letter, Polycrates gave serious attention to what he thought the good advice of Amasis, and inquired of himself what it was among his treasures the loss of which would most afflict his spirit.—He found on reflection, that the article most dear to him was a signet he wore set in gold; the stone was an emerald, wrought by Theodorus, son of Telecles a Samian. When he had resolved to cast it away, he went on board a fifty-oared galley, full manned, and ordered the men to make for the high seas: having distanced the island, he, in the sight of all on board, drew off the signet, and threw it into the main. So done, he turned his sail, and reaching his palace, lent himself to his calamity.

On the fifth or sixth day after this, the following circumstance occurred:—A fisherman having caught a fish of extraordinary size and goodness, thought proper to offer it as a gift to Polycrates:—bringing it to the gates, he said he wished to be introduced to Polycrates: when he approached, presenting the fish, he said, “O king, having caught this, I judged that it should not be carried into the market; although indeed I live by my labour: but I deemed it worthy of you, and of your state. I bring it therefore and give it you.” He, pleased with the address, thus replied:—“You have well done, and I give you double thanks; first for your speech; next for the gift, and I invite you to supper.” The fisherman thinking much of the invitation, went to his home. When the servants came to cut up the fish, they found in its belly the signet of Poly-

crates. Seeing it, they took it instantly, with great joy to the king, and in giving it to him, said where it had been found. He thinking the affair to be a divine intimation, wrote an account of what he had done, and of what had happened, and despatched it to Egypt.

Amasis, on reading this epistle from Polycrates, learned from it that it is impossible for man to rescue man from the fate that awaits him; and inferring that Polycrates was not to finish his course well, since he was (*at present*) fortunate in all things, and had even found what he had cast away, sent a herald to Samos to dissolve the bonds of amity. This he did, lest a great and grievous calamity befalling Polycrates, he should himself suffer affliction in sympathy with one whom he reckoned among his friends.

It was against this universally prosperous Polycrates, that the Lacedæmonians made war. They had been invited to do so by those Samians, who afterwards founded Cydonia in Crete. For when Cambyses was collecting his forces for the invasion of Egypt, Polycrates had sent to him, requesting the Persian to make a demand upon Samos for a contingent of men. Cambyses no sooner received this request, than he readily despatched a messenger, asking Polycrates to send a naval force to attend him in his invasion of Egypt. He then selected from among the citizens those whom he most suspected of seditious intentions. These he sent out in forty galleys, enjoining Cambyses not to send them home again. There are those who affirm, that these Samians, sent out by Polycrates, never reached Egypt; but that when they came off Carpathus, they conferred together, and resolved to sail no further. While some say that, arriving in Egypt, and finding themselves watched, they made their escape, and returning to Samos, Polycrates met and engaged them at sea; — that they were victorious, and landed on the island, where, in their turn, they were vanquished; and, in consequence, sailed away for Lacedæmon. Again there are others who affirm, that these Samians, on their return from Egypt, conquered Polycrates; but in so saying, I think they err; for had they been able by themselves to withstand Polycrates, there would have been no need for them to call in

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the aid of the Lacedæmonians. Besides, it is not credible that a prince having in his pay a large body of mercenaries, and of native archers, should be vanquished by a small number of returning Samians. Moreover, Polycrates had in his power, and shut up in the arsenals, the children and wives of the citizens, whom he would have burned, together with the arsenals, if the Samians at home had surrendered themselves to those who returned.

When the Samians, expelled by Polycrates, arrived at Sparta, and presented themselves before the magistrates, they urged their petition in many words. But these, at the first audience, replied, that the first portion of their address they had forgotten, and the last they had not understood. Afterwards, when the Samians the second time presented themselves, they said nothing more than these words, as they presented a sack—"The sack wants meal." To which the Spartans replied that, by the sack, they had superseded further discourse, and they decreed to grant the aid. The Lacedæmonians forthwith made preparations, and sent out a force against Samos: and this, as the Samians affirm, by way of discharging a debt of gratitude incurred when the Samians aided the Lacedæmonians with ships in the Messenian war. But the Lacedæmonians say that they undertook this expedition, not so much to avenge these Samians at their request, as because they wished to punish the (*other*) Samians for seizing the vase, sent by them to Cræsus, and the thoracle, which Amasis had sent as a present to themselves: for the Samians had robbed them of the thoracle the year before they took the vase. This thoracle (*or corselet*) was of linen, and in-wrought with many figures of animals, and adorned with gold, and flocks of cotton. But what is the most admirable, is that each thread of the thoracle, though very slender, consists of three hundred and sixty threads, all perceptible. A similar corselet was dedicated by Amasis to the Lindian Minerva.

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568.

The Corinthians with much zeal gave their aid to the Lacedæmonians in this expedition against Samos; for they had received an affront from the Samians in the preceding age, about the time when the cup was stolen.—Periander, son of Cypselus,

had sent to Sardis, for Alyattes, three hundred youths, sons of Corcyraean nobles, as slaves. When the Corinthians who conducted them approached Samos, the Samians learning for what purpose these children were to be carried to Sardis, first instructed them to touch the temple of Diana; and then prohibited any one to withdraw the suppliants from the sanctuary. The Corinthians then prevented their receiving sustenance. To afford them a supply the Samians celebrated a festival—in the same way as at present—and when night arrived, and while the youths were in sanctuary, they appointed chorusses of virgins and young men, who, according to custom, carried cakes made of sesame and honey: this was done, that the Corcyraean children might seize the provisions for their support. This they continued to do, until at length the Corinthian guards departed, leaving their charge. The Samians then conveyed the children back to Corcyra.

If, after the death of Periander, friendship had been cultivated between the Corinthians and Corcyraeans, the former would not, on account of the affront just mentioned, have joined in the invasion of Samos. But in fact, always, from the first colonization of the island, there have existed disagreements between the two people; and therefore the Corinthians harboured this old grudge against the Samians. For Periander had taken and sent these noble Corcyraean youths as slaves to Sardis, only to revenge an atrocious deed, committed by the people of Corcyra.—After Periander had killed his own wife, Melissa, to this first calamity succeeded another. He had two sons by Melissa, the one aged seventeen, the other eighteen years.—Their maternal grandfather, Procles, tyrant of Epidaurus, sent for these youths, and, as was natural, they being his daughter's sons, very fondly entertained them. When he sent them back, he said, as he led them forth—"Know you now my sons who it was that killed your mother?" To this speech, the elder of them gave no heed; but the younger, named Lycophron, in hearing it, so grieved, that when he arrived at Corinth, regarding his father as the murderer of his mother, he neither saluted him, nor answered when spoken to; and when questioned, would not utter a word. At length Periander in a rage drove him from the palace.

Lycophron being thus dismissed, the father inquired of his elder son what their grandfather had said to them ; and he in reply described how kindly they had been received ; but the parting word of Procles, to which indeed he had given no attention, he did not repeat. But Periander declared that it could not be but that he had suggested something to them, and continued to urge his inquiries, till, at length, the youth recollected, and repeated the speech. Periander reflecting upon this, and resolving no longer to cherish tenderness, sent a messenger to those who had received his expelled son, forbidding them to entertain him in their houses. In consequence of this, the youth, driven from one house, sought refuge in another, and was expelled from that also : for Periander had threatened all who received him, and commanded that he should be forced away. Thus driven about, he wandered from house to house among his friends, who though with apprehension, yet could not refuse admittance to the son of Periander. In the end, Periander made proclamation by a herald, that whoever received his son into their houses, or even held discourse with him, should pay a certain fine—which he named—to the temple of Apollo. After this, no one would either entertain or speak to him : while the youth, not thinking it right to tempt a violation of his father's ordinance, and yet adhering to his resolution, loitered about the porticos. But on the fourth day, Periander seeing him unwashed, and languishing for want of food, felt compassion—remitted his anger—approached him, and thus spoke.—“ Tell me my son, which is preferable—what you now endure, or to receive royalty with the goods which I possess, in adapting yourself to your father's wishes ? You ! the son of him who is master of the wealth of Corinth, have chosen the life of a vagabond, in spitefully opposing the person, whom least of all you ought so to treat. If a calamity has befallen our family, on account of which you suspect me, remember that to me it has happened also, and upon me falls the heaviest part of it, inasmuch as I it was who did it (*slew his mother.*) As for yourself, having learned (*the truth of the saying*) that it is better to be envied than pitied, and feeling what it is to enrage a parent and a superior,

return to your home." By these persuasions, Periander sought to gain his son; but he made no other answer than to tell his father that, "in conversing with him, he had made himself liable to pay the fine to the god." Periander now perceiving that the ill disposition of his son was incurable, and invincible, resolved to dismiss him from his sight; and for this purpose equipped a vessel to proceed with him to Coreyra;—for he held that island under his sway. Having despatched his son, Periander made war upon his father-in-law, Procles, as being the chief author of what had happened. And he captured Epidaurus—took Procles, and held him a captive.

Time passed on; Periander grew old, and being conscious that he was no longer able to superintend his affairs, or give command, sent to Coreyra to recal Lycophon, that he might assume the government; for he could not look to his elder son, whose disposition appeared altogether inert. But Lycophon, deigned not to give so much as an answer to the messenger. Periander, who really loved the youth, next sent to him his daughter, and the sister of Lycophon, thinking that she would be most likely to persuade him. When she arrived, she thus addressed him—"Would you, young man, that the government should pass to others; and had you rather that your father's house should be torn asunder, than yourself come and possess it? Come then home, and put an end to your self-inflicted punishment. This resolution is an unpromising fortune for you. Attempt not to heal one evil by another. Many prefer amiable concessions to just demands; and there are those who, while zealous for the honour of a mother, cast from them the possessions of a father. A throne is a precarious property—it has many lovers. *He* is already an old man, and passed his strength. Give not therefore your own to others." Thus, as instructed by her father, she said what seemed likely to persuade him. But he answered that he would never return to Corinth while he knew that his father survived. When she took back this reply to her father, he, a third time, sent a herald, to say that he himself intended to come to Coreyra, and he commanded Lycophon to return to Corinth, and assume the government. The son consenting to this, Periander pre-

pared for his journey to Corcyra ; while Lycophron set forward on his return to Corinth. But the people of Corcyra, being informed of what was taking place — to prevent Periander from coming among them, slew the young man. This was the motive of the vengeance which Periander wrecked upon the Corcyræans.

The Lacedæmonians arriving with a great armament, besieged the city of Samos. They approached the fortifications, and had already passed a tower of the suburbs that faced the sea, when they were driven back by Polycrates himself, who advanced with a numerous body of men. At the same time the auxiliaries, with many of the Samians, descended from a fort, situated on the ridge of the mountain. These the Lacedæmonians sustained for a short time, and then fled : the enemy pursued, and many were slain. If on this day all the Lacedæmonians present in the action had behaved like Archias and Lycopas, Samos might have been taken.—Archias and Lycopas alone following the retreating Samians, entered the walls, and their retreat being cut off, they were slain in Samos. The grandson of this Archias—himself of that name, and the son of Samius, I met with at Pitane, of which place he was a native. He held the Samians in higher esteem than any other strangers, and said that the cognomen—*Samius*, had been given to his father in commemoration of the valiant death of his grandfather in Samos : and he so highly honoured the people of that city, because they had buried his grandfather at the public cost.

The Lacedæmonians having besieged Samos forty days, without making any progress toward the accomplishment of their object, returned to Peloponnesus. A report destitute of foundation has gone abroad, that Polycrates coined a large quantity of Samian money of lead, gilded, which he gave them, and which they accepting, took their departure. This is the first expedition into Asia, undertaken by the Lacedæmonian Dorians.

Those Samians, who had excited this war against Polycrates, seeing that the Lacedæmonians were about to abandon

them, sailed away to Siphnus; for they were in want of money, and the affairs of the Siphnians were then in so prosperous a condition, that they were the richest of all the islanders. In truth, their island contained mines of gold and silver, which were so productive, that the treasure amassed at Delphi accruing from a tythe of these mines, may bear comparison with that of the most opulent people. They divided among themselves every year the precious metals. When these islanders dedicated the treasure (*at Delphi*) they inquired of the oracle, 'Whether the wealth they then enjoyed was long to remain their's?' The Pythian gave them this answer—

' When Siphnus' halls and market too are white,
Then will she need a man of keenest sight
To watch a wooden band,* and herald, crimson dight.'

The Prytanæum (*senate house*) and market house of Siphnus were then embellished with Parian marble. This response they were not at that time able to comprehend, nor even when the Samians arrived off the island. These, as soon as they drew towards shore, sent forward one of their ships to the city, having on board an embassy. Anciently, all ships were painted red. This was the meaning of the Pythian, when she enjoined them to guard themselves against a wooden band (*or ambush*) and a red herald. The messengers arriving at the city, requested of the Siphnians a loan of twenty talents, and when the Siphnians refused to advance the money, the Samians ravaged the country. The citizens informed of this, instantly went out to protect their property, and engaging the Samians they were beaten. In the retreat, many of them were cut off from entering the walls, and then the Samians exacted a hundred talents.

From the Hermionians the Samians received, instead of money, the island of Hydrea, off the coast of Peloponnesus, which they committed in trust to the Trœzenians. They then founded the colony of Cydonia in Crete, to which island they

* λοχος, a cohort—an ambuscade.

sailed only to expel the Zacynthians from it. Yet they remained there and prospered during five years. It was they who reared the temples now seen at Cydonia, and even the fane of Dictyna. But in the sixth year, the Æginetans joining the Cretans, vanquished them in a sea fight, and reduced them to slavery. The prows of the Samian vessels, which bore the figure of a goat, were detached and dedicated to Minerva in her temple at Ægina. The Samians were thus treated by the Æginetans from an old grudge; for their ancestors, when Amphicrates reigned in Samos, invading Ægina, had committed great outrages;—yet not then without retaliations.—This was the occasion of their hatred.

I have dwelt longer on the affairs of the Samians, because they have distinguished themselves beyond any other Greeks by three works of great magnitude. Of these, the first is a tunnel, cut through a mountain, one hundred and fifty fathoms in height; it pierces the mountain at its base, and has an exit on each side: the length of the excavation is seven furlongs;—the height and the width one hundred feet; throughout the extent of it there runs a trench, twenty cubits deep, and three feet wide. By means of this trench, water is brought from an abundant spring, and is distributed through the city by pipes. The engineer who performed the work was Eupalinus, of Megara, son of Naustrophus. So much for the first of these works: the second is a mole, carried out to sea, and surrounding the harbour: its depth is twenty fathoms, and the length more than two furlongs. The third work of the Samians is a temple, more spacious than any other we have seen. The first architect of this structure was a native of the island, named Rhœcus, son of Phileus. These works claim for the people a more distinct notice than otherwise I should have bestowed on them.]

SECTION III.

DEATH OF CAMBYSES, USURPATION OF THE MAGES.

While Cambyses, son of Cyrus, lingered in Egypt, committing the extravagances of a madman, two brothers who were Mages conspired against him. One of these men Cambyses had left guardian of the palace; and it was he who devised the plot; for when he learned the death of Smerdis, and found that the fact was concealed, and known to very few of the Persians, while the multitude believed him to be still living, he concerted his measures and possessed himself of the palace. His brother, who as I have said, joined him in the plot, very much resembled Smerdis, son of Cyrus, whom Cambyses, had put to death: he bore also the very same name, as well as the same appearance. This man, the other Mage — named Patizeithes, who engaged to manage the whole affair, placed upon the royal throne. This done, he despatched heralds in various directions, and to Egypt also, to inform the army that henceforth it was to Smerdis, son of Cyrus, not to Cambyses, they were to pay obedience.

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All the heralds made this proclamation where they went: he who was despatched to Egypt, found Cambyses with the army at Egbatana, in Syria. Posting himself in the midst of the camp, he made the announcement enjoined him by the Mage. Cambyses hearing this from the herald, and supposing that what he said was true, and that he had been betrayed by Prexaspes, who, he imagined, though sent to put Smerdis to death, had

failed to do so—looked at that officer, and exclaimed—“Prexaspes, is it thus you have performed for me the part I assigned you?”—“My lord,” said he, “what you have just heard is not true: it is not true that your brother Smerdis has revolted against you, or that any opposition, more or less, can be made to you by that person, for I myself executed your commands, and I buried him with these very hands. But if now the dead may rise again, then expect Astyages the Mede to rise up against you. But if things hold their wonted course, then no changes shall spring up to you from him (*your brother*). I think therefore that we should pursue the herald, and inquire of him from whom he comes to proclaim, that we are to obey king Smerdis.”

Thus spoke Prexaspes, and Cambyses approved his advice. Instantly the herald was pursued, and brought back, and was thus addressed by Prexaspes: “You say, man, that you come as the messenger of Smerdis, son of Cyrus: now if you speak the truth, you shall go hence in peace. But did Smerdis himself show himself to you, and face to face give you these commands; or was it one of his ministers from whom you received them?” He replied—“Smerdis, son of Cyrus, I have never seen since the day when the king Cambyses set forward to invade Egypt. But the Mage, whom Cambyses made prefect of the palace—he it was who gave me these orders, saying that Smerdis—he who was son of Cyrus, directed this message to be conveyed to you.” In all this the man uttered nothing untrue. Cambyses then said, addressing Prexaspes, “You then, like a good man, have fulfilled your instructions, and so escape blame. But who among the Persians is it that conspires against me, and usurps the name of Smerdis?” “I think,” said he, “that I understand what has taken place;—it is the Mages who have revolted against you;

I mean Patizeithes, whom you left steward of the palace, and his brother, named Smerdis."

As soon as Cambyses heard this name, Smerdis, the truth, both of the present report, and of the vision, smote him;—for he had thought that one announced to him that Smerdis, sitting on the throne of the kingdom, touched the heavens with his head. Perceiving now that his brother had perished on a vain surmise, he wept for him. After giving vent to his sorrow, and bitterly deploring all this weight of calamity, he sprang upon his horse, resolving instantly to march to Susa against the Mage: but in leaping on horseback, the embossed end of the scabbard of his scymetar fell off, and the blade being so far bared, wounded the thigh: this wound happened in the part corresponding to that in which he had struck the Egyptian god Apis. When he knew that he had received a mortal wound, Cambyses inquired what might be the name of the city:—they said, Egbatana. He had some time before received a prediction from the oracle at Butos, declaring that he was to end his days at Egbatana. This prediction he interpreted of Egbatana in Media, where were all his treasures, and where he supposed he should die, an old man; but the oracle intended the Syrian town of that name. When he had thus been informed of the name of the place, struck with a sense of his unhappiness, both from the revolt of the Mage and from his wound, he returned to his right mind, and apprehending the sense of the divine prediction, said, "Here Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is fated to die."

Nor more at that time:—but about twenty days afterwards, he summoned all the most distinguished Persians who were in attendance, and thus addressed them:—"Persians! I am overtaken by circumstances which lead me to declare what, of all things, I had especially concealed. While in Egypt, I saw in my sleep a vision: would that I had not seen it! I thought a messenger

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arrived from my palace, announcing to me that Smerdis, sitting on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. Fearing lest the kingdom should be taken from me by my brother, I adopted measures more hasty than wise; for it belongs not to human nature to avert what is to take place. But I, vain man as I was, despatched Prexaspes to put Smerdis to death. Having perpetrated this crime, I lived at my ease, for little did I think that—Smerdis taken out of the way—another man would rise up against me. But utterly mistaking what was to happen, I became the murderer of my brother—to no purpose; for notwithstanding this act I am deprived of the kingdom. It was Smerdis the Mage whom the dæmon announced to me as about to set himself up in my place. But the deed was perpetrated by me. You will therefore reckon that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, is no more, and that it is the Mage—he whom I left steward of the palace, and his brother, who have possessed themselves against you, of the regal state. And now, he whose part especially it would have been to avenge for me the dishonour I have suffered from the Mages—he, by an atrocious crime, has received death at the hands of his nearest relatives. He then being no more, it next remains for me to convey to you, Persians, my urgent injunctions as to what I would have done, when life to me is ended. I do therefore enjoin you, in the name of the gods of the realm—you all, and eminently you who are present of the Achæmenidian house, not to connive at the return of the sovereign power again to the Medes. But if by craft they go about to obtain it, by craft deprive them of it; or if by might they work it out for themselves, by still greater might wrest it from them. If thus you act, may your lands yield their increase to you; your wives and your herds be fruitful; and you remain for ever free! But if you rescue not the sovereign power, nor even attempt to rescue it, I imprecate upon you the contrary of all these;

and still worse—may the fate of every Persian be like mine!" Thus saying, Cambyzes deplored the issue of his course.

The Persians seeing the king weep, rent their vestments, and uttered unbounded lamentations. Soon afterwards the bone inflamed (*or became gangrenous*) the thigh mortified, and Cambyzes, son of Cyrus, died, after reigning seven years and five months. He left neither son nor daughter. The Persians present at his death gave no credence to the supposition that the Mages had possessed themselves of the government; but imagined that Cambyzes had, with an ill intention, given this account of the death of Smerdis, in order to raise against him the whole Persian nation. They therefore supposed that it was indeed the son of Cyrus who had revolted. And Prexaspes, on his part, vehemently denied that he had killed Smerdis; for it was not safe, now that Cambyzes was dead, to confess that, with his own hand, he had destroyed the son of Cyrus.

SECTION IV.

RULE AND OVERTHROW OF THE MAGES.

After the death of Cambyzes, the Mage reigned fearlessly, and under the usurped name of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, occupied the throne during the seven months which completed the eighth year of Cambyzes. In these months he won all to submission by signal favours, so that at his death he was deplored by all the people of Asia, except the Persians. For he despatched messengers to every nation under his sway, proclaiming a remission of

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the levies of men and money during three years. This proclamation was made at the instant of his assuming the government.

But in the eighth month of his reign, his pretensions were exposed by the following means.—Otanés, son of Pharnaspes, possessed, alike by birth and wealth the first rank among the Persians. This Otanés was the first to suspect that the Mage was not the son of Cyrus. The suspicion arose from the circumstance that he never issued from the citadel, and never called into his presence any of the most distinguished Persians. To satisfy this doubt he adopted the following course.—His daughter, named Phædima, had been a wife of Cambyses, and was now a wife of the Mage, who had taken also all the other wives of the late king. He sent a message therefore to his daughter, inquiring of her whether her husband was indeed Smerdis, son of Cyrus, or some other person. But in reply she declared that she did not know; for she had never before seen Smerdis, son of Cyrus; nor did she know who it was whom she called husband. Otanés sent a second time a message to this effect: “If you do not know Smerdis, ask of Atossa, whether it is the same who was her brother, and who is your husband; for undoubtedly she must know her own brother.” To this his daughter replied: “I can neither converse with Atossa, nor see any other of the women who occupy the palace. For the instant that this man, whoever he may be, assumed the royal dignity, he separated us, assigning different apartments to each.”

Otanés hearing this, still more clearly perceived the truth. He therefore communicated a third message to his daughter, in these terms:—“My daughter! it befits your noble birth to undergo perils at the command of your father. Now if Smerdis be not the son of Cyrus, but he whom I suppose, and who has made you his wife, and who holds the Persian power, he ought not to go on

with impunity; but should pay the forfeit due to his crimes. Now therefore follow my directions.—When you know him to be in the deepest sleep, feel his ears, and if you find that he has ears, then conclude that the son of Cyrus is your husband. But if he has not, then know that it is with Smerdis the Mage you have lived.” To this command Phædima returned an answer as follows—That she should incur the greatest peril in doing so; for if he had not ears, and she should be detected in feeling for them, she well knew that she must perish: yet she would attempt it. She promised therefore to fulfil her father’s commands. It must be said that Cyrus had, during his reign, cut off the ears of Smerdis, the Mage, for some capital offence. Phædima, daughter of Otanes, prepared to execute the commands of her father, when next it should be her turn to see the Mage. At length, while he was sunk into a profound sleep, she felt for his ears, and without any difficulty discovered that the man had none. Instantly, when day appeared, she sent and made known the discovery to her father.

Otanes then took with him Aspathines, and Gobryas, two Persians of high rank, and on whom he could the best rely; and related to them all that had taken place. They had themselves entertained suspicions of the fact, and therefore admitted the account of Otanes. They agreed each to select a Persian as his confidant, in whom he could place the greatest reliance. Otanes therefore introduced to the confederacy Intaphernes; Gobryas brought Megabysus; and Aspathines, Hydarnes. When these six were associated, there arrived at Susa Darius, son of Hystaspes, from Persia, of which his father was governor; and him the six Persians thought proper to associate with themselves. These seven being assembled, exchanged their word of honour with each other, and conferred together. When it came to the turn of Darius

to declare his opinion, he thus spoke:—"I had believed that I alone knew that it was the Mage who reigns, and that Smerdis, son of Cyrus, is no more; and it was with this very intent I hastened hither, that I might put the Mage to death: but now, as you also have become acquainted with the fact, and it no longer rests with me, I think we ought at once, and without delay, to execute our purpose: a more fit moment will not present itself." To this Otanes replied, "Son of Hystaspes—son of a valiant father, you show yourself not inferior to him! But an enterprize like this you must not bring forwards thus unadvisedly:—attempt it with the utmost caution. We must augment our numbers before we execute our plan."—"You who are here present," replied Darius, "if you adopt the course spoken of by Otanes, know that you shall miserably perish. For some one, consulting his private advantage, will denounce you to the Mage. You yourselves ought to have accomplished the project. But since you have thought proper to communicate it to others, and have given me a part in it—either let us do what we do this day, or know that if the day passes, no one shall prevent me, but I will myself be your accuser to the Mage."

Otanes, seeing the eagerness of Darius, replied:—"Since you thus compel us to precipitate our measures, and will allow of no delay, go on to inform us by what means we are to gain access to the palace, and how attack them; for you yourself know, having seen them, or if not you must have heard, that guards are stationed there; and how are we to pass them?" "Otanes," replied Darius, "there are many things that may be accomplished, though they cannot in words be made to appear practicable; and on the other hand, there are things which seem well enough in words, but which produce no signal issue. The guards stationed at the palace, as you know, we may pass without difficulty;

for, influenced either by respect or fear, there is no one who will not allow us to proceed. Besides, I have a very proper pretext for obtaining admission; for I shall say that I am just arrived from Persia, and wish to report to the king himself a message from my father. —If a lie must be told, let it be told:—for whether we lie or speak the truth, we all tend towards the same end—advantage: they lie who believe, that, by urging a false plea, they shall be gainers; and they speak the truth who think that truth will best promote their interests, and turn to their benefit. Thus by different processes we pursue the same thing. Except for expected gain, he who speaks truth would lie; and except for gain, he who lies would speak the truth. Now if any of the door-keepers shall readily admit us, he shall, in due time, reap his reward: as for him who attempts to oppose us, let him be treated instantly as an enemy: thus we shall push our way inwards, and perform our part.”

Gobryas next spoke:—“Can we ever, my friends, better recover the government; or if that may not be, can we die better than now, when we — we Persians, are ruled by a Mage—an earless Mage. As many of you as were present when Cambyses lay sick, well remember how in dying he imprecated curses on the Persians, if they attempted not to repossess themselves of the sovereign rule. We then admitted not his story; but imagined that he spoke from ill-will. I now therefore give my vote that we yield to Darius, and that we leave this conference only to go direct against the Mages.” To this all the others assented.

While these nobles were thus holding consultation, it happened that the following events took place.—The two Mages had agreed together to endeavour to make Prexaspes their friend; both because he had suffered a grievous wrong from Cambyses, who had slain his son;

and because he alone knew of the death of Smerdis, whom he had destroyed with his own hand. Besides, Prexaspes enjoyed a high reputation among the Persians. For these reasons, calling for him, they strove to win his friendship, and to obtain from him solemn promises that he would keep to himself, and discover to no one the fraud they had practised upon the Persians; and they promised to heap a thousand treasures upon him. Prexaspes engaged to comply with the urgent persuasions of the Mages. They then made a second proposal, which was that they should convoke a general assembly of the Persians under the walls of the palace, and that he, ascending a tower, should harangue them, and assure the people that they were governed by Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and by none other. This they enjoined upon him because his word was received with entire confidence among the Persians, and because also he had, on various occasions, declared his belief that the son of Cyrus was still living, and had positively denied the murder.

Prexaspes professed himself ready to comply with this demand also; and the Mage convoking the Persians, led him up to a turret, and commanded him to address the people. But he, wilfully forgetful of the part they wished him to act, commenced his speech by mentioning Achæmenes, the ancestor of Cyrus, and so proceeded till he had set forth the benefits conferred upon the Persians by that prince. Having expatiated on these, he declared the truth, which he said hitherto he had concealed, as it was not safe for him to confess what had taken place: but now he was forced by necessity to make known the fact. He added that he himself—compelled by Cambyzes, had put Smerdis, son of Cyrus, to death; and that it was the Mages who reigned. Then, having imprecated many curses on the Persians if they failed to regain the sovereign power, and to punish the Mages—he threw himself headlong from the tower.

Thus died Prexaspes, who had always been reputed a man of approved integrity.

The seven Persians, having resolved without delay to attack the Mage, went to make their vows to the gods. At this time they knew nothing of what had happened relative to Prexaspes; but while proceeding on their way, they were informed of all that had occurred. Immediately they retired from the road, and again conferred together. Some, with Otanes, advised strongly to defer the enterprise, and not to meddle with affairs while in a state of such fermentation. But Darius and his seconds urged to proceed instantly to execute the plan that had been arranged, and by no means to admit delay. While thus severally urging their reasons, there appeared seven pairs of hawks, pursuing two pairs of vultures, plucking and tearing them. On seeing this the seven all assented to the advice of Darius, and forthwith made for the palace—inspired by the birds (*the omen*.)

When they presented themselves at the gates, it happened, as Darius had predicted—the guards, in deference to men of such high rank, and having no suspicion of their intentions, allowed them unquestioned to pass:—marching as they did in solemn majesty.* When they reached the hall, they fell in with the eunuchs, whose office is to bring in all despatches:—these inquired of them for what purpose they came, and at the same time threatened the porters for having suffered them to pass; and themselves opposed the further progress of the seven. But they, exhorting each other, drew their daggers, and on the spot transfixed those who resisted their advance.—On then they went to the saloon.

Both the Mages happened to be at that time within,

* *Θειή πομπή χρωμένους* or—proceeding under the conduct of the gods.

consulting upon the affair of Prexaspes, when they saw the eunuchs in confusion, and heard their outcries; they both rushed out, and perceiving what was taking place, put themselves on the defensive: while one snatched up a bow, the other took a spear:—the parties then engaged. the Mage who held the bow, found it of no service against a foe at hand, and pressing upon him; but the other with his spear, defended himself, and first wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and Intaphernes in the sight, which wound cost him his eye, though not his life. While this one inflicted these wounds on his assailants, the other, finding the bow useless, fled into an inner chamber, communicating with the apartment, intending to close the doors. But two of the seven — Darius and Gobryas, rushed forward together, and the latter grappled the Mage. Darius standing by, hesitated to strike, as they were in the dark, fearing to wound Gobryas:—he, perceiving that Darius stood inactive, exclaimed, “Why use you not your hand?” “Mindful,” said he, “lest I strike you.”—“Drive your blade through both,” replied Gobryas. Darius obeying, made a thrust with his dagger, and by chance killed the Mage. The Mages being killed, and their heads cut off, the two Persians who had received wounds were left, as well on account of their exhaustion, as to keep possession of the citadel. The five, bearing the heads of the Mages, ran out, uttering shouts and cheers, and calling upon all Persians, related what they had effected, and displayed the heads. As they went on they slew every Mage who fell in their way. The Persians being now informed of what had been done by the seven nobles, as well as of the fraud practised upon them by the Mages, determined to take part themselves in what was going forward. Drawing their daggers therefore, they stabbed every Mage that was to be found: and if night had not put an end to the slaughter, not one of that order would have survived. Up to the present time, the Persians

commemorate the day beyond any other festival; the great feast then celebrated is named—the Slaughter of the Mages; and on this occasion no Mage must appear in public, and in fact they all keep close within doors.

SECTION V.

CONSULTATION OF THE CONSPIRATORS, ACCESSION OF DARIUS.

After the expiration of about five days, and when tranquillity was restored, the conspirators who had removed the Mages, deliberated on the state of affairs, and on this occasion uttered sentiments for which some of the Greeks will scarcely give them credit. Yet it is a fact that they did thus speak. Otanes advised to remit the conduct of the state to the Persians at large; his speech was as follows:—

“To me it seems that no one of us should henceforth exercise monarchical power; for this is neither agreeable (*to the holder*) nor good (*for others.*) You have seen to what an extreme of arrogance Cambyses proceeded; and you have made proof of the arrogance of the Mage. How indeed can government be well settled under a monarchy which permits the sovereign, without controul, to accomplish his will? If even to the very best of men a power like this be committed, it will draw him aside from his wonted intentions. For, from the abundance of the goods which surround him, arrogance will be generated; and envy is born with man; and he who is moved by these two passions possesses the principles of all wickedness: from the first springs a luxuriant growth of crimes; nor

less from the second, though of a different kind. One might indeed suppose that a man who holds sovereign power should be free from envy, since he possesses every good : but his subjects find that the contrary takes place ; for he entertains a grudge against every virtuous man of his times, and delights himself with the most profligate of the people, whose calumnies against the virtuous he admits. But what is most incongruous is, that if you bestow upon him only measured admiration, he is displeased—thinking you pay him too little reverence ; but if you worship him much, he is offended with you as a flatterer. But to insist upon things still more important.—A despot changes the constitutions of the country—violates the happiness of families—puts to death those who have had no trial. But a government vested in the many—in the first place possesses a name, of all names the fairest—Equality of Rights. In the next place, none of those outrages take place which occur under a monarchy. The magistracy is obtained by votes, and exercised under responsibility:—the common good is the object of all counsels. I therefore give my opinion that, dismissing monarchy, we should place sovereign power with the people ; for in the people we find all in one.” Such was the opinion of Otanes.

Megabysus was for adopting an oligarchy, and thus spoke :—“To all that Otanes has said for abolishing tyranny I assent ; but in recommending that sovereign power should be transferred to the multitude, he has erred from the better opinion : for, than the rule of the mob, nothing is more senseless—nothing more arrogant. Nor is it at all to be endured that in escaping from the arrogance of a single tyrant, men should fall under the arrogance of the profligate people. The tyrant, do what he may, does it with intelligence ; but it is not in the multitude to know what they do ; for how should they know who have no instruction—no perception of what is

good in itself, or expedient at the moment ;—who, without thought, urge affairs, and themselves rush onwards like a torrent? Let, then, the enemies of Persia, advise the establishment of a democracy. But for us it will be to select a college of the most virtuous men ; and to them commit the sovereign power :—in this college we ourselves shall be included :—from the best men it is reasonable to expect the best counsels.” This was the advice given by Megabysus.

Darius, who stood the third in order, next gave his opinion.—“ In what Megabysus has said of the people, I think he has spoken well. But of the oligarchy, not well. If the three proposed forms of government — namely, democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy, are imagined to be each in the best condition of which it is susceptible, I affirm that this last is much to be preferred ; for if the monarch be a good man, nothing better can possibly be found, than the rule of such a one who while always pursuing the same design, administers affairs exempt from the vituperations of the multitude. Under this form, better than any other, the counsels of government are concealed from men disposed to thwart its operations. But in an oligarchy, as many in common pretend to the praise of public virtue, personal contestations will violently prevail among them.—Each will wish to be the chief, and to carry his opinion ; until deep animosities are generated, from which arise seditions ; and from seditions murders ; and by murders a transition is made to monarchy. And thus it appears that this last form of government is really the best. But now when the people bear rule, the worst evils cannot fail to follow ; for when corrupt measures are participated by many, instead of rivalries taking place—(*as among oligarchs*) powerful combinations will be formed. Those who pursue corrupt measures in common will unite their forces, and this must proceed until some demagogue arises to quell the conspiracy. This

leader gains the plaudits of the people, and when his popularity is at its height, he becomes—a monarch. Thus again it appears that monarchy is the best form of government. Or to say all in a word—Whence did we receive our liberties? And who bestowed them? Was it the people? Or was it an oligarchy? Or was it a monarch who bestowed them? It is then my opinion, that as we became free under the rule of one, we should maintain the same kind of government. Besides, we ought not to dissolve the constitutions of our country, good as they are, from which change we could reap no advantage.”

Such were the three opinions proposed. The other four of the seven assented to the last. The opinion of Otanes, who studied to establish equality among the Persians—being overborne, he thus spoke in the midst of his colleagues:—“Fellow conspirators! It seems then that one of us must become king, either by taking lots, or by the election of the great body of the Persians, to whom we may refer the decision; or by some other means. Now I do not enter into contention with you;—I wish neither to govern, nor to be governed. On this condition then, I concede to you the government, namely, that neither I, nor my posterity for ever, shall be subjected to the domination of any one of you.” To this proposition the six agreed; and he, declining to compete with them, retired from the association. And to the present day his descendants alone of all the Persians, retain their liberty, and yield obedience only so far as they think proper; yet they transgress not the Persian laws.

The others consulted on the most equitable mode of appointing a king; and first they decreed that to Otanes and his issue for ever—supposing one of the seven obtained the kingdom, there should every year be given by way of distinction, a Median suit, together with such presents as are the most highly esteemed among the Persians. The bestowment of these peculiar honours was decreed because

Otanes first had concerted the revolution, and had made them a party in it. Such were the distinctions conferred upon him. They then concerted the following conditions, which should be common to them all. That they should all have liberty of access to every part of the palace, without being introduced by an officer;—excepting only the royal bed chamber;—that it should not be lawful for the king to take a wife, except from the families of the seven conspirators. For determining the election to the kingdom they agreed that they should ride together out of the city, and that he whose horse first neighed, after the rising of the sun, should obtain the kingdom.

The man who officiated as master of the horse to Darius, was a person of intelligence. To this person, named Œbares, Darius addressed himself, after the council broke up:—"Œbares," said he, "the plan we have adopted for appointing a king is this—he is to be king whose horse first neighs at sun-rise, as we ride together. Now therefore if you have any science, use some contrivance by means of which *we*, and not another, may obtain the prize." Œbares thus replied:—"If indeed, my lord, it depends upon this, whether or not you are to be king, confide in the event, and be of good courage; for no one shall be king before you. I have medicaments, such as we need." "If, then," said Darius, "you are possessed of a device, now is the time for putting it in practice: defer not to use it;—for to-morrow is to be our trial." Œbares, as soon as it was dark; took the favourite companion of the horse Darius was to ride to the suburbs, where he left it, and led the horse afterwards to the same place.

At dawn of day, the six, according to appointment, appeared on horseback, and proceeded through the suburbs: when they drew near the place where the mare had been left, the horse of Darius moved forwards and neighed: at the same instant there was a flash of lightning with thunder from a clear sky. These things happening to

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Darius as if by concert, accomplished his designation; and the others alighting from their horses, did him reverence as king.

SECTION VI.

THE TWENTY SATRAPIES OF DARIUS.

Darius, son of Hystaspes, was acknowledged king. And, except the Arabians, all the nations of Asia whom Cyrus first, and Cambyses afterwards had vanquished, submitted to his sway. The Arabians indeed never yielded obedience, or became subject to the Persians; but remained on terms of alliance, affording to Cambyses passage to Egypt; for without their consent the Persians would never have been able to penetrate into Egypt.

Darius contracted his first marriages in Persian families:—he took to wife the two daughters of Cyrus—Atossa, and Artystone: the first had been the wife of her brother Cambyses, and afterwards of the Mage; but Artystone had not before been married: he took also Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus; and had besides the daughter of Otanes, who had detected the Mage. When his authority was every where confirmed, he set up first a statue of himself in stone: it represented his person on horseback, and bore an inscription to this purport:—“Darius, son of Hystaspes, by the courage of his horse—the name of which was given—and by means of Œbares, his groom, obtained the kingdom of Persia.” These things being accomplished in Persia, he next distributed his dominions into twenty governments, called satrapies. And having arranged the provinces, and appointed

governors to them, he fixed the tax which was to accrue to him from each. In this distribution he joined contiguous nations together; or sometimes passing over those which bordered on each other, he assigned to the same government nations lying more remote.*

[Thus he regulated the governments and the annual revenues :—Those who paid tribute in silver were to bring the stipulated weight according to the Babylonian talent; while the Euboic talent was the measure for gold :—the Babylonian talent is equal to seventy Euboic pounds. Neither in the reign of Cyrus, nor again in that of Cambyses, were any fiscal ordinances established; but the nations brought presents. On account of this taxing, as well as for several measures of a similar kind, the Persians were wont to say that Darius was a trader; Cambyses a lord; but Cyrus a father :—for the first managed all his affairs with a view to gain;—the second was at once severe and negligent; while the last was gentle, and in every thing laboured for the good of his subjects.

The Ionians, the Magnesians—of Asia, the Æolians, the Carians, the Lycians, the Mileyans, and the Pamphylians, were together enjoined to furnish four hundred talents of silver :—these formed the first satrapy. The Mysians, the Lydians, the Lasonians, the Cabalians, and the Hygennians, were taxed at five hundred talents :—this is the second satrapy. The Hellespontines—on the right (*the Asiatic*) side, the Phrygians, the Thracians—of Asia, the Paphlagonians, the Mariandynians, and the Syrians, paid three hundred and sixty talents :—this is the third satrapy. The Cilicians furnished three hundred and sixty white horses—one for every day of the year; besides five hundred talents of silver. Of this sum, one hundred and forty

* The version commonly given of this passage contradicts the facts as stated presently afterwards by our author. His meaning seems to be that, instead of making all the satrapies compact and *orbicular*, some of them were composed of nations lying on a *straggling line*, and which, for reasons of local convenience, might best be comprehended under the same superintendant. Major Rennell notices the seeming inconsistency without fully explaining it.

talents were employed in maintaining a body of horse in Cilicia; the remaining three hundred and sixty were carried to Darius:—this is the fourth satrapy. The country extending from the city Posidæum, built by Amphilocho, son of Amphiaras, on the borders of Cilicia and Syria, as far as Egypt, —excepting a district belonging to Arabia, which was exempt from tribute—paid three hundred and fifty talents:—this, which was the fifth satrapy, includes all Phœnicia, the country called the Syrian Palestine, and Cyprus. Egypt, and the parts of Libya contiguous to Egypt, with Cyrene and Barca, which were comprehended in the Egyptian government, paid seven hundred talents, exclusive of the revenues accruing from the fish of the lake Mœris; and exclusive also of an additional tribute of grain: for 120,000 measures were furnished to maintain the Persians and their auxiliaries, who occupied the white fortress at Memphis:—this is the sixth satrapy. The Sattagydes, the Gondarians, the Dadices, and the Aparytes, were comprehended in the seventh satrapy, and paid one hundred and seventy talents. Susa and the remaining part of Cissia, formed the eighth satrapy, and paid three hundred talents.

Babylon, and the rest of Assyria, rendered to Darius 1,000 talents of silver, and five hundred youths, for the service of the palace:—this was the ninth satrapy. Ecbatana, with the rest of Media—the Paricanians, and the Orthocorybantians, paid four hundred and fifty talents, and formed the tenth satrapy. The Caspians, the Pausices—both Pantimathians and Dareites, rendered two hundred talents:—this is the eleventh satrapy. The tribute of the Bactrians, as far as the Æglians, was fixed at three hundred and sixty talents:—this was the twelfth satrapy. From Pactyica, and the Armenians, and the neighbouring people, as far as the shores of the Euxine, four hundred talents were received;—and this is the thirteenth satrapy. The Sagartians, the Saranges, the Thamanæans, the Utians, and the Mycians, with the islanders of the Erythræan sea, where the king sends those whom he banishes, paid a tribute of six hundred talents; and formed the fourteenth satrapy. The Sacæ and the Caspians (*or Casians*) rendered two hundred

and fifty talents:—this was the fifteenth satrapy. The Parthians, the Chorasmians, the Sogdians, and the Arians, paid three hundred talents; and made the sixteenth satrapy. The Paricanians and the Æthiopians of Asia, furnished four hundred talents:—this was the seventeenth satrapy. The Matienians, the Sasprians, and the Alarodians were taxed at two hundred talents; and constituted the eighteenth satrapy. From the Moschians, the Tibarenians, the Macrosians, the Mossynœcians, and the Marsians, three hundred talents were demanded: they formed the nineteenth satrapy. The Indians, a people much more numerous than any other that is known, contributed a sum proportionately larger than that of any other division, for they paid three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust (*or ingots*); this was the twentieth satrapy.

Now if these sums, reckoned by the Babylonian talent, are reduced to the Euboïc, they will amount to 9,840 talents; and if gold is reckoned at thirteen times the value of silver, then the ingots above-mentioned will amount to 4,680. These sums computed, make the yearly tribute collected by Darius, amount to 14,560 Euboïc talents. Not to mention smaller sums. This tribute he derived from Asia, and from no great extent of Libya. But at a later period he received an additional revenue from the islands (*of the Ægean sea*) and from Europe as far as Thessaly. This treasure was preserved by the king in the following manner:—The metal was melted down, and poured into earthen jars, which when filled were broken away: as often as money was wanted, the sum required for the occasion was struck from the masses.

Such were these governments, and their appointed taxes. Persia itself, and that country alone, I have not enumerated as paying tribute; for its people were exempted from taxes: yet though they paid no stipulated sums, they offered gifts. The Ethiopians bordering upon Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued when he advanced against the Macrobian Ethiopians—who live about the sacred city Nysa, and celebrate festivals to Bacchus—these people, I say, with their neighbours, who treat their dead in the same manner as the Calantian Indians, (97).

and inhabit subterranean dwellings — these together furnished—and in my time continued to do so—every third year, two chœnices of unmolten gold, two hundred planks of ebony, five Ethiopian children, and twenty large elephants' tusks. The Colchians compounded to make an offering; as did the adjoining people as far as mount Caucasus, which forms the limit of the Persian sway; for those who occupy the country north of Caucasus mind not the Persians. These people continued in my time to furnish, once in five years, the appointed offering, which consisted of two hundred youths of both sexes. The Arabians every year make an offering of a thousand talents of frankincense. Such are the gifts which the king receives, besides the tribute.

The Indians obtain the great quantity of gold which, as I have said, the king receives from them, in the manner presently to be described. The eastern part of India is a desert of sand, and of all the nations known to us, or of which we possess any certain information, the Indians are the farthest towards the east, being, on that side, the first people of Asia: for the sands render the country beyond them towards the east uninhabitable. The nations of India are many, and speak different languages. Some of these nations are nomadic; some not. Some inhabit the marshes of the river, and eat raw fish, which they pursue, and take in vessels formed of reeds (*bamboo*) each division (*between the knots*) of the reed, forms a boat (*canoe*). These Indians wear garments made from a species of rush, which grows by the rivers' side. The plant, when gathered, is beaten, and then platted in the manner of matting, and is worn as a covering to the breast. Other Indian nations, living to the east of those last mentioned, are nomadic, and eat raw flesh: they are called Padæans; and their customs are such as these—When any one labours under disease, whether man or woman, the nearest relatives or most familiar friends kill him; professing as their motive that if the person were wasted by disease, his flesh would become corrupt (*unfit to be eaten*). You shall therefore find a sick man denying himself to be ill. But his friends, being of a contrary opinion, kill and feast upon him. Thus also, when a woman is ill, her nearest

relatives follow the same practice as the men. Whoever also, attains old age, they kill and devour; but this happens to few; for most, falling into some malady, are put to death. With some other Indians, it is the rule not to take life from any thing that has breathed. They neither sow the ground, nor think of constructing houses; but subsist on herbs; their country produces also spontaneously a grain, the size of millet, enclosed in a husk: this they gather and eat, husk and all, boiled. If any one of their number falls sick, he goes forth to some desert place, and there lays himself down; nor does any one take thought of him, either dead or sick. All the Indians I have mentioned, are extremely gross in their manners. Their complexion is nearly the same as that of the Ethiopians, whom also they in other respects resemble. They occupy a region very remote from the Persians, which lies towards the south, and never yielded obedience to king Darius.

There are other Indians not far distant from the city Caspatyrus, and the region Pactyica, and therefore north of the Indian nations just mentioned. The mode of life followed by these is similar to that of the Bactrians. They are the most warlike of all the Indians; and it is these who furnish the gold. There is in that quarter a district, rendered uninhabitable by sands. This sandy desert abounds with ants, which in size are between a dog and a fox. Some of the species caught there are preserved by the Persian king. These ants form their habitations under ground, burrowing into the sand in the same manner as ants are seen to do in Greece; and indeed in the form of their bodies they are very similar. The sand in which these animals work their way, is fraught with gold; to collect which, the Indians proceed to the desert. Each man takes three camels, leashed together abreast:— a female being led between two males: the man rides the female, which he takes care is one that has been just parted from her young. Now camels are not inferior to horses in swiftness; and are besides able to support much heavier burdens. The figure of the camel is so well known to well-informed Greeks, that I need not describe it;

yet some may not know that the camel in its hind legs, has four thigh bones, and four knees.

Thus equipped then, the Indians proceed to collect the gold; and they calculate the time so as they may be engaged in the pursuit during the very hottest time of the day; for just at the hour of the greatest heat, the ants hide themselves under ground: and in that climate, the sun is the most fervent, not as elsewhere, at noon; but in the morning, from the time when it has risen some way, until the hour at which market closes:* during this space the sun burns more intensely than at noon in Greece; so that the people, it is said, sprinkle themselves then with water. At mid-day, the sun is nearly equally ardent in India as elsewhere; but presently, as the day declines, the heat becomes such as in other countries it is felt in the morning: towards evening, the temperature declines still more; and at sun-set, the cold is very great. When the Indians arrive at the spot, they fill their leathern bags with the sand, and then retreat as precipitately as possible. For instantly that the ants perceive, by the smell, as the Persians say—that the men are there, they pursue them; and in swiftness, these animals so far surpass any other creatures, that unless while the ants are rallying for the chace, the Indians had gained some good distance, not a man of them could be saved. Now it is that the male camels, being inferior in swiftness to the females, would hang in the rear, if they were not drawn along by the female, who is between them; for she, mindful of the young she has left, gives way to no sense of fatigue. Thus it is, as the Persians affirm, that the Indians obtain the greater part of their gold; for the quantity raised from mines is small.

While Greece enjoys a climate of the most happy temperament, it happens that the rarest productions fall to the share of the very extremities of the habitable earth; and thus India, as I have just said, is the farthest inhabited region towards the east, and there the animals—both quadrupeds

* About an hour before noon.

and birds, are much larger than in other countries:—we must except the horse, which is surpassed in size by the Nisæan horses of the Medes. In India also is found this prodigious quantity of gold—partly dug from the earth, partly brought down by the torrents, and partly seized in the mode above described. And there also are found those trees of the forest which, instead of fruit, bear wool (*cotton*) superior both in beauty and goodness to that of sheep. It is from these trees that the Indians obtain their clothing.

Again:—Arabia is another extremity of the habitable earth, towards the south, and this is the only country which produces frankincense, and myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and ledanum. All these productions, excepting only myrrh, the Arabians obtain with extreme difficulty. Frankincense they collect by burning the odoriferous gum—storax—the same which is imported into Greece by the Phœnicians; it is, I say, by fumigation with this gum that they obtain frankincense; for the trees which bear it, are guarded by winged serpents of a small size, and various forms, which in great numbers surround every tree: they are similar to those which invade Egypt (p. 135) and are by no means to be driven from the trees except by the smoke of the gum storax. The Arabians affirm that the whole country would be filled with these serpents, if that did not take place which I know happens to vipers. By the wise providence of God, as we may well believe, it is that those creatures which are timid, and which serve for food to others, are all so constituted as to be very prolific; lest in being preyed upon, the species should become extinct: while fierce and noxious animals produce but few. Thus, for example, the hare, which is hunted by all—beasts, birds, and men, is the only animal that brings forth without intermission—nursing at the same time young in every stage; but the lioness, on the contrary—the mightiest and the most daring of animals, brings forth only once in her life; nor can she bear again.*

* Nam dum partum edit, simul uterum ejecit. Cujus rei hæc causa est: quando catulus in utero sese incipit movere, tum vero quoniam

And thus also, if vipers, and if the flying serpents of Arabia multiplied as fast as their nature admits, the earth would not be habitable to man. But these creatures destroy each other:—the female inflicts death by her bite upon the male; and then the young, avenging their father, tear in pieces their mother. Yet those serpents that are not hurtful to man produce eggs, from which many young are hatched. Vipers are indeed found in all parts of the earth; but flying serpents abound in Arabia, and no where else.

In the mode I have mentioned the Arabians obtain frankincense:—Cassia is thus procured:—having covered every part of the body and the face, except the eyes, with skins and hides, they set out towards a shallow lake, near which the cassia grows:—around, and in this lake, lodge winged animals, very similar to bats:—they utter a fearful cry, and are extremely fierce. These creatures they ward off from the eyes, while they gather the cassia. Cinnamon is collected in a manner still more admirable.—Where it grows, or what soil bears it, we know not—unless we adopt the account, more probable than any other, given by those who say that it grows in the region in which Bacchus was nursed, whence, as the Arabians say, certain large birds bring the husks which we, from the Phœnicians, call cinnamon. These birds bring them with clay, to form their nests, which they construct upon the inaccessible summits of mountains. To obtain the cinnamon, the Arabians adopt the following device;—they bring into the neighbouring plains a plentiful supply of the flesh of oxen, asses, and other beasts of burden: having placed these as near as possible to the nests, the men retire to a distance: the birds then fly towards the flesh, and bear away portions of it to their nests, which not being strong enough to sustain the weight, are broken, and fall to the earth: the men then coming up gather the cinnamon, which they carry into different countries.

ungues habet longe omnium acutissimos, fodicat uterum; au-gescensque multo magis penetrat lacerando; ad extremum, quando partus instat, nihil amplius sani in utero superest. All this is false.

The procuring of ledanum, called by the Arabians *ladanum*, is even yet more wonderful ; for though the most odoriferous of substances, nothing can be more offensive to the smell than the source whence it is derived ; for it is found adhering to the beards of goats, like gum that exudes from trees. It is used in preparing many ointments, and the Arabians burn it more than any other incense. So much for these aromatics, of which the fragrantcy is such, that all Arabia breathes a divine perfume.

This country produces two kinds of sheep, worthy of admiration, and no where else to be found. The one species have tails not less than three cubits long, which if suffered to trail on the ground, would be so bruised as to ulcerate : but to remedy this inconvenience, every shepherd is obliged to practise the craft of the carpenter, so far as to construct carriages, upon which he binds the tails of his sheep :—so every sheep's tail keeps its chariot. The other species of sheep have broad tails—even as much as a cubit wide.

The extremity of the habitable earth towards the south is formed by Ethiopia, which lies south-west of Arabia. And this region affords much gold, and has elephants of vast bulk, and forest trees of all kinds, and ebony, and men of great stature, great beauty, and extraordinary longevity. These then are the extremities of the earth in Asia and Libya. Concerning its extremities in Europe, towards the west, I have no certain information. For I do not myself assent to the opinion of those who affirm, that there is a certain river called by barbarians Eridanus, discharging itself into a northern sea, from which amber is said to be brought. Nor do I know that there are islands named Cassiterides,* whence cassiteros (*tin*) is imported to us. For the name *Eridanus* may convince us that it is of Grecian, not of barbarian origin, and probably invented by some poet. Besides, though I have sought information, I have never heard from any one who had himself seen it, that there is a sea beyond Europe (*towards the north.*) Yet it is certain, that both tin and amber are brought from the extreme parts of Europe.

* The Scilly Islands, or Britain.

That there is much gold in the northern regions of Europe is also certain : but how it is obtained, I cannot positively relate. It is indeed affirmed that the Arimaspians, a one-eyed nation, take it by force from griffins. But I cannot believe that there are men in other respects like the rest of mankind, who have, from birth, only one eye.—(*I say then*) that the extremities of the inhabited earth, which surround and enclose all other lands, possess those productions which we esteem most excellent and rare.

There is in Asia a plain, shut in on every side by mountains, through which there are five passes: This plain formerly belonged to the Chorasmians, being situated in the borders of that people, and of the Hyrcanians, and Parthians, and Sarangians, and Thamanians: but since the domination of the Persians, it has been the property of the king. From these encircling hills rises a large river named Aces, which in five separate channels irrigates the lands of the people above-mentioned :—a stream issuing from each of the ravines, flows towards each people: but since the Persian conquest of this country, miseries which I shall describe have been inflicted upon them.—The king caused the mountain passes to be closed, placing a gate at each entrance. The passage of the water being stopped, the plain became a lake, for the water continued to pour in, but found no exit. Those therefore who hitherto had received the benefit of these streams, suffered the most extreme ills from the want of water. In the winter indeed these people, like others, have rain; but in the summer, when they sow their millet and sesame, they sought for it vain. No water being granted to them, they, with their wives, proceeding to Persia, and standing before the palace, made a loud outcry. At their urgent request the king ordered that gate to be opened which led towards the lands of those who were most in need, and when these were satiated, the sluice was shut, and another opened to supply the fields of those who next were in most extreme want. As I have been informed, very large sums, besides the tribute, are paid to procure an order for opening a sluice.]

SECTION VII.

STORY OF INTAPHERNES: OF ORÆTES AND POLYCRATES.

Intaphernes, one of the seven conspirators against the Mage, suffered death in consequence of an act of violence, soon after the revolution. Wishing for an audience with the king, he sought to enter the palace;—for such was the law agreed upon among them, that any one of the seven conspirators might have freedom of access to the king, without the formality of an introduction, excepting only his bedchamber. Intaphernes therefore, being one of the seven, thought proper to claim his right of immediate entrance on one occasion, when both the porter and the internuncio obstructed his progress, affirming that the king was in bed. But Intaphernes thinking this a falsehood, drew his scymetar, and cut off the ears and the noses of both, and stringing them on a bridle, put them about the necks of these officers, and so dismissed them. They, presenting themselves before the king, related the cause of what they had suffered. Darius at first apprehended that this deed had been perpetrated by the consent of the six, and therefore sent for each of them, and separately demanded whether he approved of what had been done. When he found that they were not parties to the act, he arrested Intaphernes—himself, his children, and all his relations, having great reason to suppose that he might be plotting rebellion in concert with them. After putting them in confinement, he condemned them to die. But the wife of Intaphernes, coming to the gates of the palace, continued for a length of time weeping and lamenting, and at last moved Darius to compassion, who sent a messenger to address to her from

himself these words—"Woman! Darius the king grants to you the power to release one of your family, now imprisoned—him whom you shall choose." She, after consideration, replied—"If the king grants me the life of one, I select from all—my brother." When Darius heard her answer, he wondered, and sent this question—"Woman! the king inquires the reason why, leaving your husband and children to their fate, you have chosen your brother to survive, though he is less near to you than your children, and less endeared than your husband." She replied—"O king! if it shall please the gods, I may have another husband, and other children; but as my father and mother are no more, I can never have another brother; for this reason therefore I have chosen him." Darius thought she had determined well, and granted to her, in good will, not only her brother, but her eldest son also:—all the others he put to death. In this way presently perished one of the seven.

About the time when Cambyses was labouring under his last sickness, the following events took place.—Oroëtes, a Persian, who had been appointed governor of Sardis by Cyrus, devised a most atrocious violence towards Polycrates of Samos, from whom he had received no injury—who had uttered no contumely against him—whom he had never seen, and whom nevertheless he sought to lay hold of, and to destroy. The occasion of this ill-will is commonly said to have been this:—Oroëtes and another Persian, named Mitrobates, prince of the province of Dascylium, were sitting together at the palace gates, and in the course of conversation, fell into dispute, and in challenging for themselves the praise of military virtue, Mitrobates reproachfully said to Oroëtes—"And are you to be reckoned a man, who have not obtained for the king the island of Samos, which lies so near to your province, and which might so easily be conquered, and of which one of the natives, with fifteen armed men, seditiously possessed

himself, and now governs?" Oroetes, as they say, deeply stung with this reproach, conceived the desire, not indeed of revenging himself upon the man who had uttered it, but of destroying Polycrates, on account of whom he had been so offended. There are a few who affirm that Oroetes sent a herald to Samos to make some demand, which is not specified, and that at the time Polycrates was reclining in the saloon—Anacreon of Teios being present; and that either from an intentional contempt towards the message of Oroetes, or from mere accident, when the herald presented himself and delivered his message, Polycrates being turned to the wall, neither inclined towards him, nor gave him any reply.

In these two ways the story of the death of Polycrates is told. Every one may adopt that which he thinks most probable. Oroetes then residing at Magnesia on the Meander, sent Myrsus, son of Gyges, a Lydian, to Samos with a despatch; but whose real errand was to inform himself of the dispositions of Polycrates. Now Polycrates is the first of the Greeks, of whom we have any knowledge, who formed the plan of acquiring the domination of the sea; unless indeed we except Minos of Cnossus, or any other who before his time might be master of the sea. But within the boundaries of authentic history, Polycrates is the first who entertained the confident expectation of ruling by this means Ionia and the islands. Oroetes being informed of his designs, sent to him a letter to the following effect:—"Thus says Oroetus to Polycrates:—I am informed that you are concerting great enterprises, and that your pecuniary means are not equal to the extent of your designs. Now if you will adopt the plan I propose, you will at once promote your own affairs, and save me. For the king Cambyses meditates my death, of which I have certain information; if therefore you will transport me and my treasures to Samos, you shall have one part of them, and I another. Possessed

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of this wealth, you may become master of all Greece. But if you entertain doubts of what I say concerning my treasures, send one of your most trusty ministers, to whom I will exhibit them."

Polycrates was delighted with this communication, and accepted the condition: and eagerly panting after the money, he first sent to inspect it, Mæandrius, son of Mæandrius, a citizen of Samos, who was his secretary, and who not long afterwards dedicated at the temple of Juno all the ornamental furniture—and it was indeed admirable, belonging to the saloon of Polycrates. Oroetes learning that he was to expect some one to inspect his treasures, filled eight large coffers with stones, nearly to the brim, strewing the surface with gold pieces: then sealing down the chest, he held them in readiness. Mæandrius arrived, viewed the coffers, and made his report to Polycrates; who, contrary to the prohibitions of the seers, and the advice of his friends, prepared to go himself (*to the continent*). His daughter moreover had, in a vision, seen her father aloft in the air, washed by Jove (*the rain*) and anointed by the sun. She having seen this vision, sought by all possible means to prevent his leaving Samos to visit Oroetes; and even as he was going on board the galley, she besought him with imprecations (*or with ill auguries*) not to proceed. But he threatened her that if he returned safe, he would a long time keep her from marrying. To which she replied, by uttering a wish that so it might be; for she had rather remain any length of time unmarried, than be deprived of her father.

But Polycrates spurning all advice, set sail to visit Oroetes, taking with him not a few of his friends, among whom was Democedes, son of Calliphon, of Crotona, the most skilful practitioner of medicine in his times. Very soon after Polycrates reached Magnesia, he miserably perished by a death unworthy both of his rank and character; for, excepting the tyrants of Syracuse, not one

of the Grecian tyrants could be compared with Polycrates for magnificence.—In a mode indescribably unworthy, did Oroetes put Polycrates to death;—for he crucified him! Those of his attendants who were Samians he dismissed, commanding them to thank him for their liberty; but all those who were strangers or servants he held for slaves. Thus did Polycrates, while suspended on the cross, accomplish the vision of his daughter, for he was washed by Jove, when it rained, and anointed by the sun with the exuding humours of his own body. And thus terminated the many felicities of Polycrates, according to the predictions of Amasis king of Egypt.

But not long afterwards, vengeance on account of Polycrates overtook Oroetes. For after the death of Cambyses, and during the reign of the Mages, Oroetes, who continued at Sardis, had sent no aids to the Persian government, then under the usurped administration of these Medes (*the Mages*;) but availing himself of the perturbation of the times, had put to death Mitrobates, the prefect of Dascylium, who had reproached him on account of Polycrates. He killed also Cranaspes, son of Mitrobates; both of them men of high repute in Persia. Many other atrocities he perpetrated; and a certain courier of Darius who brought unwelcome despatches, he waylaid on his return, and killed; and so disposed of the bodies—both of man and horse, that they were never more seen.

Darius, from the time of his accession, had wished to wreak vengeance upon Oroetes for all his crimes, and especially for the murder of Mitrobates and his son. But he judged it not proper to send a force against him openly, while the affairs of the state were still unsettled, and his own authority but recently established; besides that he knew Oroetes commanded a large force—was attended by a thousand Persian spearmen, and held the government of Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. Under these circumstances, Darius, to meet the difficulty, summoned

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the most eminent of the Persians, whom he thus addressed.—“ Who among you—Persians! will undertake to achieve for me by skill, what cannot be effected by force and arms? For where skill is needed, force is unavailing. Who then among you will either bring Oroetes alive to me, or put him to death? Far from profiting the Persians, he works us great mischiefs. He it was who destroyed two of us—Mitrobates and his son, and he it was who killed the messenger sent by me to summon him; and now he displays towards us an insolence not to be endured.”

Thus spoke Darius:—presently thirty Persians professed severally their willingness to accomplish the plan alone. And when they contended who should attempt it, Darius commanded them to draw lots. This they did, and Bagæus, son of Artontes, obtained the lot. To effect his purpose, he wrote many letters, on a variety of affairs, to which he affixed the seal of Darius: with these he proceeded to Sardis, and on his arrival, being introduced to an audience of Oroetes, he took the letters, one by one, and gave them to the royal secretary to read:—for all the governors of provinces have with them royal secretaries. These letters Bagæus delivered as a means of making trial of the guards, whether they were disposed to revolt from Oroetes. Observing them to pay respectful attention to the letters, and especially to the commands which they contained, he delivered one in which were these words—“ Persians! king Darius forbids you to be guards to Oroetes.” They hearing this, lowered to him their lances. Bagæus seeing them so obedient to the mandate, became instantly confident, and delivered the last of the letters to the secretary, in which was written—“ King Darius commands the Persians at Sardis to kill Oroetes.” The guards no sooner heard this, than they drew their scymetars, and slew him on the spot. Thus the avengers of Polycrates of Samos overtook Oroetes the Persian.

SECTION VIII.

DEMOCEDES.

Not long after the time when the treasures of Oroetes had arrived and been received at Susa, it happened that king Darius, in alighting from his horse while hunting, twisted his foot so severely that the ankle was completely dislocated. At first he put himself under the care of the Egyptians whom he retained about him, and whom he had believed to be eminent in the healing art. But they by twisting the foot, and using force, increased the mischief. So severe was the pain, that for seven days and nights Darius had no sleep: on the eighth, as he grew worse, some one announced to the king that, being at Sardis, he had there heard of the medical skill of Democedes of Crotona. Darius commanded him instantly to be brought in. He was found in a neglected condition among the slaves of Oroetes, and when brought forward, he dragged fetters behind him, and was clad in rags.

As he stood in the midst, he was asked by Darius if he was versed in the art: he denied, fearing lest he should be recognized, and so his return to Greece should be forever prevented; but Darius perceiving that he was in truth a man of skill, commanded whips and goads to be fetched. He then professed himself, saying that, though very far from being well acquainted with medicine, yet, that having waited upon a certain physician, he had acquired some rude knowledge of the art. Upon this the king put himself under his care, and he, using the Grecian methods of cure, and adopting mild remedies after the violent means that had been employed, obtained sleep

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for his patient, and in a short time effected a perfect cure, when Darius had despaired of ever regaining the use of the foot. The king afterwards bestowed upon Democedes two pairs of golden fetters. In receiving them; he asked if the king, in recompense for the cure, intended to assign to him a double ill. Darius pleased with this speech, sent him to his wives, who were informed by the officers of the palace, "that this was the man who had restored the king's life." Each of them dipped a goblet into a coffer of gold pieces, and presented it to Democedes; and so liberally did they do this, that the servant who followed him, named Scitus, collected a large sum, merely by picking up the pieces which fell from the goblets.

This Democedes left Crotona, and came to attend on Polycrates from the following circumstances:—His father was a man of so irascible and difficult a temper, that at length he left him and came to Ægina; there he established himself, and though unfurnished with means, and destitute of the instruments of his profession, in the first year he outstripped the most eminent physicians of the island. In the second year, a talent was voted to him by the Æginetans, as a pension from the public purse. In the third year, the Athenians granted him one hundred pounds.* In the fourth year, he was hired by Polycrates, at a salary of two talents: thus it was that he came to Samos. This man it was who raised so high the reputation of the physicians of Crotona, for there was a time when, throughout Greece, they were esteemed to be the most eminent in the profession; and next to them, those of Cyrene. About the same period the Argives were talked of as the first musicians.

After Democedes had healed Darius at Susa, he

* If the text in this place has not suffered injury, the sums voted to this physician may be valued as follows:—By the Æginetans about £194. By the Athenians, £322. By Polycrates £388.

obtained a spacious house—was a guest at the king's table, and, excepting that he could not return to Greece, possessed all he could wish for. By his intercessions with Darius, he rescued the Egyptian surgeons who had first been employed, and whom the king was about to empale, because they had been surpassed by a Greek physician. Eleus also, the seer, who had followed Polycrates, and who remained neglected among the captives, Democedes set at liberty; for he possessed great influence with the king.

A short time after these events, it happened that Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, and now the wife of Darius, had a tumour on the breast, which breaking, spread. While it was but small, she, from modesty, concealed it, and spoke of it to no one: but when it grew worse, she sent for Democedes, and showed it to him. He declared he could heal her; yet first exacted from her a solemn promise that, as his recompense, she would do for him whatever he might ask; and he engaged to ask nothing which it would be dishonourable to her to grant. When, by the exercise of his art, he had restored her to health, Atossa, instructed by Democedes, took a favourable opportunity to address Darius as follows—“ Possessed as you are, my lord, of forces so great, do you sit still? Will you not acquire for the Persians some new people or power? It would be well that a man in the prime of life, and who is the master of immense wealth, should exhibit himself in signal enterprises, that the Persians may learn that they are governed by a man. Two reasons should influence you to adopt such a course; first, as I have said, that the Persians may know that it is a man who rules them, and secondly, that they, being worn in war, and drawn from an idle life, may not hatch conspiracies against you. Now, in the vigorous season of youth, is the time to make yourself known by some worthy enterprize.—While the body is yet tending to-

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wards its perfection, the mind grows also; and again decays as the body withers in age, and becomes feeble in action." Thus she repeated the part she had been taught. Darius thus replied.—"Woman! you have said only what I have myself resolved to do: for I have already determined to construct bridges connecting this continent with the other, and so to invade the Scythians: and I shall very shortly put my plan in execution." Atossa thus replied—"Let alone this war with the Scythians at present; for whenever you please you may make them your subjects. But first lead your armies for me against Greece, for after what I have been told, I wish extremely to obtain waiting women from the Lacedæmonians, and the Argives, and from the people of Attica, and from the Corinthians. And now you have with you a man, than whom none can be better qualified to inform you of whatever relates to Greece; or to be your guide there—I mean the man who restored your foot." Darius answered—"Since you are of opinion, that we should make our first trial upon Greece, I think it will be most proper first of all to send some Persians as spies, and with them the man whom you mention, who making themselves acquainted with the affairs of Greece, may afterwards inform us of what they have learned; and then, upon such information, we may set out to invade that country."

Thus he spoke: and he no sooner spoke than acted; for at the very first dawn of day, summoning fifteen distinguished Persians, he commanded them to place themselves under the conduct of Democedes, and to pass throughout all the coasts of Greece; yet taking care that he did not make his escape; but by all means to bring him back with them. Having given them these instructions, he next called for Democedes, whom he required to guide the Persians through Greece, exhibiting every thing to them; and himself to return. He then commanded him to take with him all his moveables, as

presents to his father and brethren, promising to replace them by manifold gifts. Darius moreover said that, for the transport of these presents, a vessel should accompany them, charged with all kinds of riches. Nor do I believe that he had any sinister intention in making these promises. But Democedes apprehending that Darius meant only to put him to the trial, and to see whether in taking his departure, he would accept whatever was offered him (*as if not intending to return,*) replied that he would leave at Susa all his effects, ready for him when he should return; yet he said he would accept the merchant vessel which Darius had promised for the conveyance of the presents to his kinsmen. After severally receiving these instructions, the party was despatched by the king to the coast.

Going down to Sidon in Phœnicia, they fitted out two triremes as well as a large merchant vessel, laden with precious commodities of all sorts. Every thing being provided, they sailed for Greece, and keeping near the land, they inspected the whole coast, making notes (*or maps and drawings*) of all they saw. When they had inspected whatever was most remarkable, they proceeded to Tarentum in Italy. There Aristophilides, king of Tarentum, to gratify Democedes, removed the rudders of the Median ships, and detained the Persians as spies. Meanwhile Democedes made his way to Crotona, and when he had reached that place, Aristophilides set the Persians at liberty, and restored to them what he had detached from their vessels.

The Persians quitting Tarentum, pursued Democedes to Crotona. Finding him in the public assembly, they laid hands on him. Some of the Crotonians, fearing the Persian power, were disposed to deliver him; but others, opposing, struck the Persians with their staves, who then thus addressed the people—"Men of Crotona! look well to what you are doing.—You are rescuing a man who is

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a run-away from the king. How think you king Darius will bear to be thus aggrieved? Can it end well for you if you take the man from us? What city shall we sooner attack than your's? What people shall we sooner reduce to slavery than you?" Nor did this avail to move the Crotonians, who in fact rescued Democedes, and seized the transport which followed the Persians, who, thus deprived of their guide, returned to Asia, without exploring any further the coasts of Greece. As they took their departure, Democedes enjoined them to inform Darius that he was about to be united in marriage to the daughter of Milo. Now the name of Milo the wrestler was in high esteem with the king, and as it seems to me Democedes hastened this marriage by the efficacy of large sums of money, in order that he might appear to Darius a man of consequence in his own country. The Persians proceeding on their voyage from Crotona, were cast away upon Japygia (*Apulia*) where they were made slaves, but presently redeemed by Gillus, an exile from Tarentum, who conducted them back to Darius. In reward for this service, the king professed his readiness to do for him whatever he wished. Gillus, after narrating his misfortunes, asked to be restored to Tarentum. And that he might not trouble Greece, which must happen, if on his account a large expedition were sent into Italy, he stated that the aid of the Cnidians alone would suffice to effect his restoration. Thinking that, as these were on terms of amity with the people of Tarentum, they would more easily than others be able to procure his return. Darius assented to this proposal, and adopted measures accordingly; for he sent a messenger to Cnidos, commanding them to return Gillus to Tarentum. The Cnidians obeyed the injunction; but the people of Tarentum would not yield to persuasion, and they were not in condition to compel submission by force. Such was the issue of this

affair, which is related, because the Persians, above-mentioned, were the first persons who came from Asia with the express design of exploring Greece.

SECTION IX.

STORY OF SYLOSON AND RUIN OF SAMOS.

Not long afterwards Darius the king took Samos: this was the first place, either Grecian or barbarian, of which he made himself master. The occasion of the enterprize was as follows.—While Cambyses was with his army in Egypt, great numbers of Greeks frequented that country;—some, of course, for purposes of merchandize; some, as being included in the army; and some, merely to view the country. Of this class was Syloson, son of Ajax, brother of Polycrates, and an exile from Samos. Now it happened fortunately for this Syloson, that one day, as he was walking in a public square at Memphis, clad in a scarlet cloak, Darius who then was one of the body-guard of Cambyses, and a person of no great importance, chanced to see him, and conceiving a strong wish to possess the cloak, approached the wearer, and asked to purchase it. Syloson seeing Darius wonderfully smitten with the cloak, said—impelled by a divine impulse—“I will not sell it for any sum; but if forsooth you must have it, I give it you.” Darius applauding his generosity, took the vest. Syloson, on his part, considered that he had lost it by a foolish easiness of temper. Time passed on—Cambyses died—The Mage was overthrown by the seven;—and of the seven,

who should obtain the sovereign power but this very Darius!

When Syloson learned that the kingly dignity had devolved upon the man to whom, at his request, he had given his cloak some time before in Egypt, he repaired to Susa, and sat himself down upon the threshold of the royal palace, and there professed that he was "the benefactor of Darius." The porter repeated this to the king, who wondering, said, "What Greek can have done me any service, and have earned my gratitude? for I am but just invested with the regal power. Scarcely an individual of that nation—or not even one, has yet arrived at my court; nor do I know myself to be indebted to any Greek. Yet bring him in, that I may know what the man would have in saying this." The porter introduced Syloson, and as he stood in the midst, the interpreters asked him who he was, and what he had performed, which entitled him to call himself the king's benefactor. Syloson then related the whole story of the cloak, and affirmed that he it was who had given it. To this Darius replied—"Most generous of men! are you indeed the person who, when I possessed no power, bestowed the gift which, though in itself inconsiderable, claims as much gratitude as the most important present given to me now? In return for this cloak, I will now bestow upon you such an amount of gold and silver, that you shall never need to repent having conferred a favour upon Darius, son of Hystaspes."—"O king," replied Syloson, "give me neither silver nor gold; but save and give to me my country—Samos, of which, since Polycrates my brother was put to death by Oroetes, a servant of ours has possessed himself. This give me without bloodshed—without reducing the people to slavery."

In consequence of his representations, Darius despatched a body of men under the command of Otanes—one of the seven, instructing him to fulfil in all things the

wishes of Syloson. Otanes went therefore to the coast, and there made preparation for embarking his forces. Samos was then governed by Mæandrius, son of Mæandrius, to whom Polycrates had entrusted the administration of affairs. This man, with the most upright intentions (*or, wishing to seem eminently just*) failed to accomplish his purpose. When the death of Polycrates was made known to him, he adopted the following measures:—first he reared an altar to Jupiter the Liberator, and traced around it the sacred inclosure which is now seen in the suburbs of the city. This done, he called an assembly of all the citizens, whom he thus addressed—“To me, as you well know, is committed the sceptre and entire power of Polycrates; and nothing prevents my now exercising this authority over you. But what I condemn in a neighbour, that, as far as in me lies, I will avoid doing. For as I liked not to see Polycrates exercising despotic power over men who were his equals, neither can I endure that any one, whoever he may be, should do the like. Polycrates has met his fate; and I lay down the supreme power, and proclaim to you—Equality. Yet I think it equitable to myself, that so much distinction as this should be granted me;—that I should have six talents taken from the treasures of Polycrates; and moreover I would ask the priesthood for myself and posterity for ever, of Jupiter the Liberator, to whom I have consecrated an altar, and under whose auspices I now invest you with liberty.” Such was the proposition he made to the Samians. One of them rising up, said—“In truth you are unworthy to rule over us, being as you are a wicked and pestilent fellow. Fitter would it be that you should render an account of the treasures you have handled.” This was spoken by Telesarchus, a citizen of reputation.

Mæandrius now perceiving that if he were to lay down the authority he held, some one would rise up to become

a tyrant in his room, no longer thought of relinquishing his power. Having retired to the acropolis (*citadel*) he summoned one and another on pretence of giving an account of the treasures; but as they arrived, he seized and put them in irons. While they continued in prison Mæandrius was attacked with a disease, and his brother, named Lycaretus, supposing he would die, in order that he might the more readily possess himself of the government of Samos, put all the prisoners to death:—or, as it is probable, they refused liberty (*on the terms offered by Lycaretus.*)

When the Persians arrived at Samos, bringing with them Syloson, no one lifted a hand to oppose them, and the partisans of Mæandrius, and he himself, professed themselves ready to give their word that they would abandon the island. Otanes agreed to this proposal, and ratified the engagement. And a number of the most distinguished Persians, having caused seats to be placed for them, reposed at their ease, opposite to the acropolis. But Mæandrius had a brother named Charilaus, scarcely sane, who, on account of some fault, was bound in the dungeon. He, having over-heard what had taken place; and, by peeping through the chinks of the dungeon, having seen the Persians sitting carelessly, loudly demanded to be allowed to speak with Mæandrius, who, hearing his demand, ordered him to be released and brought before him. He was therefore brought up, and instantly began to reproach and upbraid his brother, and to urge him to fall upon the Persians.—“Most cowardly of men,” said he; “me, your own brother, who have committed against you no wrong worthy of bonds, you have adjudged to irons in the dungeon; while you dare not avenge yourself upon these Persians, who so easily might be vanquished, when you see them ejecting you, and making you a homeless wanderer. But now if you are in dread of them, commit the auxiliaries to me,

and I will make them pay dearly for coming here; and I am ready also to send you away from the island."

Thus spoke Charilaus; and Mæandrius gave his consent; not, as it seems to me, that he was himself brought to such folly as to think that, with his forces, he could overcome those of the king; but rather he grudged that Syloson should, without effort, obtain the city uninjured. By provoking the Persians, he wished to inflict the greatest possible damage upon the island; and that so enfeebled, the city might be surrendered;—well knowing that if the Persians suffered any ill treatment, they would be exasperated against the Samians; and knowing also, that he had for himself a safe way of escape from the island, whenever he pleased. For he had caused a secret passage to be dug from the acropolis to the sea. Mæandrius therefore sailed away from Samos. Meanwhile Charilaus arming all the auxiliaries, and throwing open the gates, led them against the Persians, who thought of nothing of the kind, but supposed every thing to be amicably arranged. The auxiliaries making a sudden charge upon these Persian grandees,* killed them all. Presently the rest of the Persians came up to their aid, and pressed upon the auxiliaries until they were driven back, and obliged to take refuge in the citadel.

Otanes, the general, seeing so great a calamity inflicted on the Persians, remembered *to forget* the commands given to him by Darius when he set out—to put none of the Samians to death, nor to make slaves of them, but to deliver the island unhurt to Syloson:—disregarding these instructions, he gave orders to his forces to put to the sword all whom they found, whether old or young. Forthwith one part of the army laid siege to the acropolis, while the remainder killed every one they met,

* διπροφορευμενους —persons accustomed to be borne in a sedan or litter.

as well within as without the temples. Mæandrius escaping from Samos, sailed to Lacedæmon, where he arrived with the riches he had brought away. From among these treasures he selected vessels of gold and silver, which he delivered to his servants to be cleansed. While these articles were about, he went to converse with Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, king of Sparta, and brought him home. When Cleomenes beheld the goblets, he was struck with admiration and surprize; upon which Mæandrius besought him to take away whatever he pleased:—this request he repeated again and again; but Cleomenes was a man of rare integrity, who did not deem it right even to accept a gift, and being informed that the stranger had made presents to several of the citizens, with the view of obtaining succours, he addressed himself to the Ephors, declaring that it would be better for Sparta if the Samian stranger left Peloponnesus—“lest,” said he, “he should persuade me or some other Spartan to do ill.” They, in compliance with his advice, expelled Mæandrius by the public cryer from Sparta.

The Persians having dragged Samos, as with a net, delivered the island to Syloson, utterly destitute of inhabitants. But some time afterwards, Otanes the general being warned by a dream, and by a disease which attacked him, re-peopled the island.

SECTION X.

SECOND FALL OF BABYLON.

While the Persian fleet was on its way to Samos, the Babylonians revolted, having already amply prepared

themselves. For during the reign of the Mage, and after his overthrow by the seven conspirators, and while affairs were unsettled, they laid in provisions against a siege: these operations they contrived to conceal. But after their revolt was declared, they adopted the expedient of strangling all the women, excepting only their mothers, and one favourite wife for each man:—each man, I say, chose from his household one woman to prepare his food, all the rest they strangled, to save the consumption of provisions. As soon as Darius heard what had taken place, he assembled the whole of his forces, and marched against them, and reaching the city besieged it;—a siege which the Babylonians treated with extreme indifference; and going upon the top of their walls, they danced, and derided Darius and his army. One of them uttered this taunting speech—“Persians! why sit you there? why not go hence? You shall make us captives when a mule shall have young!” The Babylonian who spoke this, believed that what he mentioned could never happen.

One year and seven months had passed away, and Darius with his whole army fretted that they could not take the city. He had practised every stratagem, and employed every machine of war without effect. Among other means which he tried, was that by which Cyrus had taken the city. But the Babylonians were most assiduously on their guard; nor could he at all surprise them. In the twentieth month, a prodigy happened, which attracted the notice of Zopyrus, son of Megabysus, one of the seven conspirators against the Mage.—One of the sumpter mules brought forth young. Zopyrus not believing the report, went himself and saw the foal. He enjoined his servants to keep the matter secret, and then reflecting on the occurrence, recollected the speech of the Babylonian who, at the commencement of the siege, had said that the place might be taken when a mule

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should have young: he therefore concluded that Babylon was now pregnable; for he deemed that the speech was inspired, and that the event which had just happened to himself was portentous.

Believing therefore that Babylon was now fated to be taken, he went to Darius, and asked him if he viewed the capture of the city as a matter of high importance; and being answered in the affirmative, he considered how he might be the person to take it, and how the exploit might be altogether his own;—for among the Persians, those who achieve extraordinary actions for the good of their country, are held in the very highest honour. Now no other mode of accomplishing his object seemed practicable, but that of going over to the enemy in a state of disgraceful mutilation. Immediately, deeming as a trifle his own sufferings, he inflicted upon himself an irremediable mutilation; for he cut off his own nose and ears—shaved his locks, tore himself with whips, and thus presented himself before Darius. Darius seeing a man of rank thus ignominiously disfigured, was deeply affected, and starting from his throne, uttered an outcry, inquiring who had thus deformed him, or why? To this inquiry, Zopyrus replied—"There is no man except yourself who has power thus to treat me. Nor has any hand, O king, but my own done this.—Yes, I have done it, impatient that the Persians should be mocked by the Assyrians."—"Most wretched of men," replied the king, "to a most shameful deed you give a name of virtue, in professing that you have thus incurably injured yourself in spite against the besieged. Foolish man! and how shall this ignominy, think you, bring the enemy into our power? Have you lost your senses in thus destroying yourself?"

"If," said Zopyrus, "I had communicated to you my purpose, you would not have suffered me to accomplish it. But now I have effected it on my own will; and now,

unless you are wanting to your own interests, we shall take Babylon. For, just as I am, I will present myself at the walls, and say that it is by you I have been thus treated; and I think that they, being convinced of the truth of what I affirm, will confer upon me a command. Do you then, on the tenth day after I shall have entered the walls, send forward a thousand men, such as you will least regret the loss of; and station them near the gate of Semiramis. Then again, seven days after that, send me two thousand men to the gate of Ninus. After that, let twenty days elapse, and then lead other four thousand to the gate of the Chaldæans, and station them there; but let neither these nor the first bands have any other weapons than their swords. After that day—the twentieth from the last, let the rest of the army invest the wall on all sides; but place the Persians for me at the Belidian and the Cissian gates. As I think, after I have performed several signal exploits, the Babylonians will entrust every thing to me, even the keys of the gates. And then it will be for us to act our parts.”

Having given these instructions, Zopyrus went to the gates, where he paced up and down, as if he were indeed a deserter. Those who were stationed on the turrets seeing him, quickly descended, and having slid aside the wicket a little space, they demanded who he was, and for what purpose he came. He declared himself to be Zopyrus, and said that he came over to them as a deserter. The porters hearing this, admitted him, and brought him into the assembly of the people: there standing before them, he deplored his miseries, and said that it was from Darius he had suffered the injuries which, in fact, he had inflicted on himself; and that he had undergone this punishment because he had advised him to raise the siege, seeing that no means of taking the city presented themselves. “And now,” continued he, “I come to you Babylonians with the best good will for your ser-

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vice, and for the greatest damage to Darius and the Persian army. Nor shall he who has thus ignominiously branded me, escape with impunity.—I am well acquainted with all his projects.”

The Babylonians seeing a man so distinguished among the Persians deprived of his nose and ears, and with his clothes stained with blood from his stripes, confidently relied on the truth of his assertions, and believed that he came over to them as an ally. They were therefore disposed to grant him his request, which was, that he might command a band of men. Having received this command, he did as he had concerted with Darius; for on the tenth day he led forth the Babylonian troops, and surrounding the first thousand men whom Darius had stationed, he put them all to the sword.

The Babylonians then perceiving that his conduct corresponded with his professions, and being greatly elated with joy, were ready to place themselves altogether at his disposal. He, waiting the expiration of the appointed days, again led forth a chosen body of Babylonians, and slaughtered the two thousand men sent out by Darius. After this exploit, the mouths of the Babylonians were filled with the praises of Zopyrus. He again waiting the appointed time, conducted the troops under his command to the place agreed upon, and surrounding the four thousand Persians, put them to the sword. Upon this new success, Zopyrus became every thing to the Babylonians—was constituted commander-in-chief; and entrusted with the guardianship of the wall.

At length, when according to their agreement, Darius made an assault on all sides, Zopyrus manifested the fraud he had practised; for while the Babylonians ascending the walls prepared to repel the attack of Darius, Zopyrus, throwing open the Cissian and Belidian gates, led the Persians within the walls. The Babylonians who witnessed what was done, fled to the temple of Jupiter

Belus, while those who knew nothing of it, remained severally at the posts where they were stationed, until they also learned that they were betrayed. Thus the second time was Babylon taken.

When Darius had made himself master of the city, he destroyed the walls, and tore away all the gates, which Cyrus, on a similar occasion had not done. Moreover, he empaled nearly three thousand of the principal citizens; but he allowed the others to inhabit the place; and, to supply them with wives—for, as we have already mentioned, they had strangled their women to spare provisions—he commanded the people of the surrounding country to send each a stipulated number of women to Babylon. In this way 50,000 women were obtained, from whom the present inhabitants of the city are descended.

In the judgment of Darius, no Persian of any age, ancient or modern, deserved more the gratitude of his country than Zopyrus;—excepting always Cyrus, with whom no Persian has ever ventured to compare himself. Darius is reported frequently to have uttered the sentiment, that he had rather Zopyrus should not have suffered so ignominious a mutilation, than acquire twenty Babylons. He held him in the highest honour, and every year bestowed upon him such gifts as are most esteemed among the Persians, and he assigned to him for life the revenues of Babylon, besides many other advantages. It was the son of this Zopyrus, named Megabysus, who fought the Athenians and their allies in Egypt; and Zopyrus, a son of that Megabysus, deserted from the Persians and came to Athens.

BOOK IV.

MELPOMENE.

SECTION I.

THE SCYTHIAN NATIONS.

AFTER the capture of Babylon, Darius undertook an expedition against the Scythians. For as Asia was prolific in men, and yielded to him a vast influx of money, he indulged the wish to avenge upon that people the ancient wrong they had committed in invading the Median territory, and overthrowing their opposers. As I have before said, (p. 50,) they ruled the upper Asia during eight-and-twenty years, when in pursuing the Cimmerians, they made an inroad upon Asia, and overthrew the empire of the Medes, who before the arrival of the Scythians, had held the sovereignty of Asia. The Scythians, when, after being absent from their homes so long a time as eight-and-twenty years, they returned, encountered difficulties not less than they had met in Media. For they found themselves opposed by an army far from inconsiderable. This army consisted of the sons of the women they had left in Scythia, and of their slaves.

[The Scythians drink milk, and all the slaves who attend to the business of milking, are deprived of sight. Two slaves are employed together; for while one milks the mare, the other

by tubes formed of bones, causes an inflation of the udder: this process, as they think, increases the quantity of milk.* When they have obtained the milk, they pour it into deep hollow bowls. The blind slaves are then stationed around these bowls, and give a whirling motion to the milk. That which swims on the surface they remove, deeming it the choicest part: while that which subsides, is accounted of less value. It is for performing this operation, that the Scythians put out the eyes of all the prisoners they take in war. And they are not agriculturists, but feeders of cattle.†

From these slaves, and from the Scythian women, a new race had arisen. And these youths, aware of their origin, opposed those who were returning from Media. The first step they took, was to intercept the territory they occupied, by digging a wide trench, stretching from mount Taurus to the Palus Mæotis, which is of great extent. Then they stationed themselves, so as to oppose by arms the attempts of the returning Scythians to enter the country. Many battles were fought. At length, as no advantage was gained by those who returned, one of them thus proposed his advice:—“Scythians! what are we doing?—We are fighting with our slaves, and must either suffer the diminution of our own numbers at their hands, or, with our own hands diminish the numbers of those who should serve us. Now therefore it seems to me that, laying aside our spears and bows, we should each take his horsewhip, and so approach them. For so long as they see us bearing arms, they will think themselves to be of like nature, and like origin with us; but when they behold us armed only with whips, they will learn that they are slaves; and conscious of inferiority they will not abide our attack.” The Scythians adopted this advice, and the youths, smitten at heart, no longer thought of fighting, but fled. Such was the mode in which the Scythians, after they had

* *τουτους εσθεντες ες των θηλων ιππων τα αρθρα φυσωσι τοισι στομασι* The Arabs practise a similar method.

† Therefore, the preparation of butter and cheese is the principal labour in their economy.

ruled Asia, and were expelled by the Medes, returned to their native regions. And it was to avenge this (*ancient*) invasion that Darius collected a force to attack them.

The Scythians, according to their own account, are the most recent of all people. They say that the first man who appeared in their land—heretofore a wilderness, was named Targitaus, whose parents, as they affirm—though for my own part, I give the story no credit, were Jupiter and a daughter of the river Borysthenes;—such was the extraction of Targitaus. He had three sons, named Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and the youngest, Colaxais. During the reign of these, there descended in Scythia from heaven, a plow, a yoke, an axe, and a goblet of gold. The eldest of the three was the first to see them. As he approached, intending to take them, the gold, just as he drew nigh, became fervent. He withdrew, and the second came up. Again, the same event took place; and both were thus repulsed by the burning gold. Last came the youngest, and when he approached the fire was quenched, and he carried the articles home with him. The others reflecting upon this occurrence, yielded the supreme authority undivided to their younger brother. From Lipoxais, as they say, are descended that family of Scythians, called Auchates:—from Arpoxais, the middle brother, sprung those called Catiarians and Trasprians; and from the youngest, the royal race, called Paralates. The name Scolotians, derived from the surname of their king, is the common appellation of all whom the Greeks call Scythians.

Such, according to their own account, is the origin of this people; and they reckon the whole number of years from their first king Targitaus, to the time of the invasion by Darius, to be neither more nor fewer than a thousand. The sacred gold is preserved by the kings with the greatest care; and once in every year each brings it home, and celebrates great propitiatory sacrifices to it. The Scythians affirm that if he who has this sacred gold sleeps in the open air during the festival he will not survive the year: on which account they confer upon him as much land as he can ride round in one day. His domain being very extensive, Colaxais is said to have

erected three kingdoms for his three sons. One of these divisions was larger than the other two; and in this the gold is preserved. The region which lies towards the north, above the extremest inhabited districts, are such that neither the sight can penetrate into them, nor can they be passed through; this difficulty is occasioned by the suffusion of feathers; for with feathers (*snow*) the whole land is covered, and the whole air filled; and it is these which intercept the sight. This is the account given of themselves, and of the regions beyond them, by the Scythians. But the Greeks who inhabit the shores of the Euxine, affirm that Hercules, when he drove away the herds of Geryon, arrived in this country, which was then a desert, and which now the Scythians occupy. Geryon, they say, lived in an island without the Euxine, called by the Greeks the Red island, and which is near Gades, in the ocean beyond the pillars of Hercules.—The ocean, they say—but they are not able to give proof of their assertions, commences from the regions where the sun rises, and runs round the whole earth.*—Thence Hercules arrived in the region now called Scythia; there the wintry cold seized him, and he, drawing his lion's skin about him, fell asleep: meanwhile his mares, which he had loosened from his chariot to feed, disappeared by a divine chance.

When Hercules awoke, he made search for his mares; and, after passing through the whole region, arrived at length in the land called Hylæa. There, in a cave, he discovered a certain monstrous viper, having two natures; for, from the loins upwards, its form was that of a woman; while the lower part was serpent-like. After admiring for a while this monster, he inquired of her if she had any where seen his strayed mares. She replied that she herself had them; nor would yield them up, unless he remained with her. To obtain them, he rested awhile at her request; but she still deferred surren-

* Our author evidently supposed Ocean to be the name of a river. See p. 113. This misconception prevented his deriving a just inference from the many facts he had learned relative to unbounded seas beyond Asia, Africa, and Europe.

dering the mares, in order to prolong his stay. At length, as he desired to get them and be gone, she restored them with these words—"Your mares came here;—I have kept them for you;—you have redeemed them. But now tell me, what shall I do with my three sons? Shall I establish them in this land, of which I am absolute sovereign; or shall I send them to you." "When," replied Hercules, "they have attained man's estate, if you do as I direct, you will not err: him among them whom you shall see able thus to bend this bow, and to gird himself with this girdle, establish in your land; and him who shall fail to do what I say, send out of the country. Thus acting, you will please yourself and me also." He then drew out one of his bows—for he then carried two, which he gave her, and the girdle—exhibiting its use—together with a golden cup attached to the knot; he then took his departure. When the youths arrived at man's estate, she named them;—the first, Apathysus, the second Gelon, the youngest Scythes; and mindful of the commands she had received from Hercules, she followed his instructions. The first two, Apathysus and Gelon, being unequal to the prescribed effort, were expelled from the country by their mother. But the youngest, Scythes, having accomplished it, remained there. And from him all the Scythian kings derive their origin, and even to the present day the Scythians wear cups suspended at their girdles, in imitation of that cup which his mother provided for Scythes. Such is the story told by the Euxine Greeks.

There is also another account to which I myself rather incline. The Nomadic Scythians, it is said, who dwell in Asia, being pressed in war by the Massagetes, passed the river Araxes, and entered Cimmeria. For the tract in which now the Scythians feed their flocks was formerly so named. The Cimmerians, when the Scythians appeared invading them with a vast army, held a council in which two opposite opinions were maintained, and both very strenuously: that of the kings (*nobility*) was the best. For while the common people thought that nothing could be done but retire from the country, and wished not to hazard opposition to such numbers;

the kings were for defending their country against the invaders. Nor would the people yield to the persuasions of the kings, nor the kings to the voice of the people, who determined to retire and concede their lands to the invading army without a struggle. But the kings thought good rather to fall and die upon their own possessions, than to flee with the people; for they weighed the advantages they had hitherto enjoyed against the ills that probably awaited them in abandoning their country. Such was the resolution formed on both sides; and being equal in numbers, the two parties fought; (*or—an equal number on both sides engaged in a combat to decide the question*) when the party of the kings was vanquished by that of the people, and the slain were interred by the Cimmerian commonality near the river Tyras, where their sepulchre (*tumulus*) is yet to be seen. After performing the rites of burial, they took their departure, and the Scythians coming up, possessed themselves of the deserted country.

At the present day, there are in Scythia—a Cimmerian town—the Cimmerian Porthmia, (*passages*,) and a district which bears the name Cimmeria. The Bosphorus is also called the Cimmerian. It seems that these people, driven by the Scythians into Asia, established themselves in the peninsular, where the Greeks founded the city Synope. And it is known that the Scythians in following them, missed their way when they invaded the Median territory: for the Cimmerians, in their flight, proceeded constantly by the sea-side; but the Scythians, in the pursuit, had Caucasus on their right; and then turning towards the midland, poured in upon Media. This last account is received in common by Greeks and Barbarians.

But Aristéas of Proconnesus, son of Caustrobius, in his epic verses, says that, impelled by Phœbus, he had visited the Issedones, and that beyond the Issedones dwell the Arimaspians—a one-eyed nation; and beyond them the gold-guarding Grypes; and then the Hyperboreans, bordering upon the sea; and that all these, excepting the Hyperboreans, and commencing with the Arimaspians, have constantly

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encroached upon their neighbours. And that the Issedones have been expelled from their lands by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones; while the Cimmerians, inhabiting the shores of the southern sea,* pressed by the Scythians, left their country. But in this account the poet does not accord with the Scythians themselves. Of what country Aristeas, author of these verses, was, I have said. I will now relate what I heard concerning him in Proconnesus and Cyzicus. Aristeas, they say—by birth not inferior to any of the citizens—entering the shop of a fuller, died there: the fuller closing his shop, went to announce the fact to the relatives of the deceased:—the report of the death of Aristeas had already pervaded the city, and had occasioned disputes between those who affirmed it, and a man of Cyzicus, who had come from Artaces, and who said that he had happened to meet and converse with the poet on his way to Cyzicus. While he vehemently affirmed this, the relatives of the deceased presented themselves at the fuller's shop, with a bier, to take the body away; but on opening the dwelling, they found no Aristeas—dead or living. After the lapse of seven years, he made his appearance in Proponnesus, and composed the poems which now are called by his name among the Greeks. Having finished these poems, he disappeared a second time. Such is the story current in these cities.

But what I am about to mention, I know happened to the Metapontines in Italy, three hundred and forty years after the second disappearance of Aristeas; for thus I calculate the time, comparing together what I heard at Proconnesus and at Metapontus. The Metapontines affirm that Aristeas himself visited their country, and appeared to them, commanding them to consecrate an altar to Apollo, and to place near it a statue inscribed with the name—Aristeas of Proconnesus:—that he said it was to them alone, of all the Italiotes that Apollo came;—that he who now was Aristeas had then attended him as a crow:—after saying this, he disappeared. The Metapontines add, that when they sent to Delphi to inquire

* The Euxine—a southern sea to the Scythians.

of the god what that spectre might be, the Pythian commanded them to obey the dictates of the spectre, which should issue to their benefit. They accordingly had fulfilled the injunctions. And there is now to be seen a statue—bearing the name of Aristeas, near the image of Apollo, and it is wont to be encircled with laurel. This statue is placed in the public square. So much for Aristeas.

SECTION II.

SCYTHIAN NATIONS.

Of the regions which lie beyond the country I have undertaken to describe, no one possesses any exact knowledge. At least I have never been able to find one who professed to have seen them. For not even Aristeas of whom I have just spoken, affirms himself in his poems to have gone beyond the Issedones, and of the regions beyond, he speaks on the authority of the Issedones. We shall now state all we have learned, on certain information, after having made the most extensive inquiries in our power.

Commencing from the port of the Borysthenians, which is situated very nearly in the centre of the maritime borders of Scythia, the first people met with are the Callipides, who are Greco-Scythians. Beyond them is a nation called Alazones. These and the Callipides, in other respects, follow the usages of the Scythians; but they sow and subsist upon corn, and cultivate onions, and garlick, and lentils, and millet. Above the Alazones dwell the agricultural Scythians, who raise corn, not for their own use, but for sale. Beyond these are the Neurians, the regions north of whom are, to the best of our knowledge, uninhabited. These are the nations occupying the course of the river Hypanis, and on the western side of the Borysthenes (*filling the space between those rivers.*)

Passing over the Borysthenes, one first enters Hylæa, which lies on the sea coast (*of the Euxine*.) Ascending beyond Hylæa, you find those agricultural Scythians, whom the Greek settlers by the river Hypanis call Borysthenians: but they call themselves Olbiopolitans. The district occupied by this nation extends eastward, three days' journey, as far as the river Panticapes, and northwards, eleven days' passage on the Borysthenes. To a great distance beyond this tract, the country is uninhabited. When those deserts are passed, the Androphagians (*canibals*) are found; they are a distinct people, not of the Scythian race; and all beyond them is indeed a desert, in which, as far as we know, not any human tribes are found. Eastward of the agricultural Scythians, and on the farther side of the river Panticapes, dwell the Nomadic Scythians, who neither sow nor turn the soil. All this region, excepting Hylæa, is destitute of trees; it extends eastward fourteen days' journey, as far as the river Gerrhus.

Beyond the Gerrhus is the country of the royal Scythians—the most valiant and the most numerous of the Scythian race, and who deem the other tribes to be their slaves: their possessions extend southward, as far as Taurica (*the Crimea*:) towards the east, they reach as far as the trench dug by the sons of the blind slaves, and to the commercial port on the Palus Mæotis, called Cremnis. They have possessions also as far as the Tanaïs. Northward, above the royal Scythians, dwell the Melanchlæans—a people distinct from the Scythians. Beyond these, nothing is known but marshes and uninhabited deserts. After passing the river Tanaïs, you are no longer in Scythia. The first portion of this region belongs to the Sauromates, who, commencing at the furthest recess of the Mæotic gulph, possess an extent of country reaching northward fifteen days' journey:—it is every where destitute of trees, both wild and cultivated. The second division belongs to the Budians, and is every where thickly covered with forests. A desert of seven days' journey bounds the Budians towards the north. After passing the desert, if you turn somewhat towards the east, you find the Thyssagetes—a numerous and distinct people, who subsist by the chace. Near to them, and indeed

within the same region, there is a people called Jyrces, who also live by hunting, which they practise in the following manner:—The huntsman ascends a tree to watch his prey;—the whole country being woody. He has a horse, which is trained to crouch on his belly as low as possible, and a dog also. When therefore he spies game from the tree, he lets fly an arrow—descends upon his horse, and pursues with his dog, which secures the animal. Beyond these, and towards the east, is found a secession from the Royal Scythians, who have removed so far from home.

All the country hitherto mentioned, as far as the seceding Scythians, is level and fertile: but beyond it, the surface is stony and rugged. After travelling over a great extent of this rude wilderness, you arrive at the foot of lofty mountains, occupied by a nation said to be bald—women as well as men, by nature: they have flat noses and broad chins, and speak a language peculiar to themselves; their dress is Scythian, they subsist on the fruit of a tree named ponticus, about the size of a fig tree: the fruit it bears, is of the bigness of a bean, and contains a stone. When ripe they press and strain it through a cloth: the juice which runs from it is thick and black, and is called *aschy*. This liquor they suck, or drink, mixed with milk. The dregs have consistency enough to be formed into cakes, which are eaten. They possess but few cattle, their pastures not being highly productive. Every man lives under a tree; and when winter arrives, he forms a shelter by stretching over it a thick white woollen cloth, which, during the summer, they remove. These people are injured by none, for they are accounted sacred; nor do they possess any weapon of war. Moreover they act as arbiters between their neighbours; and he who takes refuge among them is inviolable. These people are called Argippæans.

Thus far these regions and the people who occupy them are well known; for they are visited by some of the Scythians from whom information concerning them is easily obtained, as well as from the Greeks of the Borysthenic and other parts of the Euxine. The Scythians, who travel as far as the bald Argippæans, require the aid of interpreters of seven languages

in the course of their journey. So far then is known; but beyond the bald nation, certain information does not extend; for they are bounded by lofty, abrupt, and trackless mountains which no one has passed over. The Argippæans affirm, but I think with no appearance of truth, that these heights are occupied by goat-footed men, and that beyond them is a people who sleep six months of the year:—Of all this I credit not a word.* The country eastward of the bald nation is well known to be inhabited by the Issedones; but the region north of these, like that above the Argippæans, is not known to either people, excepting the reports just mentioned.

The Issedones are said to practise the following customs:—When a man's father dies, all the relatives bring cattle; which they slaughter, and cut up the flesh along with that of their host's deceased parent; and mingling all the flesh together, feast upon it. From the skull, they remove the hair, integuments, and contents, and then gild it. After which, it is used in their grand annual festivals, as a consecrated cup, when, like the Greeks, the son celebrates the anniversary of his father's death. These people also are accounted just, and among them the women exercise equal authority with the men. The Issedones are well known; but they affirm that beyond them are a one-eyed race of men, and the gold-guarding griffins: at least, such is the report derived from them by the Scythians, from whom we have received it; yet they give to these people a name of Scythian origin—*Arimaspous*; for in the Scythian language *Arima* means *one*, and *spou*—*eye*.

Throughout the region of which I have just spoken, the winter is extremely severe, and during eight months of the year the cold is insupportable; so much so, that water poured upon the ground does not at all penetrate, unless near a fire. Even the sea congeals, and the Cimmerian Bosphorus becomes

* Herodotus is not seldom credulous, where he might well have been more cautious; and sometimes he utterly rejects what needed only to be separated from the phraseology of exaggeration. The modern reader will easily recognize in the *goat-footed* nation, the wearers of snow shoes;—and in the nation sleeping six months, the arctics who pass their long and day-less winter underground.

one solid mass, so that the Scythians who live on this side the trench, lead their armies and drive their chariots over it to invade the lands of the Sindians. The severe frost continues eight months, and even during the remaining four the cold is considerable. Indeed, the winter in these regions is altogether unlike that of any other country, for in that season the rain is scarcely worth mentioning; but during the summer it rains without intermission. Thunder is not heard there at the time of the year when it is most common in other climates; but in summer is frequent. If it happens in winter, the people in amazement deem it portentous. And thus also an earthquake, whether in summer or winter, is thought portentous by the Scythians. The horse endures the cold of the climate: which neither the mule nor the ass can support; yet in other countries, if the horse is exposed to frost he perishes, while the ass and the mule bear the cold. I am of opinion that it is the cold which prevents the cattle in Scythia from having horns; and in this opinion I am confirmed by a line of Homer in the *Odyssey*:—

“ Libya, whose rams put forth their sudden horns.”

This is well said, because in hot climates horns grow early; while in countries where the cold is severe, the cattle either have no horns at all, or produce them tardily; and I think the cold is the reason of the difference. But now—for my manner from the commencement of this work has been to pursue digressions—I wonder from what cause it is that in *Elia*, though the cold is not extreme, and though no visible impediment exists, mules cannot be bred. The *Elians* themselves affirm that this happens in consequence of a curse which obliges them to breed all the mules they have need of in the neighbouring districts.

As to the feathers which the Scythians affirm fill the air, and prevent the region where they fall from being either seen or traversed—my opinion is that, in those remote countries snow falls perpetually—less of course in the summer than in the winter. Now whoever has seen snow fall in thick

flakes, will comprehend my meaning; for it very much resembles feathers. And I think also that it is from the severity of the winter, that the northern parts of the continent are uninhabitable, and that when the Scythians and their neighbours talk of feathers (*rendering those regions impassable*) they only use figurative language. Such are the accounts given of these distant countries.

Concerning the Hyperboreans, neither the Scythians nor any other people of those parts, unless it be the Issedones, say any thing. Nor do I believe that even they make mention of such, though, according to the Scythians, they talk of a one-eyed nation. Yet Hesiod says something of the Hyperboreans; as also does Homer, if indeed the poems called *Epigones* are his. The Delians speak of them much more at large. They say that the consecrated gifts enveloped in wheat straw, were brought from the Hyperboreans, and came among the Scythians; from them they passed on continually, being received in succession by each bordering people, till they had traversed to the remotest west, even as far as the Adriatic: thence they were sent forwards towards the south, and were received by the Dodonæans—first of the Greeks; from them they descended to the Melian gulph; and from thence passed over to Eubœa. From city to city they were sent on, as far as Carystus: thence, leaving Andros untouched, the Carystians, who were the bearers, took them to Tenos; and the Tenians to Delos. Thus it was, say they, these sacred articles came to Delos. The Hyperboreans, as the Delians affirm, first sent their gifts by two damsels, named, as they say, *Hyperoché* and *Laodice*: and with them, for safety sake, the Hyperboreans sent five of their citizens as attendants; these are now called *Perpheres*, and are held in high honour at Delos. But when these failed to return to their homes, the Hyperboreans, deeply grieving to find that their messengers did not again make their appearance, thenceforward bore their offerings, wrapped in wheat straw, to their frontiers, and entrusting them to their next neighbours, enjoined them to pass the gifts forward to the next nation; and so to be conveyed till they arrived, as it is said, at Delos. I have

myself seen something which might remind one of the transmission of these sacred gifts; I mean what is practised by the women of Thrace and Pæonia;—when they sacrifice to the royal Diana, they fail not to enclose the offering in wheat straw:—these observances I have witnessed.

In commemoration of the Hyperborean damsels who died at Delos, the youth of that island—both lads and lasses, shear their tresses: and the latter, before marriage, cutting off a plait of hair, twist it round a reed, and place it upon the sepulchre:—the sepulchre is within the temple of Diana, on the left hand as you enter, and near it has sprung up an olive tree. The Delian young men also, twisting locks of their hair about some plant, deposit them in like manner on the tomb. Such is the honour conferred upon these damsels by the Delians. They likewise affirm that, even before the arrival of Hyperoché and Laodicé, two Hyperborean virgins, named Argé and Opis, traversing the same nations, came to Delos. These brought to Ilithyna (*Lucina*) the appointed tribute for speedy delivery. But Argé and Opis, they say, arrived in company with the very gods; wherefore they attribute to them honours of a different kind: for the women collect largesses for them;—invoking their names in the hymn which Olen the Lycian composed for them. And, taught by the Delians, the islanders and the Ionians have learned to celebrate in song Opis and Argé—to invoke their names, and to collect largesses for them. It is this Olen who, coming from Lycia, composed the other ancient songs which are sung in Delos. When the legs of the victims have been consumed on the altar, all the ashes are strewed on the sepulchre of Opis and Argé. This tomb is behind the temple of Diana, towards the east, and near the banquetting hall of the Cæians.

So much for the Hyperboreans. For I shall not relate what is reported concerning Abaris, who they say was a Hyperborean, and who, without eating, traversed all the earth; bearing an arrow (*or, borne upon an arrow.*)—If in truth there are Hyperboreans, there ought to be Hypernotians also.*

* Hyperboreans—men above or beyond the north. Hypernotians—

For my own part, I cannot but smile when I see many persons who, without intelligence in such matters for their guide, draw maps of the circumference of the earth. For they trace the (*river*) Ocean running round the circuit of the earth, and the earth itself they make circular, as if it had been turned in a lathe. Moreover they make Asia equal to Europe. Very briefly I will display the magnitude of each of them, as well as their figure severally.

SECTION III.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE THREE CONTINENTS.

The Persians occupy the region which extends to the southern sea, called the Erythræan. Above these, towards the north, are the Medes. Above the Medes the Saspîres; beyond them the Colchians, who inhabit the shores of the northern sea (*the Euxine*) into which the Phasis discharges itself. These four nations occupy the space between the two seas.

From this tract turning westward, two irregularly shaped tracts of land stretch out, each being surrounded by the sea, as

men beyond the south. Our author's meaning in the words which follow has been much disputed. Some interpreters have too hastily supposed that Herodotus here states as ridiculous the idea of the earth's *rotundity*: but the phrase he employs does not bear that sense—*εουσαν (την γην) κυκλοτερεα ως απο τρονου*. This must not be rendered 'round as a ball.' In our author's time many rude maps were extant in which, as appears from several allusions, Greece was made the centre of an *even circle*, formed by the *river Ocean*. In order to bring the several regions of the earth within this regular boundary, Europe was made no larger than Asia; whereas, in the opinion of Herodotus, it extended an unlimited distance north and west: for he does not credit the accounts of a northern sea.

I shall describe. The first of these tracts (*Asia Minor*) on the northern side, commences at the river Phasis, and stretches a line of coast along the Euxine and the Hellespont, as far as (*the promontory*) Sigeum of Troas. On the south, the same track, commencing at the Myriandrian Gulph, which lies hard by Phœnicia, extends its line of coast as far as the Triopian promontory. Within this space thirty nations are included. Such then is the first of these tracts.

The other begins at the borders of Persia, and extends along the Erythræan Sea. It comprehends Persia, then Assyria, then Arabia. It terminates, by an artificial boundary only, at the Arabian Gulph, where Darius led a trench into it from the Nile. But now between Persia and Phœnicia, there lies a wide and various country. From Phœnicia the same tract extends along the shores of this sea (*the Mediterranean*) including Syria and Palestine and Egypt, where it terminates; and it comprehends only three nations. These then are the parts of Asia which lie westward of Persia.

The regions eastward of the Persians, Medes, Saspies, and Colchians, on one side (*the south*) are bounded by the Erythræan Sea, and on the north by the Caspian and the Araxes, which runs towards the east. Asia is inhabited as far as India, beyond which country, eastward, all is a desert, the extent of which is known to no man. Such is the figure and extent of Asia.

Libya is comprised within another and a distinct tract; it commences from the borders of Egypt:—the Egyptian boundary of this tract is very narrow, for the distance from our sea to the Erythræan is not more than 100,000 fathoms, or about 1,000 furlongs. But from this narrow neck it becomes of vast extent, and then receives the name—Libya.

I wonder at those who divide and lay down the boundaries of Libya, Asia, and Europe, as if the difference between them were not very great. For while in length, Europe extends along both, no comparison can be formed by which to estimate their relative width.* Libya declares itself to be circum-

* Larcher and Beloe translate this passage as if Herodotus intended to

navigable, except where it is bounded by Asia. The first person known to have proved this, was Necho, king of Egypt. When he ceased to carry on the canal leading from the Nile to the Arabian Gulph, he sent out some Phœnicians, instructing them to sail round by the Pillars of Hercules (*straits of Gibraltar*) to the northern sea (*the Mediterranean*) and so to return to Egypt. These Phœnicians therefore, parting from the Erythræan Sea, navigated the southern sea. When autumn arrived, they drew to shore on that part of Libya opposite to which they might be : there they sowed the ground, and awaited the harvest, which, when they had reaped, they again set sail. Thus they continued their progress during two years : in the third, doubling the Pillars of Hercules, they arrived in Egypt. These persons affirmed, what to me seems incredible, though it may not to another—that, as they sailed round Libya, they had the sun (*rising*) on the right hand. In this way was Libya first made known.

Long after the Phœnician voyage, as the Carthagenians relate, Sataspes, son of Teaspes, of the Achæmenidian family, was sent out to circumnavigate Libya; though he failed to accomplish his task. For, appalled by the length and desolation of the voyage, he turned back without having achieved the toil imposed upon him by his mother. This Sataspes had violently insulted a daughter of Zopyrus, son of Megabysus; for which offence he was about to be empaled by the order of king Xerxes, when his mother, who was the sister of Darius, interceded for him, saying that she would inflict upon her son a still greater punishment, for she would lay upon him the necessity of circumnavigating Libya, until he should arrive in the Arabian Gulph. Xerxes consented to this proposal, and Sataspes going to Egypt, there hired a ship and mariners, and thence sailed through the Pillars of Hercules. Having passed these, and doubled the extreme point of Libya, which bears the name of Soloëis, he sailed southward; but after traversing

say that Europe was much less wide than Libya or Asia. But I think the intention of his argument in this and other places supposes that he thought Europe far more ample than either, in *both* its dimensions.

during many months a vast extent of sea, and knowing that still more must be passed, he turned his course, and sailed back to Egypt. Thence he proceeded to Persia, and presented himself before Xerxes.—He said that at the remotest part of the coast, along which he sailed, he saw men of diminutive stature, clad in leaves of the palm tree, who, whenever the sailors drew to shore, abandoned their towns, and fled to the hills. His people entering did the natives no other injury than taking their cattle. The reason why he could not sail entirely round Libya was, he said, that, in attempting further progress, his ship stuck fast. But Xerxes not giving credit to the excuse he made for not fulfilling the appointed task, condemned him to undergo his first sentence, and he was empaled. The chief officer of Sataspes, instantly as he heard of his death, fled to Samos with great wealth. This treasure was seized by a certain Samian, whose name I well know, and purposely conceal.

The greater part of (*the hitherto unknown regions of*) Asia, was explored under the direction of Darius. This king wishing to know on what part of the coast the Indus meets the sea—a river which, after the Nile, is the only one that produces crocodiles, sent ships with persons upon whose fidelity and truth he could rely, and among these was Scylax of Caryandea. These, setting out from Caspatyrus, a city of Pactyica, descended the river in its course towards the east, till they reached the sea; then sailing westward, after the lapse of twenty months from their departure, they arrived at the spot whence the Phœnicians, mentioned above, set out who were sent by the king of Egypt to sail round Libya. After this voyage had been accomplished, Darius subdued the Indians, and frequented that sea (*Indian Ocean*). And thus Asia, excepting the extreme eastern parts, became known, and its similarity to Libya was discovered.

But as to Europe, no one hitherto has discovered whether, on the north and on the east, it is surrounded by the sea. In extent it is known to reach as far as both (*Asia and Libya*). Nor can I conjecture why, as the earth is one, it has received three names—the names of women; or why the Nile of

Egypt, and the Phasis of Colchis—or, as some say, the river Tanais, the Mæotis, and Porthmeia in Cimmeria—should be chosen as points of separation. Nor can I learn who it was that established these artificial distinctions, or whence were derived these appellations. The Greeks in general affirm that Libya was so called from a native woman of that name; while Asia received its designation from the wife of Prometheus. But the Lydians claim that name, affirming that Asia was so called from Asias, son of Cotys, and grandson of Manes;—not from the grandson of Prometheus, and from whom a Sardian family is still called the Asian tribe.

But concerning Europe, we are ignorant, not only of its extent, and whether it is surrounded by the sea, but of the derivation of its name, or who conferred it. Unless indeed we should say that this region which anciently like the other continents, was anonymous, received its appellation from the Tyrian Europa. Yet she was manifestly an Asiatic, nor came into the country which the Greeks now call Europe; but passed only from Phœnicia to Crete, and from Crete to Lycia. So much for these matters:—meanwhile, we employ the designations which common usage has authenticated.

SECTION IV.

EIGHT RIVERS OF SCYTHIA.

The (*other*) nations of the Euxine against which Darius made war are—we except the Scythians—of all people the most uncultivated. Nor, of all the tribes on this side the Pontus,* have we any thing to say in praise of their intelligence;

* I follow the translators in this passage: yet am inclined to think that by the phrase—*των εντος του Ποντου*—Herodotus meant the nations within the Pontus, that is to say, those that were known and visited by entering the Euxine, in other words—the nations lining its shores.

nor do we know that, excepting only Anacharsis the Scythian, they have produced one man of celebrity. Yet the Scythians follow a mode of life than which nothing has been devised by any people more wise; and though I admire none of their other practices, I admire this, the consequence of which is, that none who invade them can escape, and that when they wish not to be encountered, it is impossible to find them.—To secure these advantages, they build neither towns nor fortified places; but bear their houses about with them. They are all habituated to use the bow on horse-back; they subsist not upon the fruits of the soil, but upon their cattle, nor have other dwellings than what may be drawn by oxen. How then can such a people be otherwise than invincible and impracticable in war? This mode of life has been adopted by them in consequence of the nature of their country, which favours it; and it is aided also by their rivers. For Scythia is a region of grassy and well-watered levels.—The rivers which take their course through it, are scarcely less frequent than are canals in Egypt. Those of them that are most noted, and which are navigable to some distance from the sea, I shall enumerate;—such, for example, as the Ister, with its five mouths; then the Tyras, the Hypanis, the Borysthenes, the Panticapes, the Hypacyris, the Gerrhus, and the Tanais.—The courses of these rivers are as follow:—

The Ister—the largest of all known rivers, flows with an equal stream both winter and summer. It is the first river in Scythia towards the west, and owes the greatness of its stream to several rivers which discharge themselves into it. Within the Scythian territory, there are five which join their waters to those of the Ister:—these are—the river called by the Scythians Porata, by the Greeks Pyrotos: then the Tiarantus, the Ararus, the Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first of the five is a large river, and flowing in an easterly direction, mingles with the Ister. The second—the Tiarantus, is smaller, and its course is more to the west. The Araras, the Naparis, and the Ordessus, enter the Ister between the two first named streams. These are the streams of Scythian origin which swell the Ister. The river Maris rises in the

country of the Agathyrses, and mingles also with the Ister. From the summits of mount Hæmus, three large rivers descend, and flowing northward, also empty their streams into the Ister: these are the Atlas, the Auras, and the Tibisis. It receives moreover three streams from Thrace, and the Crobyzian Thracians—namely the Athrys, the Noës, and the Artanes. And also from Pæonia and mount Rhodope, the river Cios, which divides Hæmus nearly in the midst. From Illyria the Ister receives the Angrus, the course of which is northerly; this river joins the Brongus, after watering the Triballian levels: thus the waters of two large rivers fall at once into the Ister. From the countries above the Umbrians flow the Carpis and the Alpis into the Ister: these also descend towards the north. For the Ister taking its rise among the Celts—the most westerly nation of Europe, except the Cynetes, passes through the whole extent of Europe, and discharges itself by the borders of Scythia. It is by the contributed streams I have mentioned, as well as many others, that the Ister becomes the largest of rivers. If indeed by itself alone it were compared with the Nile, it must in magnitude yield to the river of Egypt, for into that stream no river, no rill descends to augment its waters. The Ister runs with an equal stream summer and winter, for this reason, as I think:—during the winter it remains at its natural height, or is very little increased, because, in the countries through which it passes, little rain falls at that season, the earth being covered with snow. Then, in the summer, the snows which have fallen abundantly through the winter, dissolve and flow into the Ister: at the same time frequent and vehement rains augment its stream;—for summer is there the rainy season. By how much therefore the sun draws up to himself more water in the summer than in the winter, by so much the contributions poured into the river are greater also in summer than in winter. By the opposition of these, a counterpoise is produced, from which results the invariable equality of the river.

After the Ister, the next of the Scythian rivers is the Tyras: this flows from the north, and takes its rise in a spacious lake, which separates Scythia from Neurida: at its mouth there is a colony of Greeks called Tyrites.

The third river is the Hypanis, which flows from a large lake, around which white horses feed in a wild state. This lake is very properly named—Mother of the Hypanis; for from it that river arises : through a course of five days' sailing it is shallow, and its waters are sweet; but from thence to the sea, a distance of four days, it is exceedingly bitter; for there it admits a spring so pungent, that, though small in quantity, it taints all the waters of the Hypanis—by no means one of the smallest of rivers. This fountain forms the boundary between the lands of the agricultural Scythians and the Alazones: its name, as well as that of the district whence it proceeds, is in the Scythian tongue Exampæus, or in Greek—the Sacred Ways. In the country of the Alazones, the Hypanis and Tyros approach; but afterwards separate, leaving an ample space between.

The fourth river is the Borysthenes, which after the Ister, is the largest of these rivers, and in our opinion the most opulent, not only of the Scythian, but of all rivers, excepting only the Nile, with which no other may be compared. For the Borysthenes presents pasturages of great beauty, and singularly favourable to the rearing of cattle; fish of the rarest excellence are produced in it abundantly; its waters are sweet to the taste. It is limpid amid the turbid;—excellent grain is produced on its banks; and even the lands that are uncultivated are thickly covered with vegetation. At its mouths salt in great abundance is crystallized spontaneously. Fish of large size, called antacæus, free from prickly bones, are caught there, and cured. We mention not many other admirable productions. The Borysthenes is known to flow from the north, through a course of forty days' sailing, at which distance from the sea it leaves the country called Gerrhus. But what nations it visits above the region we have named is not ascertained. Yet there is reason to suppose that, when it reaches the agricultural Scythians, it has traversed an uninhabited region. These Scythians occupy its banks through a space of ten days' sailing. Of this river, as of the Nile, and of these only, the sources are unknown—not to me only, but, I believe, to all the Greeks. When it approaches the sea,

it mingles its waters with those of the Hypanis in the same morass. The projecting land between these rivers is called the promontory of Hippolaus, and it contains a temple of Ceres. Beyond this temple, and towards the Hypanis, dwell the Borysthenians.

The fifth river is the Panticapes; this also rises in a lake, and runs southward. The space between this river and the Borysthenes is occupied by the agricultural Scythians; it passes Hylæa, and afterwards mingles itself with the Borysthenes.

The sixth river is the Hypacyris, which proceeding from a lake, and running mid-way through the tracts of the nomadic Scythians, finds its exit near the city Carcinitis, leaving on the right Hylæa, and the race course of Achilles, as it is called.

The seventh river is the Gerrhus, which parts from the Borysthenes where that river becomes known, and in the region to which it gives its name—Gerrhus. In its course towards the sea, it separates the nomadic from the royal Scythians, and then loses itself in the Hypacyris.

The eighth river is the Tanaïs, which has its distant source in a large lake, and empties itself into one still larger—the Mæotis, which divides the royal Scythians from the Sauromatians. The Tanaïs receives another river named the Hyrgis.

Such are the celebrated rivers which benefit the territory of the Scythians. The grasses produced on their banks are the most nutritive to cattle of any we have known: convincing proofs of which present themselves to any one who opens the animals that are fattened in Scythia. These people therefore enjoy abundance.

SECTION V.

SCYTHIAN CUSTOMS.

The customs of the Scythians, besides what we have mentioned, are such as follow:—The only gods they propitiate are—first of all Vesta, then Jupiter, and the Earth—the wife of Jupiter, as they think. Next to these Apollo, and Venus Urania, and Hercules, and Mars. These divinities are worshipped by all the Scythians. But the royal Scythians sacrifice to Neptune also. Vesta, in the Scythian tongue, is called Tabiti. Jupiter, as I think very properly is called Papæus, (*father*)—the earth is named Apia;—Apollo, Œtosyrus;—Venus Urania, Artimpasa;—Neptune, Thamimasadas. Statues, altars, and temples, they erect to none but to Mars. Their mode of sacrifice is in all places and on all occasions the same. The victim stands with its fore-feet tied with a cord: the sacrificer places himself behind the beast, and pulling the cord throws the animal down: as it falls he invokes the god to whom the sacrifice is offered: then twisting the cord round its neck, tightens it with a stick, until the animal is strangled. No fire is kindled, no auspices observed, no libations made; but when the animal is strangled and flayed, they address themselves to the cooking it. But the Scythian regions being utterly destitute of trees, they have recourse to a contrivance for cooking their meat.—When they have flayed the animal, they strip all the flesh from the bones, and put it into pots—if they have them—made in the country, and which, though of a much larger size, are similar in form to the Lesbian bowls. In these they cook the flesh, burning the bones beneath the vessels.* If they do not possess a pot of this kind, they enclose the flesh of the victim in the (*integuments of the*)

* See Ezekiel xxiv. 5. “Take the choice of the flock, and burn also the bones under it,” &c.

belly, with water, and burn the bones underneath, which blaze brightly, while the integuments easily contain the flesh freed from the bones. Thus the ox is made to cook himself; and other victims are served in the same manner. When the flesh is dressed, the sacrificer offers (*or observes auspices*) by throwing before him parts of the flesh and of the intestines. They sacrifice also other cattle, of which horses are the chief.

In this manner, and with such victims, do they sacrifice to the other gods; but to Mars thus:—In every district where the princes assemble, there is erected a structure sacred to Mars, which is formed in the following manner:—With faggots they form a pile, three furlongs in both dimensions, but not so high. Upon this a quadrangular platform is constructed, three sides of which are steep; but the other is accessible. Every year one hundred and fifty waggon-loads of faggots are brought to replace what has been decayed by the weather. On the summit of this heap, each tribe places an old iron scymetar, which they consider as the image (*symbol*) of the god; and to this scymetar they offer annual sacrifices of cattle and horses; and they present to these (*scymetars*) more offerings than to all the other gods. Every hundredth man of the prisoners taken in war they immolate—not in the same manner as cattle, but otherwise. For first they pour libations upon the heads of the human victims, and then slaughter them over vessels; these vessels are carried upon the pile, and the blood is poured upon the scymetar. While this is done aloft, below, near the temple (*the consecrated enclosure*) they cut off the right shoulders with the arms of all who have been immolated, and throw them into the air. After having slain all the victims, they depart:—the arm lies where it falls at a distance from the body. Such are the institutions which regulate their sacrifices. Swine they never use, nor will by any means have them reared in their country.

Their usages in war are the following:—Every Scythian drinks the blood of the first man he overthrows in battle; and he cuts off the heads of all he kills, and carries them to the king; for not until he has brought a head, does he take his

share in the booty that may be won. The Scythian scalps a head in this way—he makes a gash round by the ears, and then giving the head a shake, separates it from the skin : having scraped away the flesh with the rib of an ox, he kneads it (*the skin*) with his hands, and when it is well softened, uses it as a towel, or attaches it boastfully to the bridle of his horse. He who possesses the greatest number of these towels of skin, is held in the highest honour for valour. Many Scythians sowing these skins together, form cloaks of them, like the leathern hoods worn by shepherds. And many, taking the skins with the nails from the right hand of those they have slain, form with them coverings to their quivers. The human skin is in fact thick ; and when tanned, excels almost all other skins in brilliancy and whiteness. Many taking the entire skin of their enemy, and stretching it upon pieces of wood, carry it on horseback.—Such are their customs.

The heads, not indeed all, but those of their greatest enemies, they dispose of in this manner :—They saw off the skull just above the eye-brows, and cleanse it. If the man is poor, he contents himself with stretching over its external surface a piece of bull's-hide, and so uses it ; but the rich Scythian, besides the piece of hide, lines the skull with gold, and then it serves him for a drinking cup. In this way they serve the heads even of their nearest relatives, if on occasion of some disagreement, they have gained the advantage over them in an appeal to the king. When strangers of any importance visit a Scythian, he produces these skulls—recounts how, though his relatives, they attacked him, and how he vanquished them ; and upon such actions they confer the praise of virtue.

Once in every year the governor of each district mingles a cup of wine of which those Scythians only drink who have destroyed enemies ; while those who have not achieved so much, taste not the wine, but sit disgraced apart : and this is deemed an extreme ignominy. Those who have slain great numbers quaff a double cup. Seers are numerous among the Scythians, who predict by means of willow twigs. Having collected a number of large bundles of rods, they place them on the

ground, unbind them, and placing each rod apart, then utter their predictions. While pronouncing their prediction, they again collect the rods, and again place them singly apart. This is the original divination of the country. An effeminate class of persons pretend to deliver responses from Aphrodite. This kind is practised with the bark of the linden-tree:—having divided the bark into three portions, they weave it round their fingers, and then releasing it, pronounce their response.

When a Scythian king is attacked with disease, he sends for three of the most noted seers, who, in the above-mentioned manner, give their divinations. Most often these persons declare that such or such a member of the community has sworn falsely by the royal hearth—for it is the established custom of the Scythians, on the most solemn occasions, to swear by the royal hearth. Forthwith the person thus accused is arrested, and brought forward; and when he appears, is charged by the seers, who indict him ‘on manifest proof by divination, of having forsworn himself by the royal hearth, and so of having occasioned the king’s illness.’ The accused man denies the charge—declares he is not perjured, and deeply resents the imputation. Upon this denial, the king calls for another set of seers, double in number; and if these also, upon inspecting the divination, convict him of perjury, he immediately suffers decapitation, and his goods are taken possession of by the first seers. But if the second set discharge the accused, others are called in; and even others after them; and if by the decision of the majority, the man is acquitted, sentence of death is given against the first set of diviners.

They perish in the following mode:—A waggon is filled with faggots; oxen are yoked to it;—the seers, with their feet tied, their hands bound behind them, and their mouths gagged, are stowed in the midst of the faggots, which are set on fire, and the oxen are frightened and driven off. Often these animals are burned with the seers;—often, half burned, they effect their escape when their traces are consumed. In this mode seers are burned, for other crimes as well as for the one men-

tioned: and such are called false prophets. A Scythian king puts to death the male children of those whom he condemns to die; the daughters only are suffered to escape. The Scythians in ratifying a covenant by oath, observe the following usages:—They pour wine into a large earthen vase, with which they mingle the blood of the covenanting parties, drawn by the stroke of an awl, or by a knife. In this mingled cup they immerse a scymetar, several arrows, a hatchet, and a javelin: this done, they utter many prayers; and then the contracting parties drink the mixture, in which they are joined by the chief persons in their train.

The sepulchres of the kings are in the district named Gerrhus, where the Borysthenes becomes navigable. There, when one of their kings dies, the Scythians dig a large quadrangular pit, and thither, when it is ready, they bring the corpse, cover it with wax, lay open the body, cleanse it, and fill the cavity with the cyprian aromatic, cut small, and incense, and parsley, and anise-seed: after which it is sown up. Then they carry the corpse in a chariot to another tribe, where the people, as soon as they receive the dead, practise what has been done by the royal Scythians—they amputate a portion of their ears, cut their hair round the head, rend the skin of the forehead and nose, and thrust an arrow through their right hands. The chariot bearing the royal corpse, is then passed on to another province of his kingdom; meanwhile they to whom it was first brought follow it. When thus they have traversed the realm, they find themselves again in the province of Gerrhus, which is the most remote of all the Scythian regions. There they give it burial, placing the body on a mattress of straw (*or grass*). On this side, and on that of the body, they plant spears, and cover it with wood, and roof it over with hurdles of willow: in the remaining space of the pit, they inter one of the late king's women, whom they strangle for the purpose; and with her his cup bearer, his cook, his groom, his minister, his courier, his horses, as well as some articles of every kind he may have need of, and several golden goblets — neither silver nor brass is in use among them. This done, they all contend eagerly with each other in the

work of heaping over the whole a mound of earth (*tumulus*) as vast as possible.

When a year has transpired, they perform new rites. Those of the late king's attendants who most assiduously served him, and who were native Scythians;—for he commands the services of whom he pleases among his subjects, and has no purchased slaves;—these, to the number of fifty, with the same number of the finest horses, are strangled. The bodies are then embowelled, cleansed, filled with chaff, and sewed up. Half the felley of a wheel is fixed supine upon two pieces of wood, and the other half upon other pieces; in the same manner many wheels are prepared. Then, spitting the horses upon stout stakes, driven through the body from tail to neck, they mount them on the half-wheels, in such a manner that the shoulders of the horse may be supported by one of the half-wheels, and the hind parts by another, which passes under the belly near the thighs; while both fore and hind legs hang suspended in the air. The horse is furnished with bit and bridle; the latter being brought forwards and fixed to a stake. The fifty youths who have been strangled are then severally placed upon the horses; this is effected by passing a stake along the spine to the neck; the stake is fastened in a perforation of the beam on which the horse is spitted. Having stationed these troopers in a circle round the tomb, they depart.

Such is the mode in which the kings are buried. On the death of a private person, his nearest relatives carry the body, laid on a carriage, from house to house among his friends, each of whom receives it, and entertains those who follow with good cheer. And to the corpse they present, as to the other guests, a portion of every dish. During forty days, the bodies of private persons are thus borne about, and are then buried. Scythians who have been engaged in performing these rites of sepulture, purify themselves in the following manner:—first they anoint and bathe the head; and for (*purifying*) the body, they fix three sticks in the ground, inclining towards each other; over these they stretch thick woollen cloths, joined together as closely as possible: then

they cast into a cavity in the midst of the tent—formed by the sticks and cloths—stones heated to a transparent brightness.

In Scythia there grows a plant resembling flax, only that it is more thick and tall, and therefore preferable. This both grows spontaneously, and is cultivated, and from it the Thracians manufacture vestments which none but persons well versed in such matters can distinguish from linen of flax. The Scythians then take some of the seed of this plant, and slipping it beneath the tent of woollen cloth, throw it upon the glowing stones: when thus heated, it emits a vapour of more power than any fumigation used by the Greeks. The Scythians, intoxicated with the fumes, begin to roar, and the sudorific serves them instead of washing; for on no account will they bathe the body in water. Their women bruise cyprus and cedar wood, and the wood of the tree that bears frankincense, upon a rough stone, with water; and when the bruised mass becomes a thick paste, they plaister the whole body and face with it. This not only serves them as a perfume, but the next day, when the cataplast is removed, the skin is both cleansed and brightened.

The Scythians are excessively averse to the admission of foreign usages—even those of another Scythian province. But to none are they so much opposed as to those of the Greeks. Of this aversion they gave proof in the instance of Anacharsis, and afterwards of Scylas. Anacharsis, after visiting many countries, displaying wherever he went his eminent wisdom, on his return towards Scythia, sailed through the Hellespont, and went ashore at Cyzicus, where he found the people celebrating, with extraordinary magnificence, a feast in honour of the mother of the gods. There Anacharsis made a vow to the goddess, that if he returned safe and sound to his home, he would sacrifice to her in the same manner as he saw done by the people of Cyzicus, and also institute vigils. When he arrived in Scythia, he retired into Hylæa—to a spot near the race-course of Achilles, and which is every where thickly covered with trees. Hiding himself in the seclusion, Anacharsis performed all the rites proper to the goddess—holding a drum, and being invested with little

images. While thus employed, he was seen by a Scythian, who denounced him to Saulius the king, who came himself, and no sooner did he witness the fact, than he shot him dead; and at the present day, if you mention Anacharsis, the Scythians profess that they know no such person; only because he travelled in Greece, and adopted foreign customs. I heard from Timnes, guardian of Ariapithes, that Anacharsis was paternal uncle of Idanthysus, king of Scythia, and son of Gnurur, who was son of Lycus, who was son of Spargapithes. If then Anacharsis was of this family, it appears that he died by the hand of his own brother; for Idanthysus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who killed Anacharsis.

I have indeed heard another story told by the Peloponnesians concerning Anacharsis. They affirm that he had been sent out by the Scythian king that he might acquire Greek learning. On his return home, he informed the king who sent him that the Greeks, universally, excepting only the Lacedæmonians, applied themselves assiduously to the attainment of all kinds of wisdom; but that to these alone it belonged wisely to speak and to hear. But this has been prettily imagined by the Peloponnesian Greeks. The person of whom we are speaking perished in the manner above related, and the cause of his death was nothing else than his having introduced foreign usages, and having held familiar intercourse with the Greeks. Many years afterwards Scylas, son of Ariapithes, underwent a similar fate. Ariapithes the Scythian king, had several sons, among whom was Scylas, born of a foreign mother—a woman of Istria. She taught her son the language and learning of Greece. In course of time, Ariapithes was traiterously killed by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrses. Scylas then succeeded to the kingdom, and espoused his father's wife, named Opœa, a Scythian woman, who had borne to the late king a son named Oricus. Scylas, though king of Scythia, could not endure to conform to the Scythian mode of life: but under the influence of the notions he had imbibed in his early years, inclined much more to the usages of Greece. The course he pursued was this—Whenever he led the Scythian forces to the Borysthenians—these Borys-

thenians profess themselves to be from Miletus — as he approached the town, he left the army in the vicinity, while he himself entering the walls, closed the gates, and then throwing aside the Scythian garb, assumed the Grecian dress, and thus attired, frequented the public places, unattended by guards, or any person whatever: meanwhile the gates were guarded lest some Scythian should see him so habited. In other respects also he adopted the Grecian modes of living, and performed sacrifices to the gods according to the rites of the Grecian worship. When he had remained in this place a month or more, he took his departure, having reassumed the Scythian dress. This he did often, and even erected for himself a mansion in the city, and married a woman who was a native of the place. But when the fated time of his calamity arrived, it happened on the following occasion:—He greatly desired to be initiated in the mysteries of Bacchus. Just when the initiatories were about to be delivered to him, a signal prodigy occurred:—He had, as I have already mentioned, a mansion in the city of the Borysthenians, and this residence was spacious, including magnificent grounds; and around it were placed sphinxes and griffins, carved in white marble. But the god cast his bolt upon the palace of Scylas, and all was consumed. Notwithstanding this event, Scylas accomplished his initiation. Now the Scythians are wont to reproach the Greeks on account of the Bacchanalian orgies; for, as they say, it is not reasonable to institute worship to a god who urges men to madness. When therefore Scylas was initiated in the orgies, a certain Borysthenian gave information of the fact to the Scythians, in these terms—“ You Scythians are wont to deride us when, possessed by the god, we fulfil the orgies. But this very dæmon has got possession of your own king; and he now celebrates the orgies, and is maddened by the god. If you doubt my word follow, and I will shew him to you.” The Scythian chiefs followed him, and the Borysthenian leading the way, placed them in concealment upon a tower. When Scylas passed in the midst of the frantic mob, and the Scythians beheld him in the orgies, they deemed it a great and grievous calamity.

mity, and retiring, made known to the whole army what they had seen.

When after this, Scylas returned to his hearth, the Scythians revolted and set up his brother Octamasades, son of the daughter of Teres. He, informed of what was done against him, and on what account, took refuge in Thrace. When Octamasades learned the place of his retreat, he invaded that country, and on reaching the banks of the Ister, found himself opposed by the Thracians. Just as the two armies were about to engage, Sitalces sent a herald with this message to Octamasades—"Why need we try each other's strength.—You are the son of my sister, and you have with you my brother.—Restore him to me, and I will surrender your brother to you. So doing, neither you nor I shall incur the perils of war." Such was the proposal of Sitalces; for his brother had taken refuge with Octamasades. He assented, and while he surrendered his maternal uncle, received his brother Scylas. Sitalces, on his part, retired with his brother, and Octamasades beheaded Scylas on the spot. Thus rigidly do the Scythians adhere to their own customs, and thus punish those who illegally adopt foreign usages.

I have never been able to learn with exactness the population of Scythia, concerning which I heard many discordant accounts—some saying that the Scythians are extremely numerous; and others affirming that those properly termed Scythians are very few. I will relate what I myself observed.—Between the Borysthenes and the Hypanis, is a region called *Exampæus*, which, as I have already had occasion to mention, (p. 289) contains a bitter spring, flowing into the Hypanis, and rendering the waters of that river unfit to be drank. In this district there is a brazen cauldron, six times as large as that which was dedicated by Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, and placed at the mouth of the Euxine. But for the sake of those who have not seen the Pontine cauldron, I will describe the dimensions of the Scythian vessel;—it easily contains six hundred amphoras, and it is six fingers in thickness; and the natives affirm that it was formed of the points of arrows. For one of their kings, named

Ariantus, wishing to know the number of the Scythians, commanded each of his subjects to bring him one arrow-head, threatening with death those who neglected to do so. In consequence, a vast amount of points was accumulated, and by way of leaving a monument of himself to posterity, he caused this vessel to be formed from them, which he consecrated in the district above-mentioned. This story I heard in proof of the populousness of Scythia.

Excepting its many large rivers, Scythia presents nothing to excite admiration. We might indeed include its vast plains: and I will also mention the impression of the foot of Hercules, which they show you on a rock, near the river Tyras: it resembles the print of the human foot, but is two cubits in length. But I resume my proposed narrative.

SECTION VI.

INVASION OF SCYTHIA BY DARIUS.

Darius, in making preparations to invade Scythia, despatched messengers in various directions, exacting from some of his subjects a levy of land forces; from others requiring ships; while upon others he imposed the task of constructing bridges across the Thracian Bosphorus. Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, opposed this enterprize, alleging the poverty of the Scythians. But these prudent dissuasions availed nothing, and he desisted from urging his advice. All being in readiness, Darius at the head of his army left Susa. Then it was that a Persian named Œobazus, who had three sons serving in the army, besought Darius to leave him one of them. The king, affecting the tone of friend-

ship, and as if he thought the request reasonable, said that all the three should be left. The father was delighted, supposing that his sons were to receive their discharge from the service. But Darius commanded the attendants to put to death the three sons of *Œobazus*; this order they executed, and left the bodies on the spot.

Darius proceeded from Susa to Chalcedon, where the bridges had been constructed across the Bosphorus: taking ship at that place he sailed to the *Cyanean* islands, which formerly, as the Greeks affirm, were unfixed. There, sitting at the temple, he surveyed the fair prospect of the *Euxine*—a sea beyond any other admirable.

[The length of this water is 11,100 furlongs: its breadth, at the widest part, is 3,300 furlongs: its exit is four furlongs wide, and about one hundred and twenty in length. It was upon this neck, called the Bosphorus, that the bridge was constructed. The Bosphorus extends to the Propontis, and the Propontis is five hundred furlongs wide, and 1,300 long: it discharges itself by the Hellespont, which at its narrowest part, measures seven furlongs: its length is four hundred. The Hellespont communicates with the open *Ægæan* Sea.

These measurements are thus calculated:—A vessel in a long day will make about 70,000 fathoms; and in the night 60,000; now from the Bosphorus to the Phasis, which is the greatest length of the *Euxine*, is a distance of nine days' and eight nights' sailing. This makes 1,110,000 fathoms, or 11,100 furlongs. Then from *Sindica* to *Themiscyra*, upon the *Thermodon*, where the *Euxine* is broadest, is a distance that may be passed in three days and two nights, which make 330,000 fathoms, or 3,300 furlongs. It is thus I have calculated the measurements of the *Euxine*, the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont, which are such as I have described them. The *Euxine* receive the waters of the *Palus Mæotis*—a gulph not much less than itself, and which is called the mother of the *Euxine*.]

Darius having surveyed the sea, returned to the bridge, of which Mandrocles, a Samian, was the architect. He surveyed also the Bosphorus, and on its banks erected two columns of white marble, which bore inscriptions, one in the Assyrian, the other in the Greek characters, containing a list of all the nations composing his army; and he had some from every country of his dominions. This army, exclusively of the fleet which consisted of 600 vessels, was computed—horse and foot together, to amount to 700,000 men. These two columns the Byzantines afterwards transported to their city, and have used them for constructing the altar of the Orthosian Diana. They left, however, a single stone of the columns, covered with Assyrian writing, near the temple of Bacchus, at Byzantium. The bridge constructed by Darius was situated, as nearly as I can calculate, half-way between Byzantium and the temple which stands at the (*inner*) mouth of the Bosphorus.

Pleased with the bridge of barges, Darius presented to the Samian architect Mandrocles, a tithe of all; and from these, Mandrocles took a portion to be dedicated at the temple of Juno, (*at Samos*) the value of this portion was expended on a picture, representing the entire junction of the Bosphorus, and exhibiting king Darius, seated on a throne, while his army passed over: the epigraph was as follows:—

“To Juno, Mandrocles this offering gave:—

He joined by boats the fish-abounding wave

Of Bosphorus;—earned for himself a crown;

And pleased his king; and gained his isle renown.”

Such was the monument of the man who constructed the bridge. Having recompensed Mandrocles, Darius passed over into Europe. He had enjoined the Ionians to sail into the Euxine, as far as the Ister, where they were to wait his arrival, and in the mean time to construct
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a bridge over the river. For the Ionians, Æolians, and Hellespontines, conducted the naval force. The fleet passing the Cyanean islands, sailed directly for the Ister, and ascending the stream two days' voyage, yoked the neck of the river, just above the point where it parts into the seven streams which form its mouths. Darius passing over the Bosphorus by the bridge of boats, advanced through Thrace; and when he arrived at the fountains of the Tearus he encamped three days. This river is said by those who dwell upon its banks to be the finest of all streams for the healing qualities of its waters, which are especially efficacious in curing blains, both in men and horses. There are thirty-eight of these fountains, gushing from the same rock, some of which are cold, others hot. They are situated half-way between the city Heræus, near Perinthus, and Apollonia, on the Euxine, and two days' journey from both. The Tearus empties itself into the Contadestus, and this into the Agrianis, and this into the Hebrus, and this into the sea near the city Ænus. Darius, we say, formed his camp near the Tearus, with which he was so much pleased that he erected a column on its banks, bearing the following inscription:—"The waters of the heads of the Tearus surpass in beauty and goodness the waters of all other rivers. And the best and handsomest of men came to them, leading an army against the Scythians—even Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians, and of all the continent." Such was this inscription.

Proceeding thence, Darius reached another river, named Artiscus, which runs through Odrysas. And here, marching his army into an open space, he commanded each man as he passed to place a stone:—several large mounds of stones were left on the spot: he then moved onwards. The first people conquered by Darius before he reached the Ister were the Getes, who profess themselves to be immortal. The Thracians of Salmydessus, and those

living above Apollonia and Mesambria, called Scyrmiaades, and Nipsæans, surrendered to him without striking a blow. But the Getes, through fool-hardiness, faced him, and were presently reduced to slavery.

[These people are at once the most noble, and the most virtuous of the Thracians. Their profession of immortality is of this kind:—They believe that they do not actually die; but that when any one deceases, he goes to the dæmon Zalmoxis, or, as some of them name him, Gebeleizis. Once in five years they despatch one of themselves, taken by lot, as a messenger to Zalmoxis, to inform him of their particular wants. Their mode of sending him is this:—Three persons are placed together, each holding a javelin: others, taking up him who is to be sent to Zalmoxis by the arms and feet, give him a swinging motion, and then throw him into the air upon the spikes. If he is mortally pierced, they deem the god to be propitious to them. But if he fails to die, they lay the blame on the messenger, accusing him of being a base fellow. Then they despatch another, having first given him his orders. These same Thracians discharge their arrows at the heavens when it thunders and lightens, as a menace to their god; and they believe that there exists no other god but their own.

According to what I learned from the Greeks of the Hellespont and the Euxine, this Zalmoxis was a man, and the slave of Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, at Samos. Having obtained his liberty, he amassed great riches, with which he returned to his own country. The Thracian manners and mode of life were wretched and gross in the extreme. But Zalmoxis had been conversant with the Ionic usages, and with institutions better founded than those of Thrace; he had moreover been familiar with the Greeks, and especially with Pythagoras—a sage of great eminence among them: on his return, he constructed a saloon, in which he received and sumptuously entertained the chiefs of the country. While they frequented his table, he taught them his doctrine, affirming, that neither he nor his guests, nor their descendants, for

ever, would die, but would go to that region where they would always live in the possession of every good. During the time that he took these measures, and held this discourse, he caused a subterraneous abode to be constructed, and when it was completed, he vanished from the sight of the Thracians: for descending into this vault, he remained there three years. The Thracians regretted and mourned him as dead; but in the fourth year, he appeared to them again, and by this means persuaded them of the truth of what he had said.

For my own part, I care neither to doubt nor to believe this story of Zalmoxis and his vault. But I am of opinion that he lived many years before the time of Pythagoras:—and whether he were a man, or a country dæmon of the Getes, I take my leave of him.]

The Getes, whose opinions I have mentioned, being vanquished by the Persians, were united to the army. When Darius with his land forces reached the Ister, he passed the whole army over, and then commanded the Ionians to dissolve the bridge; and, with their men from the fleet, to follow him by land. Just as they were about to fulfil this command, Coes, son of Erxander, general of the Mityleneans, having first asked if advice would be received in good part, thus addressed Darius:—"You are about, O king, to invade a country whose inhabitants neither cultivate their soil, nor dwell in cities. I advise therefore that you suffer this bridge to remain where it is, and that you leave those who constructed it to guard it. If, then, we meet with the Scythians and succeed according to our wishes, we shall have a way of return; or should we not be able to find them, we shall in like manner possess the means of a safe retreat. Not that I fear our being overcome by the Scythians in battle; but rather I apprehend lest—unable to meet them—we should suffer some calamity in our wanderings. Let it not seem to any one that I give this advice for my own sake, that

I may remain here. For while I openly declare what appears to me most advantageous to you, Sire, I am ready to follow you; nor would I be left behind."

Darius was much pleased with the advice of the Greek, and thus replied:—"Lesbian guest! when I shall have returned in safety to my palace, present yourself before me, that I may requite your good counsel with good deeds." Thus saying, he tied sixty knots in a thong, and addressing himself to the Ionian tyrants said—"Ionians! I change my first resolution concerning the bridge. Take this thong, and beginning on the very day when you see me set out against the Scythians, loose every day a knot. If at the expiration of that time I do not appear, and yet all the days numbered by the knots are passed, then return every one of you to his home. Meanwhile, as I have changed my purpose, guard the bridge, and with all diligence preserve and watch it. Thus doing, you will win my especial favour." After this Darius pushed forwards.

SECTION VII.

ULTRA SCYTHIAN NATIONS. AMAZONS.

[The Scythian territory lies opposite to Thrace, on the coast: for Scythia begins at the gulph where Thrace terminates, and where the Ister, after making a turn towards the east, discharges its waters.* I now propose to describe the

* The Danube runs *northward* for some distance, parallel with the coast of the Euxine, and then, making a turn eastward, reaches that sea. This passage has been variously rendered, the difference is unimportant.

Scythian regions, commencing at the Ister, and to state the extent of its sea-coast. Ancient Scythia is the more southern region which extends from the Ister to the city Carcinitis. From that city, proceeding along the same coast, is a mountainous region, projecting into the Euxine, and inhabited by the Taurian nation, as far as the Trachea of the Chersonese, which stands on the coast of the eastern sea. The line of Scythian coast takes two directions, one tending towards the south, the other towards the east, similar to the coasts of Attica* The Taurians therefore bear almost the same relation to the rest of Scythia, as any foreign people might bear to Attica, who should settle about the promontory of Sunium, which stretches out into the sea from Thoricum, to Anaplystum. Thus I compare small things with great.—Such then is Taurica. But for the sake of those who have never visited the Attic shores, I will use another comparison.—Suppose some people, distinct from the Japyges, occupied exclusively the promontory from Brentesium (*Brundisium*) to Tarentum. Many other promontories, besides the two I have mentioned, might be compared to Taurica.

From Taurica, and along the coast of the sea eastward, the country is occupied still by Scythians, above the Taurians, who extend along the shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the western coast of the Palus Mæotis, as far as the Tanais, which empties itself into the farthest recess of that lake. Now to return to the Ister, and to proceed thence inland, we find Scythia bounded, first by the Agathyrses; then by the Neurians; next by the Androphages; and lastly by the Melanchlæans.

Scythia being nearly a square, its two lines of coast are just equal to its two inland boundaries. For, from the Ister to the Borysthenes, is a distance of ten days' journey; and from thence to the (*entrance of the*) Palus Mæotis is another ten. Again, from the sea-coast to the interior, where the

* Our author seems to have supposed that the Crimea extended much more prominently into the Euxine than it actually does; the same error led him to speak of the Palus Mæotis as almost equal to the Euxine.

Melanchlæans border upon the Scythians, is twenty days' journey. I calculate a day's journey at two hundred furlongs. On this computation the oblique sides of Scythia will measure 4,000 furlongs, which is also the distance directly through the midst of the country. Such is the extent of this land.]

The Scythians on consultation deemed themselves unable alone to contend in pitched battles with Darius: they therefore sent messengers to the neighbouring nations. And hearing that so large an army was advancing, the kings of those nations met together for consultation. The kings who met on this occasion were those of the Taurians, the Agathyrses, the Neurians, the Androphages, the Melanchlæans, the Gelons, the Budians, and the Sauromates.

[The customs of the Taurians are such as these:—They sacrifice to the Virgin all who are cast away upon their shores, as well as every Greek they can find, or who visits their coasts. Having performed the preparatory rites, they knock the victim on the head with a club. Some say that they cut off the head, and fix it on a cross, and then precipitate the body from the height on which the temple stands. Others, agreeing in what relates to the head, deny that the body is thrown from the precipice; and affirm that it is interred. The Taurians declare that the dæmon to whom they perform this sacrifice is Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon. Those of their enemies whom they take in battle, they decapitate, and carry the heads home with them. The head is transfixed on a pole, which is set up on the top of the house, and most often on the chimney. And they say that these heads are elevated in this manner as the guardians of the entire habitation. These people subsist upon the spoils of war. The Agathyrses are a luxurious people, and wear a profusion of gold. They disregard the laws of marriage, and live promiscuously without jealousy or envy. In their other customs they approach to the usages of the Thracians.

The Neurians follow the Scythian mode of life. In the generation preceding that of the Persian invasion, it happened to them to be driven from their country by serpents, of which a vast multitude appeared in their lands;—a great proportion coming from the deserts above them. Thus expelled from their homes, they established themselves among the Budians. It seems these people are enchanters; and it is affirmed by the Scythians, as well as by the Greeks settled in Scythia, that during a few days in each year, every Neurian becomes a wolf; after which he resumes his proper form. But for my own part I cannot credit such a story, although they affirm nothing less, and support their assertion with an oath. The Androphages (*canibals*) are of all mankind the most ferocious in their manners.—They pay no regard to the common laws of right; indeed they observe no laws whatever. They are nomadic. Their dress is similar to that of the Scythians: their language is peculiar to themselves, and they alone of all these nations eat the flesh of man.

The Melanchlæans derive their name from their apparel, which is invariably black; their customs are the same as those of the Scythians. The Budians are a great and populous nation. They (*paint their bodies*) a fierce blue and red. In their country there is a city built entirely of wood: it is called Gelonus; each side of its walls measures thirty furlongs: the walls are wooden, and of great height. The houses also, and the temples are of wood. There are at Gelonus temples dedicated to the Grecian gods, furnished after the Grecian fashion with images, altars, and chapels; and these also formed of wood; and here, once in three years, they celebrate the feast of Bacchus, with its accustomed orgies; for the people of this city are of Greek extraction, who having been expelled from the maritime towns, settled among the Budians; and their language is a mixture of the Greek and Scythian tongues. The Budians differ from these Gelonians both in language and mode of life; for they being the aborigines are nomadic, and alone among these nations devour vermin. But the Gelonians cultivate the soil, and subsist on grain, and have gardens: nor do the two races at all resemble

each other in appearance or complexion. The Greeks err therefore in calling the Budians—Gelonians. Their country is throughout thickly covered with trees of every kind. In the midst of a dense forest is a spacious and profound lake, with an extent of marsh, surrounded by reeds, and here are taken otters, beavers, and other square-faced animals, the skins of which serve for edgings to cloaks; and a part extracted from their bodies, is used medicinally.

Of the Sauromatians the following particulars are related.—When the Greeks had fought the Amazons, whom the Scythians call Oiorpata—a word signifying—manslayers; for *oior* means a man, and *pata* to kill. I say, when the Greeks had, as they affirm vanquished the Amazons in battle at the Thermodon, they returned, bringing with them, in three ships, all the Amazons they had been able to take alive. But when they stood out to sea, these captives slaughtered the men, and then, knowing nothing of the management of a ship, nor of the use of the rudder, the sails, and the oars, they were borne along by the winds and waves. Thus driven, they reached the shores of the Cremnians on the Palus Mæotis. These people are included within the territory of the free (*royal*) Scythians. The Amazons going ashore, marched forward to the inhabited part of the country, and seizing the first herd of horses they met with, mounted them, and ravaged the lands of the Scythians. The Scythians knew not what to think of them, for they were unacquainted with the language and dress of the invaders, and could neither guess what nation they belonged to, nor whence they came. From their stature and gait, supposing them to be men, they gave them battle, and only when they saw them slain on the field, perceived that they were women. They resolved therefore no more to attack them as enemies, but to depute a sufficient number of Scythians to encamp near them—to watch their movements—to retire rather than fight when pursued, and gradually to gain acquaintance with them. This was effected by degrees, the two camps approached, and at length the Scythians and the Amazons became acquainted, the latter consenting to become the wives of the former. Thus they

lived together. The men, finding it impracticable to learn the language of the Amazons, taught them their own, and when sufficiently versed in it, the men thus addressed their wives—"We have parents and possessions. Let us therefore no longer lead this kind of life; but let us return and live together with our kindred; and you—and you alone, shall be our wives." To this the women replied—"We cannot dwell with your women; for their habits and ours are not at all similar. We use the bow and the javelin, and ride on horse-back, and are ignorant of all female employments. But they do none of those things to which we are habituated; on the contrary, they sit at home in their waggons, busied in womanish labours, nor ever follow the chase, nor go abroad. We could not therefore by any means consort with them. But now if you would retain us as your wives, and if you wish to act towards us like honest men, go to your parents, receive your share of their possessions, and then return and live with us."

The men yielding to this proposal acted accordingly, and having taken the portion of goods that fell to them, returned to the Amazons, who thus addressed them—"Fear and dread are upon us when we think of dwelling in this country, both because we have deprived you of your fathers, and because we have so greatly ravaged your lands. But now, as you think good to make us your wives, arise, and go with us out of the country, and we will settle beyond the Tanaïs." The Scythians consented to this proposal also; and altogether passed the Tanaïs, and journied eastward three days beyond the river, and three days also northward of the Palus Mæotis; there they established themselves in the district which they still occupy. Ever since that time the wives of the Sauromatians have maintained their ancient mode of life—pursuing the chase on horseback, sometimes with, and sometimes without their husbands: they also go out to war, and are habited in the same manner as the men. The Sauromatians speak the Scythian language, but have received it from their ancestors incorrectly, owing to the imperfect manner in which the Amazons first learned it. An established rule among them

forbids a woman to marry until she has slain a man in battle. Some women therefore become old before they marry, not having been able to satisfy the law.]

SECTION VIII.

RETREAT OF THE PERSIANS FROM SCYTHIA.

The Scythian messengers arrived where the kings of the nations above-mentioned were assembled, and informed them that the Persian, after having conquered all the nations of the other continent (*Asia*) had thrown a bridge over the Bosphorus, and had passed over into this continent.—That having effected his passage, he had vanquished the Thracians, and formed a bridge over the Ister, with the intention of seizing for himself all their lands. “You, therefore,” said they, “must by no means sit by and see us ruined; but rather feeling with us, join us to oppose the invader. If you refuse to do so, we, pressed by him, shall either abandon our country, or if we remain, accept conditions from him. For what else should we do if you are unwilling to aid us. Nor shall you then find yourselves in an easy situation; for the Persian advances not more against us than against you; nor after subduing us will he leave you alone. Of the truth of what we affirm we can give you a sufficient proof.—If indeed the Persian had purposed to make war upon us only in revenge of the servitude in which formerly we held them, he would have avoided war with any other people, and so have marched directly into our country; thereby making it manifest to all that his invasion was

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directed against the Scythians only. But now, instead of doing so, he had no sooner passed over into this continent, than he subjugated every people that came in his way. Already has he reduced the rest of the Thracians, and even our near neighbours the Getes."

The assembled kings deliberated upon this communication, and their opinions were divided.—The kings of the Gelonians, of the Budians, and of the Sauromates, agreed in consenting to aid the Scythians. While the king of the Agathyrses, of the Neurians, of the Androphages, the kings of the Melanchlæans, and of the Taurians, thus replied to the Scythian ambassadors:—"If you had not first injured the Persians, and been the authors of the war, what you now ask would seem to us reasonable, and we should yield to your will, and act in concert with you. But in fact you invaded their country, in which invasion we had no share; and you held power over the Persian so long as it was permitted to you by the god; and now they, incited by the same god, shall render to you what you gave to them. For ourselves, as we did not then injure these men, so neither will we now attempt to do them ill. Yet should the Persian advance upon our lands, and so become the aggressor, we shall no longer stand still. Meanwhile we shall keep ourselves to ourselves. And we are of opinion that the Persian comes not against us, but only against those who were the authors of wrong."

When these replies were reported to the Scythians, they resolved to avoid all kinds of open and direct warfare with the enemy, especially as their allies came not to their assistance: but to recede and to draw off covertly; and on their way to fill up all the wells and fountains, and to trample down all the produce of the earth. To effect these objects, they divided their army into two bodies. With one of these divisions—commanded by Scopasis, were joined the Sauromates, and these—if the

Persian took that course, were to retreat directly towards the Tanaïs, along the shores of the Palus Mæotis; and when he should retrace his steps, then they were to pursue him. Such was the part assigned to one division of the Royal Scythians. The other two, of which the greater was commanded by Idanthysus, and the other by Taxacis, were to be united, and to join themselves also to the Gelones and Budians. This combined army was to keep a day's march in advance of the Persians;—still retreating before them, and effecting the (*devastations*) agreed upon in the council. And moreover, they were to draw the enemy directly towards the territories of those nations who had refused their alliance, in order to bring the war upon them; so that, though they would not freely engage in the contest against the Persians, they might be compelled to take part in it. After this, they were to return into their own districts, and if on consultation it should seem advisable, they were to attack the enemy.

Having concerted these measures, the Scythians advanced to meet Darius, sending forwards, as scouts, the very best of their cavalry. Their waggons, which were the habitations of their children and wives, they sent away with all their cattle, retaining only such as were necessary for the subsistence of the army. This waggon train was directed to proceed continually towards the north.

The advanced cavalry of the Scythians fell in with the Persians about three days' march from the Ister, and having discovered them, they formed their own camp at the distance of one day's journey from them: at the same time they destroyed the entire produce of the earth in the neighbourhood. The Persians no sooner saw the Scythian horse, than they followed their track, while these continually retired. Thus they pursued that body of the Scythians which took the eastern road, towards

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the Tanaïs. This river the Scythians passed—the Persians still pursuing, till having traversed the territory of the Sauromates, they arrived in the country of the Budians.

All the time that the Persians were passing through the Scythian and Sauromatian lands, they met with nothing to pillage; for the whole region was utterly waste. And when they arrived in the country of the Budians, they discovered the wooden town, deserted of its inhabitants, and emptied of every article. After burning the town, they continued to follow the track of the retreating Scythians. At length, having completely traversed the Budian lands, they reached the desert beyond that country, which extends a distance of seven days' journey, and which is entirely destitute of inhabitants. Beyond the wilderness dwell the Thyssagetes, in whose territory four large rivers arise, which after watering the lands of the Mæotians, discharge themselves into the Palus Mæotis. These rivers are the Lycus, the Oarus, the Tanaïs, and the Syrgis. When Darius reached this desert, he halted on his march, and established his army on the banks of the Oarus. There he constructed eight spacious fortresses, with an interval between each of about sixty furlongs. The ruins of these structures remained in my time. While he was thus occupied, the Scythians whom he had pursued, making a circuit through the upper country, returned to Scythia. These disappearing so completely that they could be no more seen, Darius abandoned the fortifications in an unfinished state, and himself turned his march in a westerly direction, supposing that the Scythians he had followed constituted the entire nation, and that they had fled towards the west.

Advancing by rapid marches, he arrived in Scythia, and there fell in with the two combined divisions of the Scythian army. He pursued them; but they still

kept a day's march before him. As he desisted not from the pursuit, the Scythians put in practice their original plan, and retired into the territory of those who had refused to aid them. First they retreated among the Melanchlæans, who by this means were annoyed by the incursion of both armies. Then they led the war into the lands of the Androphages, troubling them, and next retired into Neurida. When the Neurians had sustained this disturbance, the Scythians fled towards the Agathyrses. These people, seeing their neighbours distractedly fleeing before the Scythians, sent a herald to them before they had entered their country, forbidding them to transgress their borders, and declaring that should they attempt to invade the Agathyrsian territory, they must first fight its defenders. Having made this declaration, the Agathyrses advanced to protect their frontiers, determined to repel the intruders. As for the Melanchlæans, the Androphages, and the Neurians, when they saw themselves invaded by both the Persians and the Scythians, they made no stand against either, but forgetful of their former menaces, retreated further and still further north.

The Scythians, when they found that the Agathyrses interdicted their advance, did not proceed; but leaving the Neurians, led the Persians into Scythia. This mode of proceeding had now been adhered to a long time; at length Darius despatched a horseman to the Scythian king Idanthysus, with the following message:—"Infatuated man! why dost thou always flee when alternatives are at thy option? If thou deemest thyself strong enough to contend with my forces, stand—cease thy wanderings, and fight. But if thou art conscious of inferiority, then arrest thy march, offer to thy lord the gifts of earth and water,* and come to a conference." To

* The usual tokens of submission.

this challenge the Scythian king, Idanthyrus, thus replied :—

“ Persian ! know that I have never fled in fear from any man ; nor do I now so flee from thee. Nor do I act otherwise (*in thus wandering about*) than I am accustomed to do even in time of peace. Why I have not ere this given thee battle, I will explain :—we possess neither towns nor cultivated lands which we should fear might be captured and ravaged, and which might induce us hastily to engage with thee. But now if at any rate it must be that we fight—we have the sepulchres of our fathers :—come on—find them—attempt to disturb them ; and then shall ye know whether, for the tombs of our ancestors we will fight or not. Meanwhile, unless we see reason to alter our purpose, we shall not give thee battle. Let this serve for an answer to thy challenge to fight. And now know that the only masters I acknowledge are Jupiter, my ancestor, and Vesta, queen of the Scythians. Instead of the gifts of earth and water, I send thee such as befit thee.—And thou callest thyself my lord ! I tell thee, weep thy misfortunes !”—This (*last*) was a Scythian phrase :—such was the message brought by the herald to Darius.

The Scythian kings had been filled with rage at the mere mention of servitude ; and they instructed that division of the army with which the Sauromates were joined, and which was under the command of Scopacis, to proceed towards the Ister, and to confer with the Ionians, who guarded the bridge over that river. For themselves who remained, they resolved no longer to lead the Persians from place to place, but to fall upon them every time they knew them to be taking their food. Having observed the time when the army of Darius was so occupied, they executed their project. The Scythian horse constantly put to flight the Persian cavalry, which yet saved itself by falling back upon the infantry ; for the infantry failed not to afford them support. And

the Scythians, after driving in the enemy, turned about in fear of the infantry. The Scythians made similar assaults by night.

A remarkable circumstance occurred in these attacks upon the camp of Darius, which proved advantageous to the Persians, and equally injurious to the Scythians.— This was the terror given to the Scythian horses by the braying of the asses, and the appearance of the mules; for, as I have before said, neither asses nor mules are bred or kept in Scythia on account of the frosts. The insolence of the asses so terrified the Scythian horses, that, often, when the cavalry was advancing to charge, the Persians, in mid-way, if the horses chanced to hear the braying of the asses, they were panic struck, and pricking their ears, turned about; having never before heard the sound, or seen the form of those animals. In some small degree the fortune of the war was affected by this circumstance.

The Scythians perceiving the embarrassment of the Persians, (*or seeing a great movement as if of departure*) and wishing to prolong their stay, that they might be still further tormented with all the miseries of famine, adopted the following course; — Leaving some of their cattle under the care of keepers, they themselves withdrew to a distance: the Persians then coming up, seized them eagerly. This was often repeated; at length Darius found himself in a state of destitution, and the Scythian kings informed of their distress, sent a herald, bearing as gifts to Darius, a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians inquired of the herald what might be the meaning of these gifts; but he replied that he had been charged only to deliver them, and to return instantly; and he advised them, if they were wise, to divine the intention of the presents. The Persians thereupon held a consultation. The opinion of Darius was that the Scythians meant by

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these gifts to offer him earth and water. He conjectured this because the mouse lives in the earth, and subsists on the same food as man; while the frog inhabits the water:—the bird he thought prefigured the horse; and the arrows signified that the Scythians surrendered their military strength. Such was the opinion entertained by Darius. But to this, Gobryas—one of the seven who had removed the Mage, opposed his own: his conjectures relative to the Scythian gifts he thus expressed—“ Unless like birds, Persians, you soar to heaven, or like mice you delve into the earth, or like frogs you hop into the lakes, you shall never return to your homes; but shall be smitten with these arrows.” Thus also the (*other*) Persians interpreted the gifts.

That division of the Scythian army which at first had been directed to keep near the Palus Mæotis, and afterwards to proceed to the Ister, in order to communicate with the Ionians, when they arrived at the bridge thus addressed the Greeks—“ Men of Ionia! we come bearing with us emancipation for you, provided only that you will listen to us. We are informed that Darius has commanded you to guard the bridge sixty days only; and if, at the expiration of that time, he does not present himself, has allowed you to depart to your homes. Now if you adhere to these instructions, you will be blameless in regard to him, and also towards us. Wait the appointed time, and then depart.” The Ionians engaging to comply with this advice, the Scythians instantly wheeled off.

After the presents just mentioned had been sent to Darius, the remaining Scythian force, both horse and foot, arranged themselves in battle array against the Persians. While they were waiting in their ranks, it chanced that a hare ran mid-way between the two armies. Forthwith the Scythians who saw it pursued the animal in disorder, uttering loud cries. Darius inquired the

cause of the tumult in the ranks of the enemy, and when informed that they were following a hare, he said to those about him, with whom he was accustomed to converse freely—"These men hold us in great contempt, and I think the interpretation which Gobryas put upon the gifts was the true one. Now therefore, as we also are of this opinion, we feel the need of good counsel to show how a safe retreat may be recovered." To this Gobryas replied—"O king, from report, I had scarcely formed an idea of the destitution of these men. But now coming among them, I have become better informed; especially by seeing how they can make sport of us. Now therefore it seems to me, that as soon as night closes, we should kindle our fires as we are accustomed to do; and then, having by some guile hidden our purpose from that part of the army that is the least capable of undergoing excessive fatigue, and having also bound all the asses, we should take our departure before either the Scythians march to the Ister and destroy the bridge, or the Ionians adopt some measures that shall be fatal to us."

Darius assented to the proposal, and as soon as night came on, all those in the army who were the most exhausted with fatigue, and the loss of whom would be the least regretted, he left in the camp, and also caused all the asses to be bound: these he left, in order that their braying might be heard: and in leaving the infirm part of the army, he used the pretext that they were to guard the camp, while he, with the flower of the army, made a sudden assault upon the Scythians. Having practised this deception upon those who were to be abandoned, and kindled the fires, Darius drew off towards the Ister with the greatest possible speed. The asses finding themselves deserted by their wonted companions, uttered so much the louder brayings, and the Scythians hearing the noise, confidently supposed that the Persians remained in their station.

When day appeared, the men left in the camp discovering that they had been betrayed by Darius, extended their hands towards the Scythians, and made such professions as suited their circumstances. On learning what had taken place the two divisions instantly joined the third, and being accompanied by the Sauromates, the Budians, and the Gelones, pursued the Persians directly to the Ister. But as the greater part of the Persian army was infantry, and as moreover they were unacquainted with the way, the Scythians being on horse-back, and taking the shortest course, missed their enemy, and arrived at the bridge long before them. When they arrived, finding that the Persians had not yet come, they thus addressed the Ionians on board their ships—"Men of Ionia! the number of the days appointed to you is expired.—You do not do well in staying here longer. But if hitherto your fears have detained you, now break up the bridge, and as quickly as possible go hence, rejoicing in your freedom, and giving thanks to the gods of Scythia. As for the man who once was your lord, we will so deal with him that he shall never again make war upon any people."

The Ionians held a consultation upon this proposition, when Miltiades the Athenian, who commanded the forces of his government—the Hellespontine Chersonese, advised to yield to the wishes of the Scythians, and to emancipate Ionia. But Histæus of Miletus advanced an opposite opinion—"It is," said he, "only from Darius that we hold the government of our several cities, and if the power of Darius is destroyed, I shall no longer be able to rule the Milesians, nor you any of your people; for the people of every state would prefer a democracy to a tyranny." Histæus had no sooner uttered this opinion, than he gained over all who at first had adopted that of Miltiades. Those who gave their votes on this side were (*then, or afterwards*) in high esteem with the king. The

chiefs present were—of the Hellespontine tyrants—Daphnis of Abydos; Hippoclus of Lampsacus; Herophantus of Parium; Metrodorus of Proconnesus; Aristagoras of Cyzicus; and Ariston of Byzantium. From Ionia—Strattis of Chios; Æaces of Samos; Laodamas of Phocæa; and Histiaëus of Miletus, who opposed the opinion of Miltiades. Of the Æolians no man of importance was present except Aristagoras of Cyme.

These chiefs having adopted the advice of Histiaëus, resolved moreover, in the first place, to break up the foot of the bridge on the Scythian side, to the distance of an arrow's shot from the bank, in order that while in fact they did nothing, they might seem to be complying with the wish of the Scythians, and at the same time might prevent them from attempting to force the bridge. In the next place, it was determined to send a message, assuring them that in breaking up the bridge on the Scythian side, they were making progress towards an entire compliance with their pleasure. These resolutions taken, Histiaëus thus addressed the Scythians in the name of his colleagues:—"Scythians! you bring good advice, and urge it seasonably. And as you point out to us an advantageous course, so we shall not fail to consult your interests. We are, as you see, breaking up the bridge, and with the utmost assiduity shall go on, impelled by the desire of freedom. Now while we are thus occupied it will be your time for seeking the Persians, and having found them, you will at once avenge upon them our quarrel, and your own, as they deserve."

The Scythians confiding in the sincerity of the Ionians, took their departure in quest of the Persians; but again followed another route and missed them. The error was attributable to the Scythians themselves; for had they not destroyed the pastures, and stopped the wells, they would inevitably have met the Persians; but now their own calculations of what was probable misled them—

They imagined that the Persians would return through the district in which forage for the horses and water were still to be found; and in that district they sought for them. But the Persians held to the track they had formerly passed, and so, though with great difficulty, at length reached the bridge. It was night when they arrived at the place, and finding the (*foot of the*) bridge broken up, were seized with extreme dismay in the fear that the Ionians had abandoned them.

There was in attendance upon Darius a certain Egyptian—a man incomparable for the power of his voice. This person was commanded by the king to stand on the brink, and to call for Histæus the Milesian. He did so, and Histæus hearing the first shout, brought up all the whole fleet for transporting the army; and he also joined the bridge to the shore. Thus the Persians escaped, while the Scythians again erred in their search for them. On account of their behaviour in this instance, the Scythians are wont to fling reproaches against the Ionians, saying that if the Ionians are indeed freemen, then must they be condemned as of all mankind the most base and cowardly; but if they are slaves, then may they be thought of all slaves the most attached to their masters and the most obsequious.

After proceeding through Thrace, Darius reached Ses-tos of the Chersonese, where he embarked and passed over to Asia, having appointed Megabazus, a Persian, to command the army left in Europe. It was the same Megabazus whom Darius had on some former occasion honoured in presence of all the Persians by a speech much to his credit. The king being about to eat some pomegranates, when he opened the first, his brother Artabanus asked him what it might be of which he would wish to possess as many as there were grains in the fruit. Darius replied—"As many of Megabazus; yes, rather would he have so many such as he, than be lord

of Greece." So great was the esteem in which this general was held among the Persians. Eighty thousand men were left under his command in Thrace. Megabazus left himself a lasting fame among the Hellespontines by a sentiment he once uttered at Byzantium. On being told that the Chalcedonians had founded their city in this country seventeen years before the Byzantines had appropriated the site they now occupy, he said—"At that time certainly the Chalcedonians must have been blind; for otherwise they could never have fixed upon a spot so dismal when one so fair might have been chosen." With the forces left under his command, Megabazus subdued those of the Hellespontines who before had not favoured the Medes. (*Persians.*)

SECTION IX.

EARLY HISTORY OF CYRENE AND BARCA.

About the same time a large force was sent into Libya, the occasion of which I shall relate, after giving some preliminary information.

[The descendants of the Argonauts having been expelled from Lemnos by those Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron, came to Lacedæmon, and pitched their tents on Mount Tagetus, where they kindled fires. The Lacedæmonians seeing their lights, sent a messenger to inquire who and whence they were. They answered, this messenger that—"They were Minyans—sons of the heroes who sailed in the ship Argo, and who touching at Lemnos, left there sons, from whom themselves were descended." When the Lacedæ-

dæmonians were informed of the origin of these Minyans, they sent a second time to ask what they meant in coming into the country, and in kindling fires. They replied that having been expelled by the Pelasgians, they came to their fathers (*the Lacedæmonians*) which was a justifiable course for them to take. And they requested leave to dwell with them, sharing the dignities of the state, as well as the property of lands. The Lacedæmonians consented to admit the Minyans on the terms proposed—influenced chiefly by this—that the Tyndarides (*Castor and Pollux*) were in the Argonautic expedition. The Minyans were therefore received; lands were assigned to them, they were distributed among the tribes, they took Spartan wives, and dismissed those they brought from Lemnos.

A short time only had elapsed before the Minyans displayed their arrogance by making themselves competitors for the supreme power, and also by other iniquitious proceedings. The Lacedæmonians decreed therefore to put them to death; with this view they were apprehended and thrown into prison.—The Lacedæmonians never execute criminals by day, always by night. While therefore the prisoners were awaiting execution, their wives who were Spartan citizens, and daughters of the principal men of the state, asked permission to enter the prison, and converse with their husbands. No fraud being supposed, permission was granted. They had no sooner entered, than they exchanged all their clothing with their husbands, who in this disguise passed out. Having thus escaped, they again posted themselves on Mount Taygetus.

About the same time Theras, son of Autesion, son of Tisamenus, son of Thersander, son of Polynices, set out from Lacedæmon to found a colony. Theras was by descent a Cadmean, and maternal uncle to Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus. During the minority of these youths, he was regent at Sparta; but when they attained manhood, and assumed the government, Theras having once tasted the sweets of power, could not brook subjection to his nephews. He professed his determination therefore not to remain at Lacedæmon, but to embark and go to his kindred. In the

island now called Thera, but then Callista, there dwelt the descendants of Membliares, son of Pœciles, a Phœnician. For when Cadmus, son of Agenorus, was in quest of Europa, he put in at this island—because the place pleased him, or for some other reason; and he left there several Phœnicians, among whom was his kinsman Membliares. These Phœnicians occupied the island Callista during eight generations, before Theras arrived from Lacedæmon. He came leading with him many of the people drawn from the tribes, whom he intended to establish in the island—not by expelling its inhabitants, but by forming with them the most friendly association.

The Minyans who had escaped from prison, and stationed themselves on Mount Taygetus, were by the decree of the Lacedæmonians still devoted to destruction. But Theras then about to depart, entreated that none should be put to death, and engaged to conduct them out of the country. The proposition was assented to by the Lacedæmonians, and three thirty-oared galleys proceeded with them to join the descendants of Membliares. Yet it was but a few of the Minyans who followed Theras; for the greater number turned upon the Paroreates and Caucons whom they drove from their lands, and then separated into six companies, each of which built a town. The names of these towns were Lempreum, Macistus, Phrixas, Pyrgus, Epium, and Nudium. The greater part of these settlements have in my time been overthrown. The island in which Theras established himself has since retained his name.

The son of Theras refused to sail with his father, who therefore said that he would leave him as a sheep among wolves. From this speech the youth acquired the sir-name of *Æolycus*,* and that appellation prevailed over his first name. *Æolycus* had a son named *Ægeus*, and from him a numerous tribe in Sparta derives its designation. The men of this tribe were bereaved of their children, and (*to avert the calamity*) at the command of an oracle, they reared a temple dedicated to the Furies of *Laius* and *Ædipus*. From that time they no longer

* *Ois* sheep; *lycus* wolf.

lost their children. A like event happened to their descendants in the island Thera.

So far the accounts of the Lacedæmonians support those of the Theræans; but for the following particulars I have the authority of the latter people only. Grinus son of Æsanius, descendant of Theras, and king of the island of the same name, came to Delphi to offer there a hecatomb on behalf of his country. Among the Theræans who followed him on this occasion was Battus, son of Polymnestus, of the family of Euphemides, one of the Minyans. As the king of Thera was consulting the oracle on certain matters, the Pythian pronounced these words—"Found in Lybia a city." To which he replied—O supreme power! I am already an old man, and bear up heavily under the weight of years. Command therefore some one of these youths to execute what you enjoin:"—as he spoke he pointed to Battus. This was all that then took place. And on the return of the deputation no regard was paid to the command of the oracle, for the Theræans neither knew where Libya was, nor could venture under such ignorance to send out a colony. But during the seven following years, no rain fell at Thera, and every tree in the island, except one, withered. When the Theræans consulted the oracle, the Pythian again mentioned—"The Libyan colony." (*On their return*) the Theræans still finding no relief to their misery, sent messengers to Crete to discover if any Cretan or any sojourner in the island had ever visited Libya. These messengers, as they roved through the island, came to Itanus, where they formed acquaintance with a purple-dyer, named Corobius, who affirmed that he had once been driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Lybia, and had visited the island Platea, on that shore. By means of a gift, they persuaded this man to return with them to Thera. A small number of persons first sent out to explore the coast, were conducted by Corobius to the island Platea. There they left him with provisions for some months, while they returned directly to Thera with news of the island.

The prescribed time had long passed by—the Theræans did not return to Platea, and Corobius was reduced to starvation,

when a Samian vessel—the master's name was Colæus—on its way to Egypt, put in at the island. Corobius related his story, and the Samians left him provisions for a year. Then weighing anchor, they endeavoured to make their way to Egypt, but were encountered by an easterly wind, which not abating, carried them beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and under a divine guidance they reached Tartessus:—that port had then never before been approached. On their return home, they realized larger profits from their cargo than any Greeks known of had ever gained, excepting perhaps Sostratus, son of Laodomon, of Ægina, with whom no one can compete. The Samians setting apart six talents, which were a tenth of their gains, formed a brazen vase, in the Argolic fashion; around its rim were the heads of griffins arranged in a quincunx. This vase they dedicated in the temple of Juno:—it is supported by three colossal brazen figures, seven cubits high, in a kneeling posture. Ever since that time both the Cyrenæans and the Theræans have cultivated strict friendship with the Samians.

The Theræans, after they left Corobius on the island, returned and announced to their countrymen that “they possessed a colony founded on an island off the Libyan coast.” The Theræans then resolved, that throughout the seven districts of the island, a man should be taken from every family by lot to be sent to the settlement; and that Battus should be their leader and king. Thus they fitted out two fifty-oared galleys for Platea. Such is the narrative of the Theræans, and so far they agree with the Cyrenæans; but the latter by no means assent to what relates to Battus; for they tell the story as follows:—At Axus, a city of Crete, reigned Etearchus, whose daughter Phronima, having lost her mother, he married again. The new wife no sooner entered the palace, than she thought proper to behave as a very step-mother to Phronima, against whom she plotted every possible mischief, and at length accused her to the king of the most flagitious conduct. He prevailed on by his wife, devised a most unrighteous severity against his daughter. There was then at Axus a Thracian merchant, named Themison. Him Etearchus

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entertained at his palace, and made him swear to perform for him whatever service he should require. Then he committed to him his daughter, enjoining the man to take her away and cast her into the sea. But Themison, indignant at having been deceived in the oath he had taken, renounced the bonds of hospitality with Etearchus. Then taking the damsel, he departed, and when he reached the open sea, in order to rid himself of the obligation of the oath, he let her down into the sea by ropes, and drew her up again, and took her to Thera.

At Thera Phronima was taken by Polymnestus—a man of distinction in the island, to whom she bore a son, who hesitated and stuttered in speaking. He was named Battus, according both to the Theræans and Cyrenæans; but I am inclined to think that they speak of different persons, and that he of whom the former make mention acquired the name Battus, after his arrival in Libya, from the Delphian oracle, and from the dignity he sustained, for among the Libyans Battus is the designation of a king; and I think that the Pythian knowing that he would reign in Libya, called him Battus, thus using a Libyan word. The circumstance to which I refer was this:—When Battus had attained manhood, he came to Delphi to inquire concerning the defect in his utterance, and received an answer in these words:—

“Thou comest of speech to ask; but Phœbus sends
Battus to Libya:—so the god intends,
Whose clime the shepherd’s toil so much befriends.”

As if the Pythian (*instead of using the Libyan word Battus*) had said in Greek—“O king, thou comest,” &c. Battus thus replied—“O supreme disposer! I did indeed come to inquire concerning my speech; but you, instead of replying, command things impracticable, enjoining me to colonize Libya. By what force then? with what bands?” Yet these remonstrances moved not the Pythian, who would only give him the same response, he therefore departed and returned to Thera.

But afterwards new calamities befel not only Battus, but the other Theræans; and they, not perceiving the cause of their misfortunes, sent to Delphi to inquire concerning the impending ills. The Pythian replied—"It would go better with them when with Battus they had founded Cyrene in Libya." The Theræans therefore despatched Battus with two fifty-oared galleys; but these, after proceeding to Libya, having no object in view, returned to Thera. The Theræans attacked them, nor would suffer them to approach the land, but ordered them to return whence they came. They, thus necessitated, returned and formed a settlement on the island called, as I before said, Platea, which lies off the Libyan continent: it is said to be equal in size to the present city of the Cyrenæans. Two years they occupied the island; but as none of their affairs prospered, they left one of their number behind, while all the others set sail for Delphi, where they presented themselves at the temple, and declared that although they had settled in Libya, they had experienced no favourable turn in their affairs. The reply of the Pythian was as follows:—

"Wise I should deem you, if though never there,
Better than I, who have, you could declare
The Libyan lands, which flocks so richly bear."

Battus and his followers again returned, finding that the god did not hold them discharged from the duty of founding a colony until they should settle upon Libya itself. When therefore they reached the island, they took on board the men they had left, and founded a town on the Libyan main, opposite to the island, at a place named Aziris, which was enclosed on two sides agreeably by wood-covered hills, and on the other by a river. Here they dwelt six years; but in the seventh, on the entreaty of the Libyans, who promised to lead them to a better site, they left it. Having thus displaced the colonists, the Libyans led them towards the west; and lest the Greeks should see the most beautiful part of the country, they so arranged the time of their journey, as that they

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should pass through it during the night. The name of the district which they by this means concealed is Irasa. When they had proceeded as far as a certain spring, said to be consecrated to Apollo, they thus spoke—"Here Greeks you may commodiously dwell, for here the heavens are opened to you."

SECTION X.

LATER HISTORY OF CYRENE AND BARCA.

During the life of Battus, the founder, who governed the state forty years, and also during that of his son Arcesilas, who reigned sixteen years, the Cyrenæans remained in number the same as when the colony was planted. But under their third king Battus, called the fortunate, the Pythian excited Greeks of all the states to sail for Libya, and take fellowship with the Cyrenæans, who indeed invited them to come and divide the lands with them. The words of the oracle were these:—

"He will too late repent who now refrains
To take a share on Libya's lovely plains."

A crowd of Greeks repaired to Cyrene, and divided off for themselves a large tract of country. The neighbouring Libyans with their king Adicran, seeing themselves deprived of their territory, and insulted by the Cyrenæans, sent to Apries, king of Egypt, tendering their allegiance. He, collecting a large force of Egyptians, despatched it against Cyrene. The Cyrenæans formed for battle in the district of Irasa, and near the spring named Thesta, where they fought and conquered. For the Egyptians not having before tried their strength with the Greeks, had despised their enemy: they suffered however so

severely, that only a small number survived to return to Egypt. The Egyptians (p. 176) took such umbrage against their king on this occasion, that they revolted from him.

Battus (*the third king*) was succeeded by his son Arcesilas, who presently after his accession disagreed with his brothers. They therefore retired into another part of Libya, where, upon consultation, they founded a city which they called Barca—a name it has retained to the present day. While engaged in erecting their town, they moved the Libyans to revolt against the Cyrenæans. Arcesilas marched to attack both the Libyans who had admitted the Greeks to their friendship, and these revolted Greeks also. The Libyans fearing him, fled towards the eastern tribes of their nation: Arcesilas pursued the fugitives until he overtook them at Leucon, in Libya: there they resolved to engage him, and giving battle, the Cyrenæans suffered so great an overthrow, that seven thousand of the heavy-armed troops were left dead on the field. After this blow, Arcesilas fell ill, and while under the influence of some drug, was strangled by his brother Learchus. But the widow of Arcesilas, whose name was Eryxo, by stratagem, put Learchus to death.

Battus, son of Arcesilas, succeeded to the kingdom. He was lame and hobbling in his walk. The Cyrenæans, afflicted by their late misfortune, sent to enquire at Delphi under what mode of government they might more happily administer their affairs. The Pythian commanded them to obtain from Mantinea of Arcadia, an arbitrator. The Cyrenæans accordingly made this request, and the Mantineans gave them one of their citizens, named Demonax—a man in high repute among themselves. This person arriving at Cyrene, and learning the state of affairs, first distributed the people into three tribes;—the first tribe comprising the Theræans and their immediate neighbours;—the second comprehended the Greeks from Peloponnesus and Crete; and the third, all those from the islands. Then after assigning to Battus certain precincts, together with the sacerdotal privileges, he remitted into the hands of the people all the powers hitherto vested in the kings.

Things remained in this condition during the life of Battus;
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but under his son Arcesilas factious contestations arose for the dignities of the state. For Arcesilas, son of Battus the lame, and of Pheretima, declared he would no longer submit to the regulations established by Demonax the Mantinean, and he asserted the prerogatives possessed by his ancestors. Exciting commotions on this ground, he was vanquished and fled to Samos, while his mother retired to Salamis of Cyprus. Salamis was at that time governed by Evelthon, the same who consecrated at Delphi an admirable censer which is placed in the Corinthian depositary. Pheretima presenting herself at the court of Evelthon, requested a body of troops by means of which to re-establish herself and her son at Cyrene. But Evelthon would give her any thing rather than an army. She, in accepting his presents, said—"They were indeed handsome; but more handsome would be the army she had asked for." Such was the answer she returned after every gift. At length he sent her a golden spindle and distaff, with the wool, and when Pheretima again made the same speech, Evelthon replied—"These, not armies, are the gifts we offer to the ladies."

Meanwhile Arcesilas was at Samos, where, by the promise of a partition of lands, he invited persons of all classes to join him, and collected a large force. Then he set out to Delphi to inquire concerning his return (*to Cyrene.*) The Pythian gave him the following answer:—"Apollo gives to four of Battus and to four of Arcesilas—eight generations, the kingly dignity at Cyrene. But advises that nothing beyond this grant may be attempted. For thyself, on thy return to thy country, be quiet. If thou findest an oven filled with jars, bake them not, but set them abroad. Yet if thou shalt heat the oven, enter not the sea-girt spot, or thou wilt die with the fattest of the herd." Such was the response of the Pythian to Arcesilas, who collecting his followers in Samos, returned to Cyrene. There he regained possession of the government, yet, forgetting the oracle, he wreaked vengeance upon the revolted who had before obliged him to retire. Some abandoned their country for ever; others he apprehended and sent to Cyprus to be put to death; but these the people of Cnidos, at which island

they touched, rescued, and sent to Thera. Some others of the Cyrenæans taking refuge in a spacious castle, belonging to a private person named Aglomachus, Arcesilas piled combustibles around it, and consumed all together. Afterward learning from his own conduct what must have been the meaning of the oracle when the Pythian prohibited his baking the jars he might find in the oven, he of his own motion left Cyrene; for he apprehended the predicted death, and supposed that city to be the place intended by the sea-girt spot. He had espoused a kins-woman—the daughter of Alizar, king of Barca: he therefore repaired thither. But the Barcæans, with certain Cyrenæan refugees, seeing him in the public place, killed him, and also his father-in-law, Alazir. Thus Arcesilas, for disobeying the oracle, whether wilfully or not, accomplished his destiny.

While Arcesilas pursued his own destruction at Barca, his mother Pheretima held the honours of her son, and among other exertions of power, she took her seat in the senate. But as soon as she was informed of the death of her son at Barca, she fled from Cyrene, and went to Egypt; for Cambyses was under obligation, on account of services rendered to him by her son; for it was Arcesilas who had given up Cyrene to Cambyses, and had acceded to the payment of a tribute. When Pheretima arrived in Egypt, she supplicated Aryandes to avenge her—using as a pretext that her son had fallen for his attachment to the Medes (*Persians*). Aryandes had been appointed governor of Egypt by Cambyses, and some time afterwards perished for attempting to compete with Darius. He perceived the Persian monarch to be ambitious of leaving some memorial of himself, such as no other king had effected. Aryandes imitated him, until he received the recompense of his folly. Darius had coined money of gold purified to the highest possible degree. Aryandes governor of Egypt did the same in silver; and the Aryandean money is still esteemed of high value. Informed of this conduct, Darius brought some other charge against him, implying a purpose of rebellion, and put him to death.

But to return to the time of which we are speaking;—
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Aryandes compassionating the misfortunes of Pheretima, granted her all the forces, both of land and sea that were at his disposal in Egypt. The land army was commanded by Amasis, a Maraphian, and the fleet by Badres, of the Pasargades (*a Persian royal race*). But before the expedition was sent out, Aryandes despatched a herald to Barca, to inquire who had put Arcesilas to death. The Barcæans took upon themselves universally the charge, professing that they had suffered great injuries from him. After receiving this answer, Aryandes sent out the armament with Pheretima. Such was the occasion that served as a pretext for the expedition, which, in my opinion, he undertook with the intention of conquering Libya. This country contains many and various nations, a few of which only were subject to the king; while the greater part paid him no kind of respect.

SECTION XI.

THE LIBYAN NATIONS.

The Libyan nations are these:—We begin from Egypt, and the first people we meet with are the Adrymachides, who for the most part follow the usages of Egypt, excepting in their dress, which is of the Libyan fashion. The women wear a bracelet of brass around each leg—allow their hair to grow, and when they catch vermin, give them a bite in return, and throw them away—a custom peculiar to these people; as is also the ceremony observed by them of presenting their daughters to the king before marriage. The Adrymachides extend from the borders of Egypt to a lake named Plunus.

Next to these are the Giligammes, whose territory extends westward as far as the island Aphrodisias. Midway on this coast lies the island Platea, on which the Cyrenæans founded a colony, and on the main land is the port of Menelaus, and

also at Aziris where they dwelt some time. Here the plant silphium (*asafætida*) is first found; it belongs to the tract of country, extending from the island Platea to the mouth of the Syrtis. The customs of these people are similar to those of the other Libyan nations.

Bordering upon the Gilligammes towards the west, are the Asbystes, who occupy the country above the territory of Cyrene—inland; for they no where approach the coast: they are accustomed more than any other Libyans to drive chariots four-in-hand, and very much affect the manners of the Cyrenæans. Their neighbours on the western side are the

Auschises, who are situated inland, beyond Barca, yet approach the coast near the Evesperides. In the heart of their territory there is an inconsiderable people called Cabales, who occupy a part of the coast near Tauchira—a city of the Barcæans: their customs are the same as those of the Gilligammes. Westward of the Auschises are the

Nasamones, a numerous people. During the summer season they leave their flocks on the coast, and ascend to a region named Augila, to gather dates; for palm trees grow there in abundance, and are all productive. They also catch locusts, which they dry in the sun, and then grind them to a powder, which they mix with milk; and this is their beverage. They practise polygamy nearly in the same manner as the Massagetes (page 103). Their oaths and enchantments are thus performed:—When they take an oath, they touch the grave of some person reputed to have been eminently just and virtuous: and for the purpose of divining future events, they repair to the tombs of their ancestors, and having pronounced prayers, lay themselves down to sleep upon the sepulchre, and if they have any dream, avail themselves of it. In contracting covenants, each party drinks out of the hand of the other; or if they have no liquid, they take up earth and lick it. Next to the Nasamones are (*once were*) the

Psyllians; they perished in the following manner:—The south wind had dried up all their cisterns—and all the regions within the Syrtis is destitute of springs. After conferring together (173)

they, with one consent, set out to make war upon the south wind. —I report what I was told by the Libyans. When they reached the desert, the south wind blew and overwhelmed them with sand. The Nasamones possess the territory of those who thus perished.

Beyond these people, towards the south, and in a wilderness frequented by ferocious animals, dwell the Garamantes, who avoid all intercourse with other men. They have no weapons of war, nor even know how to defend themselves. Towards the west, and on the sea coast, the Nasamones are bounded by the Maces. These shave their locks, so as to leave a crest of tresses growing on the crown of the head, each side being shorn to the skin. In war, they carry shields formed from the skin of the ostrich. The river Cinyps, rising in an eminence called the hill of the Graces, runs through their country into the sea. This hill of the Graces is thickly covered with trees, though all the other parts of Libya, above-mentioned, are bare. It is about two hundred furlongs from the coast.

The Gindanes are situated next to the Maces. The women of this tribe distinguish themselves by wearing a number of leather bands round their ankles, indicating, as it is said, the number of their admirers. The projecting coast in front of the Gindanes is possessed by the Lotophages, who (*as their name indicates*) subsist upon the fruit of the lotus: this fruit is nearly equal in size to that of the mastick, and in sweetness resembles the date. The Lotophages prepare a wine from it. Their next neighbours on the coast are the Machlyes, who also subsist, though not so exclusively, on the fruit of the lotus. They occupy the banks of a large river called Triton, emptying itself into a spacious lake named Tritonis, in which is an island called Phla, where it is said, the Lacedæmonians were destined to found a colony. The story is thus told:—

When Jason had constructed the ship Argo at the foot of mount Pelion, and had put on board not only a hecatomb, but a brazen tripod, intending to proceed to Delphi; he would have doubled Peloponnesus; but when off Malea, a north wind drove him to the coast of Libya, and before he discerned the land, he found himself amid the shallows of the gulph Tritonis.

While he hesitated by which way to effect his escape, a Triton—it is said, appeared to him, who demanding from Jason his tripod, promised to show him the passage, and to send him forth in safety. Jason consented, and the Triton, after making known to him the passage from the shallows, received the tripod, which he placed in his own temple, and there, seated upon, it predicted to Jason and his followers their future fortunes. “What time,” said he, “some descendant of those who now sail in the ship *Argo*, shall carry away this tripod, then, by an irrevocable fate, there must be a hundred Grecian cities around the Tritonian Gulph.” The Libyan people of the vicinity hearing the prediction, are said to have hid the tripod.

Next to the Machlyes are the Auses, who share with them the shores of the gulph Tritonis, which divides the one people from the other. The Machlyes let the hair grow on the back of the head; while the Auses leave it entire in front. In an annual festival celebrated in honour of *Minerva*, the young women dividing into two companies, fight together with stones and staves. They say their ancestors instituted these rites in honour of the goddess whom we call *Minerva*, and whom they affirm to have been a native of their country. Those who die of their wounds on this occasion, they call false virgins. Before they finish the combat, they invest the most beautiful of the virgins—chosen by common consent—with a Corinthian casque, and complete Grecian armour; and placing her in a chariot, lead her around the lake. In what way they adorned these virgins before the Greeks inhabited their country, I know not; yet I should suppose they then used the Egyptian military garb. And indeed both the buckler and the helmet came, in my opinion, from Egypt into Greece. *Minerva*, they say, was daughter of *Neptune* and the lake Tritonis; but having some cause of quarrel with her father, she gave herself to *Jupiter*, who took her as his own daughter. Such is the account they give. These people are utterly shameless in their manners, and disregard all the bonds of family relationship.

I have now mentioned the maritime nations of Libya, who

feed flocks. Beyond these, inland, the country abounds with wild beasts; and beyond that wilderness there is a ridge of sandy hills, extending from the Egyptian Thebes to the Pillars of Hercules. Upon this ridge, at distances of ten days' journey from each other, are found vast masses of crystallized salt, rising in the form of columns. From the summit of each column bursts forth—even from the very salt, a stream of fresh and sweet water. A race of people have fixed their abodes around these springs, and are the last people towards the desert, and beyond the wilderness. Commencing from Thebes, and at the distance of ten days' journey, the first people are the Ammonians, who have a temple derived from that of the Theban Jupiter. For at Thebes, as I have before said, the image of Jupiter has the ram's head. In the territory of the Ammonians there is a spring, which in the morning is tepid—in the forenoon cool, and at mid-day extremely cold: at that time therefore they water their gardens. Again, as the day declines, it relaxes of its coldness, and by the time the sun sets the water becomes warm, and the heat increases continually as the night advances, till it boils. From midnight till day break the heat subsides. It is called the fountain of the sun.

Beyond the Ammonians, along the sandy ridge, and after another journey of ten days, is found a pillar of salt, like that of the Ammonians, with a fountain of water, around which a people has settled. This region is named Augila; and here it is that the Nasamones come to gather the autumnal dates. Again passing forward ten days from the Augilians, is found another column of salt, with a spring, and many fruit-bearing palms, as also around the others. The people are called Garamantes—a powerful nation. They have formed a soil for culture, by spreading earth upon the salt. From hence to the Lotophages is not more, by the shortest road, than thirty days' journey. In the country of the Garamantes is seen a species of oxen, which step backwards as they feed.—The animal is compelled to do so, because his horns project downwards before him in such a manner that, in proceeding forwards, they would be driven into the earth. These animals differ not from

other oxen, except that their hides are at once more thick and supple. These Garamantes hunt the Troglodyte Ethiopians, like wild animals; they pursue them in chariots with four horses; the Troglodytes (*dwellers in caves*) surpass in swiftness any men of whom we have ever heard: they subsist on snakes, lizards, and other reptiles. Their language resembles that of no other people; indeed they utter only a cry like bats.

Another journey of ten days brings the traveller to another column of salt, with a spring, around which dwell the Atarantes, (*or, Atlantes*,) who of all known nations, are alone destitute of personal names; for no individual has any appellation besides that which belongs to the whole tribe. They are accustomed to curse the sun, and to utter against him the foulest invectives when he bears down upon them from the mid-heavens, because with his burning heat he afflicts both man and the earth. After another ten days' journey is found yet another column of salt, with its fountain and surrounding people. Near to this salt hill is the mountain Atlas, which is straitened at its base, and circular on all sides, and rises, as it is said, to so great a height, that its summits can never be seen; for neither summer nor winter are they free from clouds. The people of the country call it the Pillar of Heaven; from it the people have received the name—Atlantes. They are said to eat nothing that has breathed, and to see no visions.

As far as these Atlantes, I am acquainted with the names of the nations inhabiting the sandy ridge, but not beyond them. Yet the ridge stretches as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and even further; and throughout the whole extent of it are found, at intervals of ten days' journey, the masses of rock salt and the circling people. The houses of all these tribes are built with blocks of salt—for in this part of Libya no rain falls, otherwise walls of salt could not last long. The rock salt dug in these regions is of two kinds, the one white, the other purple. The country southward of the ridge, and more inland, is a desert—without springs—without animals—without rain—and without vegetation; nor does the least dew fall there.

Thus—from Egypt to the lake Tritonis—the Libyan nations are nomadic—subsist on flesh, and drink milk. Yet they do

not taste the flesh of cows, any more than the Egyptians: nor do they rear swine. Indeed, even the women of Cyrene do not think proper to eat cow beef, from which they abstain in respect to the Egyptian Isis, in honour of whom they observe both fasts and feasts. The women of Barca abstain from pork, as well as from the flesh of the cow.

The Libyans who live west of the lake Tritonis, neither feed cattle nor follow the same customs as those already mentioned; nor even treat their offspring in the same manner. For the nomadic Libyans, whether universally or not I am unable to say positively—but many of them, when their children are four years old, cauterize the veins on the crown of the head, or on the temples, using for the purpose uncleansed wool; and they think that by this means noxious discharges from the head are for ever prevented; and hence it is, as they believe, that they enjoy higher health than other nations. And in truth, of all nations we have known, the Libyans are the most healthy; but whether from this cause or not, I am unable to determine. If convulsions are occasioned under the operation, they have a remedy,* which avails to cure them.

Their rites of sacrifice are these:—They cut off the ear of the victim, and throwing it on the roof, observe the auspices. Then they twist the neck. Their sacrifices are offered to the sun and to the moon only, and to these all the Libyans offer victims; yet those who occupy the banks of the lake Tritonis, worship Minerva with peculiar regard; and also Triton and Neptune.

From the dress of the Libyan women it is that the Greeks have derived the attire and the shield (*ægis*) of Minerva; except only that the Libyan dress is of leather, and that the fringing tresses are formed—not of snakes, but of thongs. In all other points the costume is the same. The very name may convince one that the garb of the Palladia was derived from Libya; for the Libyan women, over their other dress throw an *ægis* (*cloak of goats' skin*) freed from the hair, ornamented with fringes, and dried red. It is from these goats'-skin cloaks

* τραγού οὔρον.

that the Greeks have borrowed the name *Ægis*. To me it seems also that the howlings* heard in our temples were learned from Libya; for the Libyans practise the same very much, and perform them in fine style. From these people moreover the Greeks have learned to yoke four horses abreast to their chariots.

The nomadic Libyans, excepting the Nasamones, inter their dead in the same manner as the Greeks. These bury them in a sitting posture; and they take care that, as the spirit departs, the dying person shall be sitting, and by no means die supine. Their dwellings are portable, being constructed of wattles formed of the stalks of the shrub *asphodel* and reeds.

Westward of the river *Triton*, the *Auses* border upon the agricultural Libyans, who are called *Maxyes* and construct (*substantial*) houses. They suffer the hair to grow on the right side of the head, and are shorn on the left: they bedaub their bodies with red ochre, and profess to be descended from the Trojans. This region, and all the rest of Libya towards the west, is much more infested with wild beasts, and abounds more with forests, than the nomadic districts: indeed the whole of Libya, eastward of the river *Triton*, and which consists of pasture, is level and the soil sandy; while all to the west of that river, occupied by the agriculturists, is extremely hilly, woody, and abounding with ferocious animals. For there are seen serpents of surprising magnitude; and there are the lions, and there are the elephants, and the bears, and the asps, and the horned asses, and the dog-headed creatures (*baboons*) and the headless creatures, that have eyes in their bosoms—so say the Libyans—and the wild men, and the wild women (*ourang outang*) besides very many other ferocious animals—not fabulous.

* *ολολυγη*—*ololygee*. Those who have heard the musical howlings still practised at a harvest-home supper in some remote parts of England will be able to understand what sort of performance our author here refers to. The similarity of the name may just be mentioned. The harvest howl is called *Hollolargess*—which though understood to mean—*hollowing for a largess*, or gratuity from the guests at the farm, may perhaps be a corruption of the Greek—*ολολυγη*.

None of these are found among the Nomades; but only such animals as the roe buck, and the deer, and the buffalo, and the common ass without horns, and which does not drink, and the antelope, from the horns of which are formed the arms of the Phœnician lyre, and which in size equals an ox: and the fox, and the hyæna, and the porcupine, and the wild goat, and the dictya, and the jackall, and the panther, and the borya, and the crocodile—a species living on the land—not more than three cubits in length, and much like a lizard, and the ostrich, and the little single-horned serpent. Such are the animals of nomadic Libya, besides those commonly found elsewhere. Yet neither the hart nor the wild boar is ever seen there. Three species of rats are also proper to Libya—one called the two-footed (*jerboa*) another, the zegeres, a Libyan word signifying little mounds (*mole hills*) and the third, the hedge hog. Also a weasel, produced in the silphium, and which resembles those of Tartessus. We mention these as the wild animals known among the nomadic Libyans;—and we have made the most extensive and careful inquiries in our power.

The Zauces are next neighbours to the Maxyan Libyans. In war their women drive the chariots. Next to these are the Gyzantes, in whose country much wild honey is found, and a still larger quantity is said to be obtained by those who feed bees. All these people paint their bodies with red ochre, and they eat monkeys, which abound in their mountains.

Some where on these coasts, as the Carthagenians affirm, there is an island named Cyraunis, two hundred furlongs in length, but exceedingly narrow: it is accessible from the main land by fords, and is covered with olive trees and vines. In this island there is a lake, from the mud of which the country girls obtain spangles of gold, by means of feathers daubed with pitch. Whether this be true or not I cannot affirm:—I write only what I have heard. It may be quite true, for I have myself seen at Zacynthus a pond yielding pitch from its waters. There are in that island many ponds, the largest of which measures seventy feet every way, and is about two fathoms deep. They let down a pole into this water, upon the end of

which a myrtle branch is fastened ; and when drawn up, pitch is found adhering to the branch : the pitch of this lake has the smell of asphaltum (*bitumen of the Dead Sea*) but it is better in quality than the pitch of Pieria : it is poured into a trench near the pond, and when a considerable quantity is collected, is put into firkins. If any falls into the water, it passes under-ground till it reaches the sea, where it may be seen—a distance of four furlongs from the pond. It appears then that the account given of the Libyan island is not altogether incredible.

The Carthagenians go on to relate that, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, there is an inhabited country where, when they arrive and land their cargoes, they lay their wares on the beach, and then themselves return to their ships, and raise columns of smoke. The natives seeing the smoke, come down to the water side, and lay down a quantity of gold as the price of the cargo : this done, they retire to a distance. The Carthagenians then going ashore, examine the deposit, and if they think it equal to the value of the articles, they take it and depart ; but if not, they retire to their ships and wait. The natives again approach and add to their deposit of gold ; and so on till the parties are satisfied ; but no injury is attempted on either side—the one not touching the gold until they accept it as a fair price of the commodities ; nor the other touching the articles until the gold has been taken up.

These are the Lybian nations whose names I am able to report, and of whom the greater number have never paid any regard to the king of the Medes (*Persians*). And so far as I can learn, Libya is occupied by four distinct races of men ; of these, two are indigenious, and two not. The Libyans and the Ethiopians are the aborigines ; the one dwelling towards the north, the other towards the south. The foreigners are the Phœnicians and the Greeks.

Libya cannot, I think, be compared either with Asia or Europe for fertility. We except the region of Cinyps, watered by a river of the same name, and which equals the very richest lands in the gifts of Ceres ; and in this respect is totally unlike the rest of Libya ; the soil consists of black mould,

and is so well watered by springs, that it fears no drought; nor indeed is injured by excessive rains—though in this part of Libya rain does fall. The produce might be measured against that of Babylonia. The lands of the Evesperides are also good—in years of surpassing plenty, they yield a hundred fold, but the lands of Cinyps, three hundred.

The district of Cyrene is the most elevated part of nomadic Libya, and enjoys three distinct seasons of harvest, a fact worthy of notice. The first is that of the maritime tracts, where the earliest harvest ripens, and the first vintage is gathered. When the fruits of the earth near the sea are housed, those of the hilly country, more remote from the sea, are ready to be gathered, and by the time these midland fruits are collected, those of the more distant uplands are perfected and ripe; so that the first wines are drank, and the first corn eaten, when the third produce comes in. The Cyrenæan harvest thus lasts eight months of the year.]

SECTION XII.

REVENGE OF PHERETIMA.

The Persians sent out by Aryandes to avenge Pheretima, arrived at Barca and besieged the city, having first demanded that the authors of the death of Arcesilas should be surrendered to them. But as the entire body of the people was implicated in his death, they did not admit the proposition. During nine months the siege continued, in which time subterraneous passages were carried even up to the walls, and many vigorous assaults were made upon the place. These mines were discovered by a brass founder, by means of a brazen shield, and so they became known to the besieged:—Carrying the

shield around the walls within the city, he struck it against the pavement:—in some places it was mute, but when applied to the spots where a mine had been dug, the brass became sonorous. The Barcæans therefore sunk counter-mines, and put to the sword the Persians employed in the works. Thus were these mines discovered. The open assaults were repelled by the besieged.

Time passed away, and many had fallen on both sides, and the Persians had suffered not less than the Barcæans. At length Amasis, general of the infantry, perceiving that the town was not to be taken by force, availed himself of a stratagem.—He caused a spacious pit to be dug by night; and then placing branches across it, strewed earth upon them, so as to appear level with and like the surrounding surface. At day-break he summoned the Barcæans to a conference, to which they gladly assented, for they earnestly desired to come to terms. A capitulation was agreed upon, and the parties standing over the concealed pit, took their oaths in these terms:—"So long as this earth shall remain as it is, the treaty shall be in force." The Barcæans on their part agreed to pay a reasonable tribute to the king, and the Persians were to attempt nothing more against them. The treaty being concluded, the citizens, confiding in the Persians, themselves issued from their walls, and throwing all the gates open, allowed the enemy to enter. The Persians then breaking up the covering of the pit, rushed into the city.—They broke up the covering they had purposely formed in order to prevent the violation of their oath; for they had sworn to observe the treaty so long as that earth should remain as it then was. The surface on which they stood being destroyed, the treaty no longer continued in force.

The Persians gave up to Pheretima those of the citizens who were most obnoxious to her, and she empaled them around the walls. She also cut off the

breasts of their wives, which she fixed in festoons to the walls. All the other citizens were, at her order, given up to the Persians as a prey, excepting only the Battiades, and those who had taken no part in the murder; and to these she surrendered the city. The other Barcæans were made slaves by the Persians, and led away by them. When they reached Cyrene, the people, in regard to a certain prediction, allowed them to pass. As the army went through the town, Bares, who commanded the fleet, urged them to possess themselves of it; but Amasis would not permit this, saying that he had been sent against Barca, and no other Grecian city. But the Persians had no sooner passed through the city, and pitched their camp upon a mound where stands the temple of the Lycæan Jupiter, than they repented that they had not taken Cyrene. They attempted therefore to enter it again; but the Cyrenæans would not suffer this, and the Persians, though not attacked, were seized with a panic—ran off a distance of sixty furlongs, and there pitched their camp. While employed in forming their station, there arrived a messenger from Aryandes, recalling them to Egypt. They now applied to the Cyrenæans to grant them provisions for the way, which having received, they took their departure for Egypt. But throughout their whole march, even till they reached Egypt, the Libyans were always at hand to put to the sword such as were left in the rear, or those who followed tardily, that they might seize their dress and baggage.

The extreme point which this Persian expedition reached in Libya was the country of the Evesperides. Those of the Barcæans whom they carried captive, were led forward from Egypt to the king. Darius gave them for their abode a town in Bactria, to which they gave the name Barca, and which was still occupied (*by their*

descendants) in my time. As for Pheretima, she did not end her course happily; for immediately after her return from Libya, where she had wreaked her vengeance on the Barcæans, coming into Egypt, she died miserably, being devoured alive by worms.—So hateful to the gods are the excesses of human revenge! And such was the retribution with which Pheretima, wife of Battus, visited the people of Barca.

BOOK V.

TERPSICHORE.

SECTION I.

THE NATIONS OF THRACE.

The Persian army left in Europe by Darius, under the command of Megabazus, first of the Hellespontines, subdued the Perinthians who refused obedience to the king.

[They had before been severely handled by the Pæonians of the Strymon, who were instructed by an oracle to invade the Perinthians, and to attack them if, when opposed to them in the field, the Perinthians should loudly challenge them by name to the combat; but not otherwise. The Pæonians followed these directions, and when the two armies were encamped opposite to each other before the city, the invaders received a challenge to three single combats—a man to a man, a horse to a horse, and a dog to a dog. In the first and second the Perinthians had the advantage, which so delighted them that they sang the Pæon. The Pæonians gathering (*from the sameness of the name*) that this was the meaning of the god, said one to another—“Now is the oracle accomplished—now it is for us to act our part.” They forthwith fell upon the Perinthians, even while singing the Pæon, and so prevailed that few survived. Such were then the achievements of the Pæonians; but at the time of which we are speaking, the Perinthians fought for their liberties like

brave men: yet Megabazus, with his Persians, vanquished them by superiority of numbers. He then moved his army into Thrace, and subdued to the king every city and every tribe of that country; for the command given to him by Darius was—"to conquer Thrace."

The Thracians are, excepting the Indians, the most numerous of all nations: and if they had been under the sway of one prince, or at least, if they had acted in concert, they would have been invincible, and in my opinion, the most powerful of all nations. But such a union is impracticable, and therefore they are powerless. They are distinguished by a variety of names, derived from the districts they occupy; yet excepting the Getes, the Trausians, and those who live beyond the Crestonæans, they all observe nearly the same customs.

The Getes, as I have before related, profess themselves to be immortal. The Trausians in all other respects conform themselves to the common usages of the Thracians; but are peculiar in their behaviour at births and deaths.—When a child is born, the nearest relatives sit in a circle around the babe, and make a howling lamentation, and recount all the sufferings incident to humanity, which he may be destined to sustain. But when a man dies, they sport and rejoice in consigning him to the earth; for, as they say, he has taken leave of so many woes, and is altogether happy.

The people who live beyond the Crestonæans, practise polygamy, and when a man dies, a great contest ensues among his wives, aided by their friends, who, with extreme eagerness, support their several claims to the honour of having been most loved by him. She to whom this honour is adjudged, receives the encomiums of men and women, and is slaughtered on the tomb by her nearest relatives: she is then buried with her husband. The other wives lament their misfortune: for the discredit of surviving him is great.

The customs of the Thracians in general are these:—They sell their children into distant lands; disregard the virtue of their daughters; but watch strictly the conduct of their wives, whom they have purchased from their parents at a great

price. They deem it a mark of high birth to have the skin tattooed;—the ignoble only are free from such stigmas.—Idleness they think the greatest good—nothing so dishonourable as to cultivate the soil; and to subsist on war and rapine is their delight. Such are their most remarkable usages. The only divinities they worship are Mars, Bacchus, and Diana. But it is the peculiar distinction of the kings (*chiefs*) to pay signal honours to Mercury, in whose name alone they swear, and from whom they profess themselves to be descended. The funerals of the rich are thus performed:—During three days the body is exposed, and after lamentations have been made, victims of all kinds are slain, and a feast is held: the body is then either burned or interred. A tumulus of earth is raised over it, and games of every kind are instituted, in which the victors in single combats receive the highest honours.

The regions north of Thrace are not accurately known by any one; nor is it understood by what sort of people they are inhabited. But it seems that the country beyond the Ister is an interminable desert, inhabited—so far as I can learn—only by the Sigynnes—a people habited like the Medes. Their horses are covered with a coat of hair, five fingers long; they are of a diminutive size, have turn-up noses, and being not strong enough to be rode, are yoked to cars, which they draw with great swiftness; and it is for this purpose only they are employed by the natives.* The Sigynnes border upon the Enetes (*Venetians*) who occupy the shores of the Adriatic, and they profess to be a colony of Medes. But how the Medes should have established a colony in those parts I cannot explain. Yet in the course of ages almost any thing may have taken place. The Ligyes, who live beyond Massalia (*Marseilles*) give the name Sigynnes to traders; while the Cyprians understand by the same word—a spear.

The Thracians affirm that the regions beyond the Ister are

* It is not improbable that dogs, used in the manner practised by the Kamtschadales, gave origin to this description.

held by bees, which make it impossible to penetrate the country; but for my own part I cannot think this assertion to be at all probable; especially as these creatures cannot support cold. I believe rather that the frosts render the regions beneath the Bear uninhabitable. Such are the accounts given of the country, the maritime parts of which were subdued by the Persians under Megabazus.]

SECTION II.

THE PÆONIANS — EMBASSY TO MACEDONIA.

HISTIÆUS.

After crossing the Hellespont, Darius hastened to Sardis, and there, mindful of the good offices of Histiaëus, the Milesian, and of the advice given him by Coes the Mitylenian, summoned them to Sardis, and offered them their choice. Histiaëus, who was already tyrant of Miletus, asked for no other government; but he asked for Myrcinus of Edonia, where he wished to build a city. Such was the choice of Histiaëus, while Coes, who was not a tyrant, but a private person, asked for the government of Mitylene. Both having obtained their requests, repaired to their cities.

An accidental occurrence incited Darius to command Megabazus to subdue the Pæonians and to lead them from Europe into Asia. When the king returned to Asia, two Pæonian brothers, named Pigres and Mantyes, who were desirous to obtain rule over their countrymen, came to Sardis, bringing with them their sister—a young woman of fine figure and great beauty. They

watched the time when Darius sat in state in the entrance of Sardis; and having decked their sister in the most becoming attire, sent her to fetch water with a water pot on her head. At the same time she led a horse, the bridle of which was passed round her arm, while she employed her hand in spinning. As she passed by, she attracted the attention of Darius, especially because what she did was unlike the usages not only of the Persians, but of the Lydians, or indeed of any Asiatic people. So much did it fix his attention, that he sent some of his guards to observe what the woman did with the horse; they followed her, and observed that when she reached the river, she watered the horse—filled her vessel, and returned the way she came, bearing it on her head, at the same time leading the horse by her arm, and turning her spindle.

Filled with admiration at what he heard, and at what he had himself seen, Darius commanded her to be brought before him. She came, attended by her brothers, who, at no great distance, had observed what was taking place. When the king asked her of what country she was, the young men replied, that they were Pæonians, and that she was their sister. “And who,” said Darius, “are the Pæonians, and what country do they inhabit, and what is your business at Sardis?”—“We are come,” they replied, “to give ourselves to you,” and added that Pæonia, with its towns, was a country lying on the banks of the Strymon—a river not far beyond the Hellespont, and that the inhabitants were Teucrians, and a colony from Troy.—Such was their reply to the several questions. He then inquired, “if all the women of Pæonia were as industrious as their sister.”—“O yes,” said they eagerly, “all.” It was their plan to produce this impression on the mind of the king.

Thereupon Darius wrote to Megabazus—the general he had left in Thrace, commanding him to remove the

Pæonians from among the nations where they dwelt, and to bring them to him—their selves, their children, and their wives.—A horseman was despatched with all haste bearing these orders to the Hellespont, which having passed, he delivered the packet to Megabazus. He, on reading it, took guides from Thrace, and invaded Pæonia. The Pæonians, when informed of the advance of the Persians, assembled and prepared to defend themselves by the sea side; for they imagined that the enemy would attack them on that side: and here they held themselves ready to repel the invaders. But Megabazus being informed that the Pæonians guarded all the passes on the coast, and having guides, turned and took the upper road; and while they were ignorant of his movements, fell upon their cities, which were vacated by the people: these places were therefore taken without any opposition. On hearing that their towns were already in possession of the enemy, the Pæonians instantly dispersed in all directions, every one repairing to his own town; and so gave themselves up to the Persians. Thus were those of the Pæonians called the Siropæonians, and the Pæoples, together with those who occupy the space bounded by the lake Prasias, removed from their abodes, and led into Asia. But the Pæonians of mount Pangæus, and the Doberes, and Agrianes, and the Odomantians, and the inhabitants of the lake Prasias, were not entirely subdued by Megabazus.

[Those last mentioned he attempted to conquer. They inhabit the lake in the following manner:—A flooring is raised, and joined upon lofty piles, fixed in the midst of the lake; and there is no other communication with the main land, than one narrow bridge. The piles which sustain the flooring were anciently furnished at the cost of the community, but afterwards a law was established that, whenever a man took a wife—and they practise polygamy, he should bring

from a mountain in the neighbourhood, called Orbelus, three piles. Every man has his hut raised upon the common platform. In each habitation there is a trap door securely fitted, through which access is had to the lake beneath; and lest the children should tumble through, they are all tied by the leg. These people feed horses and beasts of burden upon fish, of which the quantity produced in the lake is so great, that when they let down the trap door, and lower a basket by a rope into the lake, in a short time they may draw it up filled with fishes. The lake produces two kinds, one called papraces, the other tilones.—The vanquished Pæonians were led into Asia.]

When Megabazus had subdued these people, he sent seven Persians on an embassy to Macedonia: they were all men of high reputation in the army: their commission was to demand from Amyntas an offering of earth and water to king Darius.—It is but a short distance from the lake Prasias to Macedonia. Near to the lake is the mine from which, at a subsequent period, Alexander (*son of Amyntas*) received daily a talent of silver. Beyond the mine is mount Dysorum, on passing which the traveller enters Macedonia.

The Persians constituting this embassy, when they arrived at the court of Amyntas, and were admitted to an audience of the king, demanded in the name of Darius the king, earth and also water. These he gave, and invited the Persians to the hospitalities of his palace; and having prepared a magnificent supper, received the Persians in the most friendly manner. After supper, while they were freely drinking, one of the Persians thus spoke:—"Macedonian host, it is the custom in Persia in our sumptuous entertainments to introduce the ladies. Now, therefore, as you give us so friendly a reception, and so handsome a supper, and since you have offered to Darius the king, earth and water, comply with our custom." "Persians," replied Amyntas, "such are not our

customs; for our women are separated from the company of men; but as you, who are our lords ask it, it shall be done." The ladies were accordingly sent for, and placed on seats opposite to the Persians; but with this they were not content, and demanded that they should be placed near them.

Though vexed by such a violation of propriety, Amyntas entertained so great a fear of the Persians that he affected composure. But his son Alexander, who was young and inexperienced in the ills of life, could not repress his feelings while he witnessed the rudeness to which the ladies were exposed. Hardly containing himself he thus addressed his father:—"Yield, Sir, to your years—retire to rest; nor longer remain at table. I will stay, and will take care that the strangers want nothing." Amyntas perceiving by his son's manner that he was about to put some design in execution, replied, "Son, I know almost from your language that you are burning with anger, and that you wish to dismiss me that you may accomplish some fatal resolution; but I enjoin you to do nothing injurious to these men, lest you bring ruin upon us: bear patiently what you see. Yet at your request I will retire." Having thus admonished his son, Amyntas retired, and then Alexander, begging a short leave of absence for the women, promised they should return: this the Persians consented to, and they were sent to their apartments: meanwhile he collected an equal number of young men, whom he attired in the dress that had been worn by the ladies; and having furnished each with a dagger, brought them in, and thus addressed his guests:—"Persians! you see we have given you the most sumptuous entertainment in our power, and have brought forward whatever we could find that might please you;—we offer you whatever we possess, and what is more than all, we have freely given you the attendance at table of our mothers and sisters, in order that you may learn in how high honour

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we hold you—as indeed you deserve. On your part, therefore, report to the king who sent you, the hospitable entertainment you received from the Greek — who, in submission to him, governs Macedonia.” So saying Alexander placed one of the youths by the side of each Persian, and presently the Macedonians put them to death. Thus perished, not only the ambassadors, but all their attendants; for they were followed by bearers,* and ministers, with various kinds of baggage.—All disappeared together. Not long afterwards a very earnest inquiry was made for these ambassadors by the Persians. But Alexander, by giving a large sum of money, and his sister also, named Gygæa, to Bubares, a Persian, who with others under him, was charged to investigate the affair, prudently arrested the search. Thus the death of the Persian delegates was hushed up.

[That the Macedonian kings are Greeks, descended from Perdiccas, they themselves profess, and on a future occasion I shall prove the fact of which I am myself well assured. Suffice it here to say, that those who manage the Olympian games among the Greeks have so determined. For when Alexander wishing to contend in the games, presented himself for that purpose, his competitors would have excluded him, saying that it was for Greeks, not Barbarians, that the games were instituted. But Alexander proving that he was an Argive, was judged to be a Greek: and when he was to contend in the stadium, he drew one of the first lots.†]

Megabazus leading with him the Pæonians, reached the Hellespont, and crossing it, proceeded to Sardis. He had been informed that Histæus the Milesian was raising walls around the city named Myrcinus, on the banks of the Strymon, which he had asked of Darius as a reward for

* *οχημα* I venture to translate in an extended sense as being probably that of the author.

† The order of the combatants was determined by lot.

his services in preserving the bridge (*over the Ister.*) Instantly therefore, after his arrival with the Pæonians, Megabazus thus addressed Darius, —“What, Sire, are you doing in granting to a Greek, and to a man so formidable, and so sagacious, the possession of a town in Thrace? For in Thrace is an abundance of timber, fit for constructing ships, and barks for oars, and mines of silver. And the country is thickly peopled, both with Greeks and Barbarians, who making him their leader, will execute his commands, day and night. Now, therefore, stop this man in his course, lest war within the realm press upon you. But you must use gentle means in sending for him, in order to put an end to his enterprize. When once you get him in your power, take care that he never again returns to Greece.”

Megabazus by these representations easily persuaded Darius, who perceiving that he well foresaw the future course of events, despatched a courier to Myrcinus, with a message to this effect:—“Histiaëus—thus speaks king Darius. On reflection I find no man better affected towards me and my government than yourself. And I form this opinion, not from your professions, but from your conduct. Now therefore, as I am meditating great enterprizes, come to me by all means, that I may impart them to you.” Histiaëus confiding in these professions, and being greatly elated with the honour of ranking among the king’s counsellors, proceeded to Sardis, and was no sooner arrived than he was thus addressed by Darius—“Histiaëus I have sent for you, because ever since my return from Scythia, when you left my sight, I have wished for nothing so much as to see and converse with you.—Knowing as I do that of all our possessions nothing is so valuable as an intelligent and well affected friend. And that you are both intelligent and well affected towards me I have had convincing proofs. You have then done well to come. Now hear what I propose.—Think no

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more either of Miletus or of the new city in Thrace; but follow me to Susa. Mine shall be your's: you shall be my companion at table, and my counsellor."

Darius set out for Susa accompanied by Histiaëus, having left Artaphernes his own brother by the father, governor of Sardis. The army on the coast was placed under the command of Otanes, whose father Sisamnes being one of the royal judges, had been put to death by Cambyses, for receiving a bribe to pervert justice. The king ordered the body to be flayed, and the skin to be cut into ribbands, which were stretched upon the seat from which he had been accustomed to pronounce judgment. Then he instituted the son in the office of the father, enjoining him ever to keep in mind the chair on which he sat to administer justice. This same Otanes, who had occupied the seat I have described, succeeded Megabazus in the command of the army, and presently captured both Byzantium and Chalcedon. He also took Antandrus—a city of the Troade, and Lamponium also. Receiving some ships from the Lesbians he took Lemnos; and Imbros, both which islands were then occupied by Pelasgians.

The Lemnians fought well, and defended themselves for a time; but were at length reduced. Those who survived were placed by the Persians under Lycaretus, brother of Mæandrius, who had reigned at Samos. This Lycaretus died in his government of Lemnos. Otanes, in reducing to slavery all these nations, alleged as his pretext—against some of them, that they had deserted the army in Scythia; against others, that they had annoyed the army in its return from Scythia. Such was his mode of proceeding while he held command in those parts.

SECTION III.

REVOLT OF THE IONIANS UNDER ARISTAGORAS.

After a short interval of repose, the Ionians were exposed to new misfortunes, which took their rise from Naxos and Miletus. The former was then in a more flourishing state than any of the islands, and at the same time the latter had just attained its highest prosperity, and was esteemed the principal city of Ionia. Two generations before the time of which we are speaking, Miletus had suffered much from the turbulences of faction; these were however composed by the Parians, whom, of all the Greeks, the citizens chose as the arbitrators of their differences. The Parian mediators, who were men of rank, effected a pacific arrangement in the following manner:—Perceiving that the state was in the greatest derangement, they declared that they wished to make a circuit through the territory. They therefore set out, and as they traversed the Milesian lands, whenever, amidst the desolated country, they saw a farm well cultivated, they noted the name of the proprietor. Few such were found in the course of their tour; but immediately after their return to the city, they convoked an assembly, and placed the administration of affairs in the hands of those individuals whose farms they had noted to be in good order: for, as they said, they supposed that men who assiduously managed their private concerns, would not display less ability in conducting the commonwealth. The arbitrators therefore enjoined the Milesians, who hitherto had been split into factions, to submit to the

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rule of the persons who were placed in power. Such were the means employed by the Parians in composing the affairs of Miletus.

Yet now it was from these two places (*Miletus and Naxos*) that the new troubles arose.—Certain persons of overgrown opulence, expelled by the people from Naxos, fled to Miletus, which was then governed by Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras, son-in-law and nephew of Histiaëus, son of Lysagoras, whom Darius detained at Susa; for it was during his detention there, that the Naxians who had already formed friendship with him, arrived at Miletus. They addressed themselves to Aristagoras, praying him to grant them aid sufficient to reinstate them in their native island. He, on consideration, thought that if they were restored by his means, he might bring Naxos under his own power. Using therefore the friendship subsisting between the Naxians and Histiaëus as a pretext, he thus addressed them—“I myself am not competent to furnish you with a force sufficient to reinstate you at Naxos against the will of the citizens, who are now in power, for I am informed they have at their command 8,000 men who bear shield, as well as a large fleet of long ships. But I will employ every means in my power, and suggest to you the course to be pursued. Artaphernes is my friend, and he is the son of Hystaspes, and therefore brother of Darius the king. Now he commands all the maritime provinces of Asia (*Minor*) and has under his orders a numerous army, and large fleet; and I am of opinion that he will do what we shall ask.”

The Naxians now conjured Aristagoras to make his best exertions in their behalf, and instructed him to promise gifts, besides entertainment to the army, to be provided by themselves. Indeed they indulged strong hopes that when they should appear off the island, the Naxians generally would submit to their domination, and even

that their example would be followed by the other islanders. For at that time none of the Cyclades acknowledged the authority of Darius. When Aristagoras arrived at Sardis, he informed Artaphernes, that though Naxos was not a large island, it was agreeable, fertile, near Ionia, and rich in money and slaves. "Now therefore," said he, "send an armament against it to reinstate the fugitives. In the first place, besides provision for the troops, I have in readiness a large sum of money; for it is just that we should bear the burden of the war. Then in the next place, you will acquire for the king not only Naxos, but the islands dependent on it, as Paros, Andros, and other of the Cyclades. Thence you may with great ease advance and attack Eubœa, a large and opulent island, not inferior to Cyprus, and which may very readily be subdued. All may be accomplished with one hundred ships."

"You do indeed," replied Artaphernes, "make a proposition highly advantageous to the king's affairs, and your advice is altogether good, excepting what relates to the number of ships required—instead of one, two hundred vessels shall be in readiness for you at the commencement of spring: but the approbation of the king must be obtained." Aristagoras was exceedingly delighted on receiving this answer; and departed for Miletus. Meanwhile Artaphernes, having received from Susa in reply to his representations the approbation of Darius, collected an armament, consisting of two hundred triremes, and having on board a large force, both of Persians and of the tributary nations. The command of the expedition was given to Megabates, a Persian of the Achæmenidean family, and nephew to himself and Darius. If common report says true, it was the daughter of this same Megabates who, some time afterwards, was affianced to Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, the Lacedæmonian, when he sought to become tyrant of Greece.

Artaphernes having made these arrangements, sent forward the armament to Aristagoras.

At Miletus, Megabates being joined by Aristagoras with the Ionian army, and the Naxian refugees, sailed professedly for the Hellespont. When he reached Chios he anchored at *Caucasus*, (*a port of the island*) waiting for a north wind to carry him to Naxos. But the Naxians were not to receive their ruin from this armament—an accidental occurrence averted the danger. As Megabates was going round through the fleet to inspect the watch, he found none set on board a Myndian vessel. Resenting the negligence, he commanded his attendants to search for the captain—whose name was Scylax, and having found, to bind him and place him with his head projecting from one of the apertures in the ship's side, while his body remained within. Some one presently announced to Aristagoras, that Megabates had bound and exposed to shame his friend, the Myndian captain. He went therefore, and entreated pardon for him from the Persian commander; but not prevailing, he himself repaired to the vessel, and released the captain. When Megabates heard of what had been done, he was transported with rage, and reviled Aristagoras. But he replied, "By what right do you interfere with our commands? Did not Artaphernes send you under my orders—and to go wherever I shall direct? Why then do you do ought more or less than you are commanded?" Thus spoke Aristagoras; but Megabates now more incensed, the same night despatched a vessel in order to inform the Naxians of what was intended against them.

The Naxians who had not at all supposed that the armament was advancing against them, immediately, on receiving the information, brought whatever they could move from their lands into the city; and in preparation for a siege, collected provisions and awaited the instant approach of the enemy. Meanwhile the Persians leaving

Chios, sailed to Naxos, which they found well guarded. During four months the siege was carried on, in which time they not only expended the supplies they brought with them, but had also drawn largely upon the resources of Aristagoras. Much more was still required for carrying on the siege; the Persians therefore constructed on the island a fortress for the exiled Naxians, and themselves retired to the continent with this ill success.

Aristagoras now found himself unable to fulfil his engagements to Artaphernes; he was urged to defray the expences of the expedition, and he feared lest by the accusations of Megabates, the failure of the enterprize would be attributed to him, and he thought it probable that the government of Miletus would be taken from him. Under these apprehensions he meditated revolt. At the same moment it happened that a servant arrived from Susa, sent to him by Histiaëus, and bearing—imprinted on his head, an injunction to revolt from the king. Histiaëus wishing to make this communication to Aristagoras, had no other safe means of signifying his proposal—for a strict watch was kept on all the roads.—He therefore took one of his most trusty slaves, and having shaved his head, imprinted letters on it, and then detained him till the hair was grown. As soon as the head was again covered, he despatched the man to Miletus, giving him no other instructions than these—that when he reached the city, he should request Aristagoras to shave his locks, and inspect his head. The letters imprinted—as I have already said, conveyed a message of revolt. This part was taken by Histiaëus under the deep regret he felt in being detained at Susa; and he entertained great hopes that if a revolt took place at Miletus, he should himself be despatched to the coast; but unless troubles arose there, he despaired of ever returning.

It was therefore with these intentions that Histiaëus

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despatched his messenger, and Aristagoras considering the concurrence of circumstances, conferred with his partisans, communicating to them both his own opinion and the intimation he had received from Histæus. All united in advising a revolt, except Hecataeus the historian, who at first dissuaded him from undertaking a war against the Persian king, and to support his opinion, enumerated the nations under the sway of Darius, and held forth the greatness of his power; but when he found he could not prevail, he next gave his advice in the following terms:—"The principal endeavour should be to obtain the dominion of the seas, without which nothing could be done; for," said he, "it is well known that the power of Miletus is inconsiderable; yet if the treasures dedicated by Croesus the Lydian in the temple of the Branchidæ were seized, there would be great reason to hope that by means of them the power of the seas might be obtained. And by this seizure not only would so much wealth come under their disposal, but the enemy would be prevented availing himself of it." How great these treasures were, I have mentioned in my first book (page 44). The advice of Hecataeus did not prevail; nevertheless it was resolved to revolt, and it was determined that one of their number should proceed by sea to Myunte, where lay the fleet that had returned from Naxos, and endeavour to secure the commanders of the ships.

Iatragoras was despatched for this purpose, and contrived by a stratagem to seize Oliatus, son of Ibanoles, of Mylassa, and Histæus, son of Tymnes (*tyrant*) of Termera, and Coes, son of Erxander, to whom Darius had given Mitylene, and Aristagoras, son of Heraclides (*tyrant*) of Cyme; besides many others. By these measures Aristagoras declared his revolt, and henceforth adopted every means he could devise by which to annoy Darius. His first step was nominally to resign the supreme power, and to establish an equality of rights at

Miletus, in order that the people might the more readily join in the rebellion. Then he did the same in all the other cities of Ionia, and expelled all the tyrants. In the next place, wishing by all means to conciliate these cities, he delivered up to them the tyrants whom he had seized in the fleet returned from Naxos: each of the tyrants was sent to the city he had governed.

When the Mitylenians received Coes, they instantly led him forth from the city, and stoned him. The Cymæans banished their tyrant, and as most of the other cities did the same, there ensued a cessation of that form of government throughout the states. Having thus abolished tyranny, Aristagoras the Milesian enjoined the cities to appoint each for themselves a magistrate. Then he himself repaired in a trireme to Lacedæmon; for he thought it necessary to acquire some powerful alliance.

SECTION IV.

AFFAIRS OF SPARTA—CLEOMENES.

[Anaxandrides, son of Leontas, king of Sparta, was lately dead, leaving the government to his son Cleomenes, whose birth, rather than his merits or virtues, placed him on the throne. Anaxandrides had married his own niece, whom he loved, but who had no children. On this account he was summoned and thus addressed by the Ephors:—"If you are unmindful of the preservation of your house, we cannot be indifferent to the extinction of the family of Eurysthenes. Now therefore, as the wife you have brings you no children, repudiate her and marry another. By taking this course, you will gratify the Spartans." "I," said he, "will do neither

the one nor the other; nor can I think they give me good advice who would persuade me to dismiss an innocent wife, and to take another. I will not therefore yield to such a demand."

The Ephors and senators held a consultation on the subject, and again addressed Anaxandrides:—"Inasmuch as you hold your wife so dear—as we see; at least follow the advice we are about to give, nor oppose our wishes, lest the Spartans should adopt some unwonted resolution concerning you. We no longer require of you the repudiation of your present wife—continue to regard her with the same fondness as heretofore; but take another, who may bear you children." Anaxandrides consented to the proposition, and from that time had two wives, and occupied two homes, contrary to the usages of the Spartans. Not long afterwards, the second wife bore Cleomenes, of whom we have spoken, and presented him to the Spartans as heir to the throne. About the same period, the first wife, hitherto childless, gave hopes of becoming a mother; and such in fact was the case; but the friends of the second wife, troubled by the news, spread reports that it was a vain boast, and that a fraud was intended. So much feeling did they manifest on the occasion, that when the time arrived, the Ephors, themselves infected with doubt, were present as she gave birth to a son. She first bore Dorieus, afterwards Leonidas, and afterwards Cleombrotus. Some affirm that Cleombrotus and Leonidas were twins. The second wife, who was the daughter of Prinetades, and grand-daughter of Demarmenus, had no child after Cleomenes.

Cleomenes, it is said, was never of sound mind, and even mad, while Dorieus appeared first among the youth of his age, and indulged the confident expectation that by his merits he should obtain the throne. Filled with these hopes, when on the death of Anaxandrides the Lacedæmonians, according to law, elevated Cleomenes the eldest son to that dignity, he deeply felt the disappointment; and disdaining to submit to the rule of Cleomenes, asked a body of Spartans, and went forth to found a colony. Yet he neither consulted the Delphic oracle, as to the country where he should settle, nor complied

with any of the usages customary on such occasions; but impatient of all controul, directed his voyage towards Libya—certain Theræans being his guides. He reached Cinyps, one of the most agreeable spots in Libya, where he established himself on the banks of a river. But in the third year he was driven thence by the Maces, the Libyans, and the Carthaginians, and returned to Peloponnesus.

He met there with Antichares, of Elis, who, on the authority of oracles from Laius, advised him to found Heraclea in Sicily, saying that the entire region of Eryx appertained to the Heraclidæ, in right of Hercules. On receiving this advice, Dorieus went to consult the oracle at Delphi, whether he should make a conquest of the country to which he was about to proceed. The Pythian replied that “he should take it.” He therefore collected the forces which he had before conducted to Libya, and proceeded to the coasts of Italy. About the same time, as the Sybarites affirm, they, under the command of their king Telys, were preparing to march against Crotona. The Crotonians moved by fear, applied to Dorieus to take up their cause:—he complied with their request, and joining their forces to his own, attacked and captured Sybaris. Such is the account given by the Sybarites. But the Crotonians deny that they associated any foreigners with their native forces in the war with Sybaris. The only exception was Callias, the diviner of Eleums, of the Jamidean race; and he had taken refuge among them, to escape from the anger of Telys, tyrant of Sybaris; because the victims were unfavourable when examined in reference to the Crotonian war. In proof of their several accounts both people produce evidences. The Sybarites, on their part, first appeal to the sacred enclosure, and the fane founded by Dorieus, near the winter stream Crathis, when, with the Crotonians, he captured Sybaris—it is dedicated to the Crathian Minerva. They then mention the principal proof—namely the death of Dorieus, who perished for disobeying the oracle: for, say they, if he had not transgressed, but had proceeded to his destined country, he would have made himself master of Eryx, and have held it, and not with his army have perished.

On the other side, the Crotonians show the lands within their territory granted by them to Callias of Eleum, and which, in my time, were occupied by his descendants; while nothing of the kind was granted to Dorieus, or his children. Yet if he had actually aided them in the manner affirmed, against Sybaris, much larger grants would have been bestowed upon him than upon Callias. Such are the evidences produced on both sides. Every one may adopt the opinion he thinks the most probable.

With Dorieus were associated in the proposed colony other Spartans, as Thessalus, Paræbates, Celeas, and Eurylaus. When with the entire fleet they reached Sicily, they were encountered and defeated by the Phœnicians and Egestæans, and all the chiefs were slain, excepting Eurylaus, who alone escaped the fate of his comrades. He, rallying those who survived the action, possessed himself of Minoa, a colony from Selinus, and aided the Selinians in freeing themselves from the despot Pythagoras. But after removing the tyrant, he assumed the same power, and for a short period ruled Selinus with absolute authority. Presently the Selinians revolted, and put him to death, even though he had taken sanctuary at the altar of the home Jupiter. Dorieus had also been followed by Philip, son of Butacides, of Crotona, who perished with him. He had fled from Crotona, and proposed himself to the daughter of Telys, tyrant of Sybaris; but the marriage failing to be accomplished, he sailed for Cyrene. Thence he embarked in a trireme of his own, the crew of which was paid by himself, and followed Dorieus. This man had been a victor in the Olympic games, and was the handsomest Greek of his times. On account of the beauty of his person, he received unexampled honours from the Egestæans; for they erected a monument, as to a hero, on his tomb, and even propitiated his favour with sacrifices.

Such as we have above related was the end of Dorieus, who, if he had submitted to the domination of Cleomenes, and had remained at Sparta, would have become king of Lacedæmon; for the reign of Cleomenes did not last long, and he died leaving a daughter only, named Gorgo.]

SECTION V.

FAILURE OF ARISTAGORAS AT SPARTA.

Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, arrived at Sparta while the Lacedæmonians were governed by Cleomenes. And as they affirm, when he came to converse with the king, he brought with him a brazen tablet, on which was engraved the entire circuit of the earth, with all its seas and rivers. His address to the king was as follows:—

“Wonder not Cleomenes, at my assiduity in coming to Sparta — our affairs admit no delay. The sons of Ionia, who should be free, are slaves. This is indeed a high reproach and grief to ourselves; but also—among other Grecian states—chiefly to you, since you are pre-eminent in Greece. Now therefore in the name of the gods of the Greeks, I adjure you, deliver the Ionians from servitude—they are your kin. With ease you may effect our freedom; for the barbarians are not warlike; while you have attained the very summit of military glory. Their mode of fighting I will describe:—they use bows and short spears: they come into the field wearing trowsers, and on their heads have turbans: they are therefore easily vanquished. The inhabitants of that continent abound with riches of every kind beyond all other people together.—They have plenty of gold, of silver, of brass, as well as magnificent vestments, and beasts of burden, and slaves. All these are your’s if you choose to have them. The several nations are ranged contiguously in the manner I will now explain.—Next to the Ionians are the Lydians, whose territory is fertile, and peculiarly rich in silver.” As he spoke he pointed out the place

on the map of the earth, which he held in his hand. "The Lydians," continued Aristagoras, "have for neighbours, towards the east, the Phrygians—rich beyond any people I know in cattle, and in the fruits of the soil. Bordering on the Phrygians are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians; they adjoin the Cilicians, who occupy the coasts of that sea in which Cyprus is found. They pay to the king a yearly tribute of five hundred talents. Next to these are the Armenians—wealthy in cattle. Here, adjoining to the Armenians, are the Matienians, who are bounded by Cissia, within which, and on the banks of the Choaspes, stands Susa, where the great king fixes his residence, and where are his treasuries. Masters of that city, you may boldly vie with Jupiter himself for riches. Where you are, you are compelled to contend for a small tract of country, and that not fertile, and for the maintenance of narrow boundaries, with the Mesenians, your equals in valour, and with the Arcadians, and Argives, none of whom possess gold or silver, for the sake of which, or the like, we venture our lives in the field of battle. But now you may with little difficulty obtain the sovereignty of all Asia; what better could you wish for?"

Thus spoke Aristagoras. Cleomenes only replied—"Milesian stranger, I defer till the third day to give you an answer." So far they proceeded at that time. When the day fixed for giving an answer arrived, and both met at the place appointed, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days' journey it might be from the coast of Ionia to the residence of the king. He, though a man of intelligence, and though hitherto he had well beguiled Cleomenes, in this instance committed an error; for if he intended to lead the Spartans into Asia, he should have concealed the truth; instead of doing so, he simply said that it was a journey of three months. Cleomenes therefore preventing Aristagoras, who was

proceeding to describe the route, said — “ Milesian stranger ! leave Sparta before sun-set.—In proposing to lead the Lacedæmonians a march of three months inland, you utter what they can by no means listen to.” Cleomenes having pronounced these words, returned home.

But Aristagoras taking the symbol of supplication in his hand,* followed Cleomenes, and entering the house, presented himself as a suppliant—entreated Cleomenes to hear him, and also to dismiss from the chamber his daughter: for Gorgo stood by her father;—she was his only child, and then about eight or nine years of age. Cleomenes commanded him to say what he wished without being restrained by the presence of the child. Aristagoras then promised him, at first ten talents, if he would afford the desired aid; and when Cleomenes refused, he went on to augment the sum till he reached fifty talents; then the child exclaimed—“ Father ! this stranger will corrupt you, unless you go hence.” Cleomenes pleased with the advice of his child, went into another apartment, and Aristagoras left Sparta forthwith; nor had opportunity to finish his account of the route from Ionia to Susa.

[The itinerary is as follows:—

Throughout the route there are royal stations and magnificent inns. The road passes every where through inhabited regions, and is perfectly safe. In the journey through Lydia and Phrygia, there are twenty of these stations, or royal post houses.—The distance is ninety-four and a half parasangs. Leaving Phrygia, you arrive at the Halys, upon the banks of that river there are defiles through which it is necessary to pass in order to gain the opposite bank: a large garrison holds the passage. Entering Cappadocia, you proceed to the borders of Cilicia, after resting at eight-and-twenty stations, and traversing a distance of one hundred and four parasangs:

* An olive branch wrapped in wool.

but upon these boundaries you must pass two defiles, and two garrisons: leaving these you traverse Cilicia, in which are three stations—the distance is fifteen and a half parasangs. Cilicia is divided from Armenia by the river Euphrates, which is crossed in vessels of some size. In Armenia there are fifteen stations for rest, and the route measures fifty-six and a half parasangs; garrisons are here also placed at the stations. Four navigable rivers run through Armenia, and must be passed by the traveller. Of these the first is the Tigris: the second and the third bear the same name, though different streams, and proceeding from different regions; for one of them rises in Armenia; but the other in the territory of the Matienians. The fourth river is the Gyndes—the same which Cyrus drained by cutting three hundred and sixty trenches. From Armenia the traveller proceeds to Matiene, where there are four stations. Passing eleven stations, and a distance of forty-two and a half parasangs, he traverses the province of Cissia, and arrives on the banks of the Choaspes, which is also navigable, and upon which stands Susa. The whole number of stations is one hundred and eleven; and at each station from Sardis to Susa, the traveller finds a place of refreshment.

Now if the measure of this royal route is correctly given in parasangs, and if the parasang is reckoned equal to thirty furlongs, as indeed it is; then it will appear that, from Sardis to the royal palace of Memnon (*at Susa*) is a distance of 13,500 furlongs—the parasangs being four hundred and fifty. And if one hundred and fifty furlongs are travelled in a day, then the whole journey will consume ninety days. Aristagoras the Milesian was right in telling Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian that it was a three months' journey to reach the royal residence. But if any one seeks more exact information, I must add that the distance from Ephesus to Sardis should also be reckoned; and including this, I affirm that the entire route from the coast washed by the Grecian seas to Susa—called the city of Memnon, measures 14,040 furlongs. For from Ephesus to Sardis is a distance of five hundred and forty furlongs, which add three days to the three months' journey.]

SECTION VI.

AFFAIRS OF ATHENS. THE PISISTRATIDS.

Expelled from Sparta, Aristagoras proceeded to Athens, which was then just freed from its tyrants.

[Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and brother of the tyrant Hippias, though, by a vision, distinctly forewarned of his fate, was nevertheless slain by Aristogiton and Harmodius, who were of Gephyræan extraction. And yet during four years after this event, the Athenians, far from obtaining liberty, were more rigorously governed than before. The vision seen by Hipparchus was this:—in the first night of the Panathenæa, he thought he saw a man of great stature and beauty, standing before him, who uttered the following verses of dark intimation.—

“Lion! sustain insufferable woe!

The cost of crime each erring man must know.”

As soon as day appeared, he communicated the words to the diviners of dreams, and after renouncing (*or endeavouring to avert by sacrifices*) the vision, he conducted the procession in which he perished.

The Gephyræans, from whom descended the slayers of Hipparchus, were, as they affirm, originally from Eretria; but as I find upon diligent inquiry, they were Phœnicians, of the number of those who accompanied Cadmus from Phœnicia to Bœotia, where they lived on the Tenagrian lands, which fell to their share. The Cadmæans, first, were expelled by the Argives; then these Gephyræans, being driven out by the Bœotians, betook themselves to Athens, where they were admitted as citizens, yet on conditions which excluded them

from certain privileges not necessary here to be enumerated. The Phœnicians, including the Gephyræans, who accompanied Cadmus, while they dwelt with the Greeks, introduced among them many branches of instruction, and especially the knowledge of letters, which, in my opinion were not before in use in Greece. For at first they employed the characters which all the Phœnicians make use of; but in process of time, as they changed their language, the letters also assumed a new form. At that period, the surrounding regions were occupied by the Ionians, who, with some small variations, adopted the characters which they learned from the Phœnicians; and very equitably, as the knowledge of them had been received from that people, the character came to be named—the Phœnician letters. The term parchments was in early times applied by the Ionians to writings generally, (*though the material was the papyrus,*) because, from the scarcity of paper, they used parchments made of the skins of goats and sheep. Indeed at the present day, many barbarian nations write upon such parchments.

I have myself seen the Cadmæan letters in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes in Bœotia;—they are engraved upon tripods, and much resemble the Ionian letters. The inscription on one of these tripods is as follows:—

“Amphitryon dedicated me on his return from the Telebœs, and it may be assigned to the age of Laius, son of Labdacus, son of Polydorus, son of Cadmus.”

Another tripod bears these hexameters:—

“Scæus, a victor in the boxing fight,
By me adorns the god of far-spread light.”

This Scæus may be the son of Hippocoon, and unless there was another of the same name, would be the contemporary of Œdipus, son of Laius. The third tripod has the following verses:—

“Laodamus, possessed of sovereign sway,
Presents this tripod to the god of day.”

Under this, Laodamus, son of Eteocles, the Cadmæans, expelled by the Argives, betook themselves to Encheleæ. While the Gephyræans remained undisturbed, though soon afterwards driven into Attica by the Bœotians. At Athens they built temples, in which the Athenians have no part, and which have nothing in common with the other temples.—Such is the temple of the Achæan Ceres, with its ceremonies.

Having thus mentioned the vision of Hipparchus, and related the origin of the Gephyræans, from whom descended the slayers of that tyrant, I must now return to my proposed account of the manner in which the Athenians freed themselves from the rule of the tyrants. Hippias assuming the government, exercised his authority with extreme rigour, in resentment of the death of Hipparchus. The Alcæmonids—an Athenian family, who had fled from the domination of the Pisistratids, in conjunction with other Athenian exiles, had failed in their attempt to return to their country by force of arms, and in the enterprize by which they hoped to reinstate themselves and to liberate Athens, had met a signal defeat. They then fortified Lipsydrium, which is above Pæonia, and thence devising by every means to overthrow the Pisistratids, they engaged by contract with the Amphictyons to build the now existing temple at Delphi. Having at their command great wealth, and supporting the honours of an illustrious and ancient family, they constructed the temple on a scale of magnificence which surpassed the prescribed plan.—Among other things—though bound only to build the temple of the Porian marble, they reared the front with the Parian.

According to the account given by the Athenians, these Alcæmonids, while at Delphi, prevailed upon the Pythian by money to propose to all Spartans who came to consult the oracle, whether on their private affairs or for the state, to undertake the liberation of Athens. The Lacedæmonians always hearing the same proposition, at length despatched Anchimolius, son of Aster, a man of distinction at Sparta, with an army to expel the Pisistratids from Athens, although allied to them in the bonds of strict friendship; but they deemed the commands of the gods to be of higher authority

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than the duties they owed to men. The expedition proceeded by sea, and disembarked at Phalerum. The Pisistratids having had timely information of the design, had summoned the Thessalians to their aid, with whom they were on terms of alliance. The Thessalians with one consent yielded to the request, and sent a body of a thousand horse, under the command of Cineas, their king, who was a Corniæan. Strengthened by these auxiliaries, the Pisistratids caused the plain about Phalerum, to be cleared of every obstruction, and to be rendered every where fit for the movements of cavalry. Then they sent forwards the Thessalian horse to attack the enemy's camp. They charged the Lacedæmonians—put many to the sword, among the number Anchimolion, and drove the survivors on board their ships. Such was the event of the first Lacedæmonian expedition. The tomb of Anchimolius is near the temple of the Cynosargean Hercules, at Alopece in Attica.

The Lacedæmonians then raised a larger force, which, under the command of their king Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, they sent against Athens; not by sea, but over-land. When they entered the Attic territory, they first encountered the Thessalians, whom they presently defeated, putting more than forty to the sword: the others returned immediately to Thessaly. Cleomenes then advancing to the city, attended by such of the Athenians as favoured the cause of liberty, besieged the tyrants, who were shut up in the Pelasgian fort. It would have been impossible for the Lacedæmonians to succeed in an assault upon the Pisistratids; nor did they think of continuing a blockade; indeed the tyrants were abundantly furnished with provisions of all kinds. After besieging them a few days, they would have returned to Sparta. But just at this moment an accident occurred, unfortunate for one party, but advantageous to the other. The children of the Pisistratids were made prisoners as they were being removed from Attica. This event deranged all their plans, for, as the ransom of their children, they assented to the terms offered to them by the Athenians, and these conditions obliged them to leave Attica in five days. They therefore departed and went

to Sigeum, on the Scamander, after having governed the Athenians thirty-six years. They were by origin Pylians, and descended from Nelius, and having the same ancestors as Codrus, and Melanthus, who though not natives, became kings of Athens. It was to keep in mind their extraction that Hippocrates gave the name Pisistratus, to his son, because it had been borne by a son of Nestor. Thus were the Athenians freed from the tyrants. I now proceed to relate the most remarkable exploits and misfortunes which took place after they became free, and before the time of the Ionian revolt, when Aristagoras the Milesian arrived to ask their aid.]

SECTION VII.

ATHENIAN FACTIONS.

[The Athenians who were before powerful, became more so after they had disengaged themselves from their tyrants. Two powerful individuals then influenced affairs—Clisthenes of the Alcæonids, who as it is reported, bribed the Pythian; and Isagoras, son of Tisander—a man of an illustrious family, though I am not acquainted with his extraction: but those who claim kindred with him sacrifice to the Carian Jupiter. These two men factiously contended for authority in the state, and Clisthenes being overcome, courted the favour of the people. Some time afterwards, he divided the four Athenian tribes into ten; and instead of the names derived from the four sons of Ion—Geleon, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, he brought forwards the names of the native heroes of the country; yet he admitted Ajax, who though a foreigner, was a neighbour and an ally. In effecting this alteration, I think he followed the example of Clisthenes, his maternal grandfather—

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the tyrant of Sicyon, who while engaged in a war with the Argives, abolished the games in which reciters contended for prizes in repeating the verses of Homer, because therein Argos and the Argives are so greatly celebrated; and then he sought to expel from Sicyon (*the worship of*) Adrastus, son of Talaus—an Argive, who had a shrine in the square at Sicyon, which still exists. Going to Delphi, he inquired if he should expel Adrastus; but the Pythian replied that “Adrastus was a king of Sicyon; but that he was a robber.”* On his return, as the god did not yield to his request, he contrived himself the means of banishing Adrastus; and having devised a plan, he sent to Thebes in Bœotia for (*the relics of*) Melanippus, son of Astacus, which the Thebans granted to him. When (*the remains of*) Melanippus arrived, Clisthenes devoted to him a shrine in the prytaneum itself; and placed it in the most strongly fortified spot. This he did—if I must assign the reason, because Melanippus was the particular enemy of Adrastus, whose brother Mecistes, and son-in-law Tydeus, he had slain. After consecrating the fane, he converted the sacrifices and feasts usually celebrated in honour of Adrastus, to Melanippus; and the Sicyonians had been accustomed to perform these ceremonies with extraordinary magnificence. For their country had indeed belonged to Polybus, whose daughter was mother of Adrastus; and Polybus having no son, left his dominions to his grandson. Among the honours bestowed by the Sicyonians upon Adrastus they celebrate his misfortunes in tragic verses—not Bacchus but Adrastus is the object of their worship. Yet Clisthenes assigned the chorusses to Bacchus, rendering all the other rites to Melanippus.

Then he changed the names of the Doric tribes, that those of the Sicyonians and Argives, might not be the same; and herein he treated the Sicyonians with ridicule; for he adopted the words *hys* and *onos* (*swine and ass*) with the former terminations; thus composing the names, Hyates, Oneates, and Chœreates

* *λευστηρα* stands in the text; but probably *ληϊστηρα* is the true reading.

(*from chæros a hog*). Yet to his own tribe he gave the appellation Archelæans, significant of his own sovereignty. These names the Sicyonians preserved in use not only during the reign of Clisthenes, but sixty years after his death—when, upon consultation, they changed them into Hylleans, Pamphylians, and Dymanates; and in honour of Ægialeus, son of Adrastus, gave his name to the fourth tribe called Ægialeans. Such was the course adopted by the Sicyonian Clisthenes.

Clisthenes the Athenian, who was named after his maternal grandfather, the king of Sicyon, imitating, as I think his ancestor, in contempt for the Ionians, would not suffer the Athenian tribes to bear Ionian names. After completely conciliating the Athenian people, who before had been averse to his interests, he changed the names and increased the number of the tribes—instead of four Phylarchs (*heads of tribes*) he constituted ten; and distributed the people into as many wards. By thus winning the favour of the citizens, he obtained a decided superiority over the opposite factions. Isagoras now finding himself on the weaker side, devised other means of competing with his rival.—He called upon Cleomenes, king of Lacedæmon, with whom he had formed a friendship at the time when the Pisistratids were besieged. The first step taken by Cleomenes, under the direction of Isagoras, was to send a herald to Athens, requiring the expulsion of Clisthenes, and with him many other Athenians, alleging as a reason, that they had incurred the guilt of sacrilege. It was true that the Alcæonids and their partisans were chargeable with a murder, but neither he nor his friends had any part in it.

Certain Athenians incurred this charge of sacrilegious murder on the following occasion:—Cylon an Athenian, having been victor in the Olympic games, was so moved by vanity as to affect tyrannical power; and associating with himself persons of his own standing, he made an attempt upon the Acropolis; but failing in the enterprize, he placed himself as a suppliant near the statue of the goddess. Thence they (*Cylon and his followers*) were removed by the Naucrarian Prytanes, who then governed Athens, on promise that they should not

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suffer death. Notwithstanding they were slaughtered—as it is said by the Alcæonids. These events took place before the age of Pisistratus.

When Cleomenes sent the herald to expel Clisthenes and the Athenians accused of sacrilege, he alone withdrew. Yet afterwards Cleomenes repaired to Athens with a small force, and at the suggestion of Isagoras, banished seven hundred Athenian families. He next attempted to dissolve the senate, and to place the government in the hands of three hundred partisans of Isagoras. But the senate resisted these proceedings, and refused submission. Cleomenes and Isagoras therefore took possession of the citadel, and the other citizens who sided together with the senate, besieged them two days; on the third, the Lacedæmonians were admitted to conditions, by which they agreed to quit the country. Thus was accomplished the omen addressed to Cleomenes; for when he ascended the Acropolis, in order to take possession of it, he advanced towards the adytum of the goddess, intending to consult her; but before he passed the doors, the priestess rising from her seat said—“Lacedæmonian stranger! retrace your steps; nor enter the temple, for it is not lawful that a Dorian should approach this place.” “O woman,” replied he, “I am not a Dorian, but an Achæan.” Disregarding the presage, he persisted in his enterprize, and therefore again with his Lacedæmonians failed of success. The Athenians of that party were bound for death: among them was Timasitheus of Delphi, of whose achievements and intrepidity I might say much. The prisoners were all put to death.

The Athenians recalled Clisthenes, and the seven hundred families banished by Cleomenes, and then despatched ambassadors to Sardis with the intention of forming an alliance with the Persians; for they thought it certain that they should have to maintain a war with the Lacedæmonians and Cleomenes. When these ambassadors arrived at Sardis, and reported the object of their mission to Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, governor of Sardis, he inquired of them who and what they were, and what spot of the earth they inhabited, that they should ask the Persians to form alliance with them. The

ambassadors having informed him on these points, he briefly answered them, that if the Athenians presented to king Darius earth and water, he would form an alliance with them. But if not, he commanded them to depart. The ambassadors after conferring together, professed their willingness to make the required offering, for they desired to effect the alliance. But on their return to Athens, they fell under a very serious accusation (*for this compliance*).

Cleomeness well informed of the hostile treatment, both in words and deeds, which he received from the Athenians, levied an army from all parts of Peloponnesus, without declaring his intention, which was to avenge himself upon the Athenian commonalty, and to establish Isagoras as tyrant of Athens: for Isagoras had retired with him from the Acropolis. With this numerous army he entered the lands of Eleusis, while the Bœotians, by previous agreement, took Cœnæ and Hysia—the last towns of Attica on that side. The Chalcideans also in another direction invaded and ravaged Attica. Thus attacked on all sides, the Athenians deferred till a future time to avenge themselves on the Bœotians and Chalcideans; and for the present, directed their arms against the Peloponnesians at Eleusis. The two armies were about to engage, when the Corinthians first, on deliberation, perceiving that the part they were acting was not equitable, changed their purpose, and retired. Then Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was also king of Sparta, and held a joint command in the Lacedæmonian army, did the same, although heretofore there had been no disagreement between him and Cleomenes. On occasion of this difference, a law was passed at Sparta, forbidding the two kings to lead the army together in distant expeditions: before the time of which we are speaking both were accustomed to follow the camp. It was also made a rule that henceforward the two Tyndarides (*the symbol of Castor and Pollux*) should be separated, and one left at home:—formerly both were summoned to follow the army as aids. The other allies in the army at Eleusis, perceiving the dissention between the Spartan kings, and seeing the Corinthians leave the line, took their departure also.

SECTION VIII.

WAR BETWEEN ATHENS AND ÆGINA.

[From that time the Athenians continued to increase in power. Not by one instance only, but by universal experience is it manifestly proved that a government which secures an equality of rights is highly advantageous to a people. While the Athenians were governed despotically, they never excelled their neighbours in the field ; but having dismissed the tyrants, they acquired a decided superiority. Whence it is evident that, while in bondage, they designedly abstained from exerting their valour, knowing that they were fighting only for their despot. But when they became free, every man exerted himself with the zeal of one who labours to advance his personal interest :—and such was actually the feeling among the Athenians.

After these events, the Thebans wishing to avenge themselves on the Athenians, sent to inquire of the god ; but the Pythian answered them, that “ By their own forces they should not accomplish their revenge ; and advised them to report the matter to the many-tongued multitude, and also to solicit their nearest neighbours.” The messengers returning with this answer, convoked an assembly of the people, and the Thebans learning that they were to seek aid from their neighbours said—“ And are not the Tanagræans, and the Coronæans, and the Thespians, our nearest neighbours ; and do they not always join with us in the field ; and will they not heartily aid us in the war ? What need is there then that we should address entreaties to them ? But surely this was not the meaning of the oracle.” While they thus discussed the subject, some one, informed of what was in debate, thus addressed them—“ I believe myself to understand the intention of the oracle.—Thebé and Ægina were daughters of Asopus, and were therefore sisters. I think then that the god instructed us to entreat the Æginetans to avenge us.” No opinion better

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than this being before the assembly, they immediately sent to Ægina, calling upon the people of that island to aid them according to the command of the oracle, as their nearest of kin. The Æginetans in reply to this request, promised to send them for their aid the (*statues of the*) Æacids.

The Thebans, on the strength of the succour of the Æacids, tried the fortune of war with the Athenians, by whom they were very roughly handled. They therefore again sent to return the (*statues of the*) Æacids and to ask that a body of troops might be granted. The people of Ægina—elated by the greatness of their wealth, and not forgetful of the ancient animosity between themselves and the Athenians, on receiving this request from the Thebans, made war against Athens, without announcing their hostility by a herald; and while the Athenians pressed upon the Bœotians, they, passing over in ships of war to Attica, pillaged Phalerum and many other towns on the coast. The loss of the Athenians by this invasion was considerable.

The ancient animosity borne by the Æginetans to the Athenians was contracted on the following occasion. The lands of the Epidaurians failed to yield their wonted produce, and the people sent to consult the Delphic god on the cause of the calamity. The Pythian commanded them to erect statues to Damia and Auxesia (*Ceres and Proserpine; or, industry and increase*) after which it would be better with them. The Epidaurians then inquired whether they should form the statues of brass, or of marble. The Pythian replied, of neither, but of the wood of the cultivated olive tree. They therefore entreated the Athenians to permit them to cut olive trees, deeming those of Attica the most sacred. Indeed it is said that at that time the olive grew no where but in Attica. The Athenians professed their willingness to comply with the request, on condition that the Epidaurians would every year offer victims to Minerva, patroness of the city, and to Erechtheus. The condition was agreed to—the Epidaurians obtained what they asked, and having formed statues from these olive trees, dedicated them. Their land from that time yielded its fruits, and they fulfilled their engagement with the Athenians.

At that period and heretofore the Æginetans acknowledged subjection to the Epidaurians, as well in other matters as in the decision of causes; for they were accustomed to pass over to Epidaurus to determine suits. But at the time of which we are speaking—filled with presumption, they fitted out ships, revolted, declared their hostility, and, as masters of the sea, ravaged the Epidaurian coasts, and carried off the statues of Damia and Auxesia, which they took home and set up in the midst of their island at a place called Cēa, about twenty furlongs from the city. Having set up the images in the spot mentioned, they instituted sacrifices to them, with taunting chorusses of women, who in reproaching each other, sought to propitiate the divinity. They also appointed ten stewards of the festivities to each of the (*two*) dæmons. In these chorusses the women of the island, not the men, were the objects of raillery.* Rites of this kind were in use among the Epidaurians, who also practised ceremonies which were never divulged.

These statues having been stolen from them, the Epidaurians ceased to render to the Athenians the stipulated offerings, and the latter sent an angry message on the subject to Epidaurus. But the Epidaurians made it appear that they were not to be blamed; for as long as the statues remained in their possession, they had fulfilled the articles of the covenant; but when deprived of them, it was no longer equitable that they should make the offerings, which should rather be demanded of the Æginetans who actually possessed the statues. On receiving this answer, the Athenians sent a deputation to Ægina to demand the statues. But the islanders replied that they had nothing whatever to do with the Athenians. The Athenians relate that, after this demand had been made, they despatched a single trireme with the citizens who had been before sent in the name of the people, and who on reaching Ægina attempted to wrench the statues from their bases, that they might bring them away, for the wood of which they were formed belonged to the Athenians. But not being able to get

* In such satirical chorusses it was most usual for the women to rail at the men.

possession of them in this manner, they threw cords around them in order to pull them down. Just as they were pulling, thunder rolled, and after thunder there followed an earthquake. The Athenians seized with frenzy, attacked each other as enemies, and fought until one only of the whole number survived and returned to Phalerum. Such is the story told by the Athenians. But the Æginetans affirm that it was not in a single ship that the Athenians came; for if so, or if there had been even a few ships only—they, though themselves destitute of ships, might easily have repulsed them. On the contrary it was, say they, with a numerous fleet that the Athenians invaded Ægina. The Æginetans retired, and would not engage the enemy at sea. But they do not affirm precisely whether this course was adopted because they felt themselves to be unequal to a sea-fight; or whether it was because they had a different project in contemplation. The Athenians, as the Æginetans affirm, seeing no one to oppose them, left their ships and proceeded towards the statues, and not being able to wrench them from their bases, threw ropes around and pulled until both statues fell down upon their knees, in which position they have ever since remained. There may be those to whom this story will seem credible; to me it does not. Such, according to the people of Ægina, was the conduct of the Athenians. For themselves they say that, being informed of the intended invasion, they had forewarned the Argives to be in readiness, and that when the Athenians actually made a descent on the island, the Argives afforded their aid. Unperceived and unexpected, they had passed over to Ægina, and cutting off the retreat of the Athenians to their ships, fell upon them. At the same time, as they affirm, there happened thunder and an earthquake.

In this account the Æginetans and the Argives agree, and the Athenians admit that one only of their citizens survived to return to Attica; the difference between them is, that the Argives affirm themselves to have destroyed the Athenian invaders, excepting the single survivor; while the Athenians say that it was from the hand of the dæmon that he escaped, and they add that even he afterwards perished. For when

he returned to Athens, and recounted the misfortune that had occurred, the wives of those who had fallen in Ægina, enraged that he alone of all should have escaped unhurt, surrounded him, and piercing him with the tongues of their robe-buckles, each demanded of him where was her husband. Under this treatment he died. The deed perpetrated by these women affected the Athenians even more deeply than the loss they had suffered, and having no other way of punishing them, they obliged them to change their mode of dress, and to assume the Ionian garb. Heretofore the Athenian women had worn the Doric dress, which nearly resembles the Corinthian. But now, laying aside their former attire, they adopted a linen robe, in order that they might no longer use buckles. To speak correctly, this dress is not originally Ionian, but Carian. The ancient dress of women throughout Greece was the same as what we now call the Doric. As for the Argives and the Æginetans, on this occasion, they severally adopted the practice which still continues, of wearing buckles with tongues three times as long as heretofore. And their women are accustomed to dedicate such buckles to the two divinities (*Damia and Auxesia*.) Nor do they permit any article from Attica — not even an earthen vessel, to be brought into the temple. And it was made a law that no one should drink except from vessels of home manufacture. In my time the women of Argos and of Ægina continued to manifest their ill-will towards those of Athens by wearing buckles much larger than formerly.

Such was the origin of the animosity between the Athenians and Æginetans. And at the time of which we were speaking, the latter people when called upon by the Thebans, and retaining a lively recollection of the transactions just mentioned relating to the statues, readily afforded their assistance. They ravaged the coast of Attica; but when the Athenians were proceeding to invade Ægina, there arrived an oracular message from Delphi, enjoining them to refrain from chastising the people of Ægina during thirty years—reckoning from the commencement of the wrongs they had received; but that after consecrating a temple to Æacus, if they made

war in the thirty-first year, they should obtain the wished-for success. If, however, they would invade Ægina immediately, they should, during a time, suffer many evils as well as inflict many; though in the end they should overthrow the Æginetans. The Athenians on receiving this intimation, consecrated a fane to Æacus, which now stands in the forum. But after suffering so severely from the Æginetans, they could not endure to hear that they must restrain themselves for thirty years.]

SECTION IX.

LACEDÆMONIAN CONSPIRACY AGAINST ATHENS.

[But while making preparations to accomplish their revenge, an obstacle was placed in their way by the Lacedæmonians. The Spartans had become acquainted with the practices of the Alcæmonids in tampering with the Pythian; and in thus discovering the part she had acted towards themselves and towards the Pisistratids, were doubly vexed;—first because they had expelled men who were their friends from their country; and then that they had not even won the gratitude of the Athenians for their services. Just at the same time they were moved by predictions signifying that grievous injuries were about to be inflicted on them by the Athenians. With these predictions they had hitherto been unacquainted; nor learned them till the return of Cleomenes to Sparta, who brought them away from the Acropolis at Athens. They had before been in the possession of the Pisistratids, but were left in the temple when the tyrants were expelled. Cleomenes found and took them. On obtaining these predictions, the Lacedæmonians who perceived the rising greatness of the Athenians, and found them not at all disposed to submit to

Spartan domination, were not ignorant that if the people of Attica enjoyed freedom, they would soon share political influence with themselves on equal terms; though if depressed by a tyrannical form of government, they would become feeble and obsequious.—I say, taking these facts into consideration, they sent for Hippias, son of Pisistratus, from Sigeum on the Hellespont, whither the Pisistratids had retired. When, in compliance, with their invitation, he arrived, they convoked also deputies from their allies, whom they addressed in the following terms :—

“ Confederates ! we acknowledge that we have done wrong. —Impelled by deceptive oracles, we have driven from their country men who were bound to us in the strictest friendship, and who moreover were engaged to hold Athens in subjection. And then we delivered the government to an ungrateful people, who after being emancipated by our means, have held up their heads—have insultingly driven out both us and our king, and inflated with pride, are growing in power. Their near neighbours the Bœotians and Chalcidians have already learned by experience, what others who may offend them must presently discover. We have then erred in the course which hitherto we have pursued; but now, with your concurrence, we will endeavour to remedy the evils we have occasioned, and to punish the Athenian people. It is then for this cause that we have invited Hippias who is here present, and have also called for you from your several cities, that by concerting our measures and combining our forces, we may lead him back to Athens, and restore to him what we took away.”

Thus spoke the Lacedæmonians, but failed to win the concurrence of the majority of the confederates, who kept silence, till at length Sosicles of Corinth addressed them as follows :—
“ Shall not the heavens take their place under the earth, and the earth be exalted over the heavens, and men learn to live in the sea, and fishes frequent the abodes of men, now that you Lacedæmonians seek to abolish equality, and are preparing to re-establish tyrannies in the cities of Greece—a form of government than which nothing is more inequitable—nothing more sanguinary ! Yet if to you it seems so good that you

wish to impose it on the cities, why do you not first set up a tyrant at home, and then endeavour to place them over your neighbours. But now while you yourselves have made no trial of despotic rule, and while you guard against its introduction at Sparta with the utmost care, you treat your allies with little respect in wishing to subject them to tyrants. If like us you had experienced the evils we mention, you would have had something better to propose to us on the present occasion. The form of government at Corinth was once oligarchical, and the Bacchiads ruled the state, who intermarried only within their own family. Amphiön, a member of this family, had a daughter named Labda, who was lame. None of the Bacchiads would take her as his wife : she was therefore espoused to Eétion, son of Echecrates, of the town of Petra ; but by extraction he claimed descent from the Lapithæ, and from Cænis. Eétion having no children, either by this wife or any other, proceeded to Delphi, to inquire if he should have offspring. Immediately as he entered the temple, the Pythian addressed him in these verses :—

“ Unpraised Eétion ! yet of merit great !
 Labda is big with ruin for the state
 Of Corinth’s tyrants ; and her vengeful son
 Shall vindicate the sceptre he has won.”

Such was the response of the oracle to Eétion, which by some means came to the knowledge of the Bacchiads, who had been unable to perceive the meaning of one before given relating to Corinth, and which was to the same purport as that of Eétion—it was thus expressed :—

“ Birth of an eagle* in a rocky den,
 A lion fierce frequents the steps of men.
 Attend Corinthians—yes, proud Corinth hear,
 And you who dwell Pirene’s fountain near !”

This first oracle was utterly unintelligible to the Bacchiads ; but when they heard that addressed to Eétion, they understood

* Aetos, an eagle.

the first, agreeing as it did with the second. They therefore observed a strict silence on the subject, intending to destroy the offspring of Éétion as soon as born. Instantly when that event took place, they sent ten of their adherents to the town where Éétion resided, to put the infant to death. When they reached Petra, and entered the court of Éétion, they asked for the child; and Labda, knowing nothing of their real intention, and supposing that they inquired for it from a friendly feeling towards its father, brought it and placed it in the hands of one of them. While on the way they had agreed that the first who received the infant should dash it on the ground. But when Labda produced the babe, and gave it to one of these men—by a divine providence—it smiled at him, and he noticing the smile, was withheld by a movement of compassion from killing it. With this feeling he delivered it to another, and he to a third, and thus it was passed from one to another of all the ten, none of whom would destroy it. Returning it to its mother they went out, and standing by the door, they accused and upbraided each other, and especially him who had first received the infant, because he had not performed the part to which, by the agreement he was bound. After some time had thus been spent, they resolved again to enter the house, and all to take a part in the murder. But mischiefs for Corinth were destined to spring up from the offspring of Éétion. And Labda, who stood near the door, had heard all that passed among them, and fearing lest they should adopt a new resolution, and again obtain the infant and put it to death, had taken and hidden it in what she deemed the most unlikely place to be discovered, namely—a corn-bin; for she well knew that if they returned to search for the infant, they would examine every thing, and so it happened. Entering the house again, they looked for it in all directions; but not finding it, they thought proper to depart, resolving to assure those who had sent them that they had accomplished their commission. And this was the story they actually told on their return.

The son of Éétion grew, and in remembrance of the danger he had escaped by being hid in a corn-bin (*cypsela*) was named Cypselus. When he attained manhood, he received at Delphi

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a response of ambiguous import, on the strength of which, he attacked and made himself master of Corinth. The oracle was as follows :—

“He comes! the happy man! within my walls,
’Tis he shall reign in far-famed Corinth’s halls.
Étion Cypselus—himself—his son
Shall hold the throne : but children’s children none.”*

Such was the oracle, and in the exercise of despotic power, Cypselus banished great numbers of the Corinthians ; many he deprived of their effects, and many more of their lives. After reigning thirty years in continued prosperity, he was succeeded in the tyranny by his son Periander, who at the commencement of his reign ruled with less asperity than his father ; but became even more sanguinary after he had held intercourse by messengers with Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus. For he had sent a nuncio to Thrasybulus to inquire in what way with the greatest security and honour he should administer his affairs. Thrasybulus conducted the messenger of Periander out of the city, and entered the arable lands : as they passed through the standing corn, he questioned him again and again on the subject of his mission, and continually, whenever he saw an ear of corn rising above the common level, he cut it off, and threw it away, until he had destroyed all the finest and the tallest ears. When he had in this manner traversed the field, he dismissed the messenger, without giving him a word of instructions. On his return to Corinth, he was eagerly asked by Periander to report the advice given him by Thrasybulus. But the messenger said he had received none from him ; and added that he wondered he had been sent to consult a man so infatuated, that he devastated his own fields—and he related what he had seen done by Thrasybulus. But Periander comprehended the meaning of the action, and understanding that Thrasybulus counselled him to put to death all the most eminent citizens,

* To reconcile the prediction with the event, some translators have altered the text.—Idle solicitude ! as if Apollo were not wont to lie.

thenceforward displayed the utmost atrocity in his conduct towards the people.

Those who had escaped the cruelties of Cypselus, were put to death or banished by Periander. In one day he stripped all the Corinthian women of their attire for the sake of his (*late*) wife Melissa (*see page 211*). He had sent a deputation to consult the oracle of the dead on the banks of the Acheron in Thesprotia, concerning a deposit left with him by some guest. But when Melissa appeared, she refused to impart the required information, or to declare in what place the deposit might be found; alleging that she was cold and naked, for the garments Periander had buried with her were of no use to her—not having been burned, and in proof of the truth of her statement, she reminded Periander that “he had put the loaves into a cold oven.” Such was the answer brought back to him by the messengers; and Periander, recollecting some circumstances of his conduct towards his wife, perceived the truth of the allusion. Forthwith on receiving this reply, he caused proclamation to be made, requiring all the women of Corinth to repair to the temple of Juno. They went therefore clad, as for a festival, in their most becoming attire; and when assembled, his guards whom he had placed for the purpose, stripped them all, as well the free as the slaves. These garments were carried to a pit where, after invoking Melissa, they were burned: after which he sent a second time to the oracle, when the form of Melissa made known where she had placed the stranger’s deposit.

“Such, Lacedæmonians, is a despotical government, and such the course of conduct pursued under it! We Corinthians therefore were astonished, when we saw you recal Hippias, but we are still more amazed to hear the sentiments you now advance. And we conjure you by the gods of Greece, whom we invoke as witnesses on the present occasion, not to establish tyrannies in the states. But now, if persisting in your design, you attempt in violation of all justice to re-establish Hippias, know that the Corinthians will not be the approvers of the deed.”

Such was the address of Sosicles, who represented Corinth
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in the assembly ; he was answered by Hippias, who also invoked the same gods, and said that none more than the Corinthians would desire the Pisistratids, when the fated time should arrive that they were to be harassed by the Athenians. This he said, being better instructed than any other person in the meaning of the oracles (*brought by Cleomenes from Athens.*) Hitherto the other confederates had kept silence. But when they heard Sosicles speak with so much freedom, they all, with one voice, made acclamation in favour of the opinion of the Corinthian deputy, and conjured the Lacedæmonians to attempt no innovation in the government of a Grecian city : thus was the enterprize suppressed.

Repulsed from Sparta, Hippias received from Amyntas king of Macedon, an offer of the city Anthemus, and from the Thessalians that of Iolcus ; but not accepting either, he returned to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had seized from the Mitylenians, and over which he had placed as tyrant Hegesistratus, his natural son by a woman of Argos. But he did not possess undisputed what had been given him by Pisistratus, for the Mitylenians and Athenians, during a long war, made incursions upon each other — the one from Achillea, the other from Sigeum. For while the former claimed the territory as their right, the latter denied the claim, and affirmed that themselves—and indeed all the Greeks who had joined with Menelaus in avenging the rape of Helen, had an equal right with the Æolians in the territory of Ilium. Among the many events which attended this war, was one in which Alcæus the poet was concerned ;—on an occasion when the Athenians were victorious. Alcæus in the retreat escaped, leaving his arms in their possession, which they suspended in the temple of Minerva at Sigeum. The poet composed an ode on the subject of his misfortune, which he despatched to his friend Melanippus at Mitylene. The difference between the Mitylenians and Athenians was at length adjusted by Periander, son of Cypselus, whom they chose as arbiter. He decided that each should retain what they then held. Sigeum, therefore, remained in possession of the Athenians.

When Hippias arrived in Asia, on his return from Lacedæmon, he left nothing untried which might render the Athenians obnoxious to Artaphernes, and laboured by all means to bring about the submission of that people to himself and to Darius. The Athenians informed of his practices, sent deputies to Sardis to dissuade the Persians from giving ear to Athenian exiles. But Artaphernes bid them, as they valued their own security, receive Hippias again. The Athenians far from admitting such a condition, resolved to declare themselves the enemies of the Persians.]

SECTION X.

BURNING OF SARDIS.

It was while the Athenians entertained these hostile dispositions towards the Persians, who also were incited against them, that Aristagoras the Milesian, dismissed from Sparta by Cleomenes, arrived at Athens—then the most powerful city of Greece. When he appeared before the assembly of the people he spoke of the wealth of Asia, in the same terms as at Sparta, and described also the Persian mode of warfare, mentioning that they carried neither shield nor spear, and were therefore easily vanquished. Then he proceeded to say that the Milesians were a colony from Athens, nothing therefore could be more natural than that they whose power was so great, should deliver the Ionians. With his earnest entreaties he continued to mingle large promises, until he succeeded in winning their consent. It seems that it is more easy to deceive many than one; for Aristagoras who failed to impose on Cleomenes, the Lacedæmonian, gained his

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object with thirty thousand Athenians. Their consent being obtained, they voted twenty ships to be sent in aid of the Ionians. The command of the armament was conferred on Melanthius, a citizen of high reputation. These ships became the source of calamities, both to the Greeks and Barbarians.

Aristagoras embarking before the fleet sailed, returned to Miletus, where he adopted measures from which the Ionians could not possibly derive advantage, nor indeed was that so much his object as to vex Darius. He despatched a messenger to Phrygia, to communicate with the Pæonians, who had been led captive from the banks of the Strymon by Megabazus, and who at this time inhabited a town and district by themselves, in Phrygia. The messenger thus addressed the Pæonians:—"Pæonians! I am sent by Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, to propose to you the means of preservation, if you will yield to his advice.—All Ionia has revolted from the king; you may therefore now with safety return to your own land. Only repair to the coast, and we will provide for the rest." The Pæonians heard this proposition as the most welcome news, and collecting their children and their wives, hastened to the coast; yet a few, influenced by their fears, remained behind. The fugitives having reached the coast, immediately passed over to Chios. Scarcely had they landed in the island when a body of Persian horse in pursuit came up, but being too late to secure the Pæonians, sent to them in Chios a command to return; but they paid no attention to the message. The Chians conveyed them to Lesbos, and the Lesbians transported them to Doriscus, whence they proceeded by land to Pæonia.

The Athenians arrived with their twenty ships, accompanied by five triremes from Eretria, which joined the expedition, not in good will to the Athenians, but rather to requite benefits received from the Milesians, for

these had aided the Eretrians in their contest with the Chalcidians, while the Samians supported the Chalcidians against the Eretrians and Milesians. When these, with other confederates, had arrived, Aristagoras made an attack upon Sardis: he himself did not accompany the expedition, but remaining at Miletus, placed the Milesians under the command of his brother Charopinus, and the forces of the other cities under Hermophantus. The Ionians forming this armament coming to Ephesus, left their ships at Coressus, in the Ephesian territory, and disembarking in great force, took guides from the city, and advanced along the banks of the Cayster: then traversing mount Tmolus, they descended upon Sardis, of which they possessed themselves without opposition—excepting only the citadel, which Artaphernes with a strong garrison maintained. The confederates were prevented from pillaging Sardis by an accident.—The greater part of the houses in the city were constructed of reeds, and even such as were of brick were thatched with reed. One of these houses being fired by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house, till the whole city was consumed. While the town was burning, the Lydians and the Persians who happened to be in Sardis, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides—for the extremities of the town were in flames, and no way of escape from the city was open, rushed together into the market-place, and occupied the banks of the Pactolus.—This river which brings a great quantity of particles of gold from Mount Tmolus, runs midway through the market-place, and on leaving Sardis, empties itself into the Hermus, and that into the sea. The Lydians and Persians, crowded together on the margin of the river, and in the square, were compelled to defend themselves; while the Ionians seeing some of the enemy preparing to repel assaults, and others in great force advancing to the attack, retired from the city in a panic, and betook themselves to Mount Tmolus, and thence

under favour of the night, they descended towards their ships.

In the general conflagration the temple of Cybele—tutelary goddess of the place, was consumed; and this accident afterwards furnished the Persians with a pretext for burning in retaliation the Grecian temples. As soon as the Persians on this side the Halys were informed of what had happened, they collected and advanced to aid the Lydians. But not finding the Ionians at Sardis, followed their march, and overtook them at Ephesus. Here the Greeks formed in battle array—engaged the Persians, and were beaten. Many perished, and among other persons of distinction who fell, was Evalcis, general of the Eretrians, who had often been crowned in the games, and much celebrated by Simonides, of Ceos. Those who escaped from the battle dispersed themselves among the different cities.

Such was the result of the first encounter. The Athenians after what had happened, entirely abandoned the Ionians, and notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of Aristagoras by his deputies, they refused to afford any further aid. Yet though they had lost the Athenian alliance, the Ionians did not remit their preparations for continuing the war; indeed their late conduct towards the king left them no alternative. Sailing to the Hellespont they reduced Byzantium and all the other cities in that neighbourhood. Then issuing from the Hellespont, they proceeded to Caria, the greater part of which they gained over to join the confederacy. And even Caunus, which at the time that Sardis was burned, refused to enter the alliance, now joined them.

SECTION XI.

REVOLT AND REDUCTION OF CYPRUS.

The Cyprians, excepting only the citizens of Amathus, freely offered their aid in the same cause. The circumstances of their revolt from the Medes were these.—Onesilus was younger brother of Gorgus, king of Salamis (*in Cyprus*) who was son of Chersis, son of Siromus, son of Evelthon. This Onesilus had on many former occasions entreated his brother to revolt from the king; and when informed that the Ionians were in rebellion, he urged his advice with increased vehemence. But finding that he could not persuade Gorgus, he watched an opportunity when he left Salamis, and then, aided by his partisans, closed the gates. Gorgus thus deprived of his city, fled to the Medes. Onesilus then became master of Salamis, and succeeded in persuading all the people of the island to join the revolt—all I say but the Amathusians, who refusing to listen to him, were besieged.

While Onesilus surrounded Amathus, Darius was informed of the capture and burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians, and he was assured that Aristagoras the Milesian, was the leader and contriver of the enterprise. It is said that on first hearing the news he made light of the Ionians—well knowing that their revolt would cost them dear; but he inquired who these Athenians were; and being informed, he demanded his bow, which receiving, he adjusted an arrow, and letting fly towards heaven, as it cut the air he exclaimed,—“O, supreme! grant that I may avenge myself of the Athenians.” He moreover enjoined one of his ministers whenever he sat

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down to supper, to repeat three times the words—"Sire ! remember the Athenians."

After giving these commands he ordered Histiaëus of Miletus, who had long been detained, to be brought before him. "Histiaëus," said the king, "I am informed that the man you appointed in your place as governor of Miletus, has excited a revolt against me, and introducing people from the other continent, has associated them with the Ionians—to whom I shall render the recompense of their deeds—and persuading them to follow the Ionians, has taken Sardis from me. Now, therefore, do you think well of this revolt? Or tell me, could these things have taken place without your advice? Take care lest you next are held culpable." "My lord," replied Histiaëus, "what have you uttered? Could I advise any thing from which damage, great or small might arise to you? What possible advantage could I aim at in pursuing such a course? What do I lack? Do not all things abound to me, even as to you? Am I not trusted with all your counsels? But if in truth any such movement as you have mentioned has been made by my deputy, be assured it originates entirely with himself. Yet indeed I can scarcely admit that the Milesians with my deputy have actually excited commotions against you. If they have done so—if what you hear, O king, be fact, see the result of your own conduct in withdrawing me from the coast. The Ionians, it seems, since I was removed from them have endeavoured to effect what they have long desired. Had I been in Ionia not a city would have stirred. Suffer me therefore instantly to proceed to Ionia, that I may restore order in your affairs; and as for this Milesian deputy, who has plotted the mischief, I will deliver him into your hands. And having effected all you wish, I swear by the gods of the realm that I will not lay aside the robe I shall wear when I enter Ionia, until I shall have rendered Sardinia—that large island—tributary to you."

By this speech Histiaëus succeeded in deluding and persuading Darius, who dismissed him, after enjoining him to return to Susa when he had accomplished all he had undertaken to perform. While these occurrences were taking place at Susa—namely, the arrival of the news from Sardis—the taking the bow by Darius—the conference with Histiaëus—his departure and arrival on the coast—the following events happened in Cyprus.—As Onesilus of Salamis besieged the Amathusians, it was announced to him that a numerous Persian fleet under the command of Artybius, a Persian, was to be expected in Cyprus. On receiving this intelligence, Onesilus despatched heralds to the Ionians, to invite their aid. They, without lengthened deliberations, arrived with a large force. The Ionians were already in Cyprus when the Persians, passing over from Cilicia, marched overland to Salamis: meanwhile the Phœnicians with the fleet doubled the promontory called the Keys of Cyprus.

In this position of affairs the Cyprian tyrants convoking the Ionian commanders thus addressed them.—“Ionians! we Cyprians offer to your choice an alternative;—will you engage the Persians, or the Phœnicians? If you prefer to try your strength against the Persians in battle array on land, now is the time for you to disembark and form your line. And then we, going on board your vessels, will combat the Phœnicians. But if you would rather yourselves attack them, do so, and whatever your choice may be, there is need you should act as befits those upon whom the liberty of Ionia and of Cyprus depends.” “We,” replied the Ionians, “have been sent out by the Ionian confederacy to guard the seas, and not to surrender our ships to the Cyprians, or to meet the Persians on land. We shall therefore endeavour to acquit ourselves well of the part assigned to us. Meanwhile you, remembering all you have suffered under the yoke of the Medes, must behave as becomes brave men.”

After this conference the Persians, having reached the plain of Salamis, the Cyprian chiefs opposing their other forces to the foreign troops, selected the best of the Salaminians and Solians to form a front against the Persians. And Onesilus chose a station for himself, in which he might encounter the Persian general Artybius. Artybius rode a horse that had been trained to rear against an armed man. Onesilus who had been informed of this, thus addressed his armour-bearer, a Carian by nation, and a man of approved skill in war, and full of courage:—"I am told that the horse of Artybius rears and attacks whoever it is opposed to with feet and mouth. Instantly determine, therefore, and say whether you will hold yourself ready to strike the horse, or Artybius himself." His attendant replied, "Sire! in truth I am ready to do both, or either, and whatever you shall command. Yet I will declare what seems to me most befitting the occasion.—A king or a general should, I think, encounter a king or a general. If you kill a man of rank it will be a high achievement for you; or should he—yet let it not so happen—kill you, you fall by a worthy hand, and so to die is to lessen the calamity by half. But we servants should contend with servants, or with this horse, whose tricks you need not fear. I promise you it shall never more rear against an antagonist."

Presently the battle joined both on land and sea. The Ionians in their ships fought bravely that day, and overcame the Phoenicians. None distinguished themselves more than the Samians. On land the two armies approached and engaged, and an encounter took place between the two generals:—Artybius riding his horse bore up against Onesilus, and he, as he had agreed with his armour-bearer, struck at the advancing Persian: when the horse reared to plant his feet on the shield of Onesilus, the Carian with his hatchet, cut them off. Artybius the Persian general instantly fell with his horse.

While the fight continued, Stesenor, tyrant of Curium, having a considerable force under his command, went over to the enemy.—The Curians are said to be a colony from Argos. This had no sooner happened than the Salaminian chariots of war also followed the Curians. The Persians by this means obtained superiority over the Cyprians, who turned and fled: a great slaughter ensued, and among the slain were Onesilus, son of Chersis, who had raised the Cyprian revolt; and Aristocyprus, son of Philocyprus, king of the Solians. This Philocyprus had been celebrated in verse by Solon, the Athenian—when he visited Cyprus, as the most illustrious of all tyrants.

The Amathusians whom Onesilus had besieged, cut off his head, and carrying it to their city, hung it over one of the gates. When it became hollow, a swarm of bees entered and filled it with honey-comb. Observing what had happened, the Amathusians consulted the oracle, and were answered that “They should take the head down, and bury it, and offer annual sacrifices to Onesilus, as to a hero; in doing which they would promote their own welfare.” The Amathusians obeyed the injunction, and continue to do so to the present day.

When the Ionians who had fought off Cyprus were informed that the party of Onesilus was utterly ruined, and that the cities were besieged—all excepting Salamis, which the citizens had surrendered to Gorgus their former king, they set sail without delay, and returned to Ionia. Of all the Cyprian cities Soloe sustained the longest seige; but by undermining the walls on all sides, the Persians took it in the fifth month. Thus after enjoying one year of liberty, the Cyprians were again reduced to servitude.

SECTION XII.

SUBJUGATION OF THE REVOLTED PROVINCES.

DEATH OF ARISTAGORAS.

Daurises who had married a daughter of Darius, and Hymeas, and Otanes, and other Persian generals who also had taken daughters of the king, pursuing the Ionians who had participated in the attack upon Sardis, vanquished them in the field, and drove them on board their ships. Then they divided the cities as a spoil among themselves. Daurises turning his arms against the cities of the Hellespont, took Dardanum, and Abydos, and Percota, and Lampsacus, and Pæsus—each in a single day. But while on his march from Pæsus to Parium, news was brought him that the Carians, in concert with the Ionians, had revolted from the Persians. Returning therefore from the Hellespont, he led his army towards Caria.

The Carians heard of his approach before he arrived, and convoked an assembly at the place called the White Pillars, on the banks of the Marsyas, a river which after flowing through the Idrian territory, empties itself into the Mæander. The Carians meeting at this place were much divided in opinion. Of these opinions the best, in my judgment, was that of Pixodarus, son of Mausolus, a Cindyan, who had married a daughter of Syennesis, king of Cilicia. He advised the Carians to pass the Mæander, and having the river in the rear, to engage the enemy, so that being cut off from retreat, and compelled to stand their ground, they might acquire a courage more than ordinary. But this opinion did not prevail; and it was determined rather to let the Persians pass, and have the river behind them, in order that if put to

flight and overcome in the combat, they might have no retreat, but fall into the river.

The Persians soon afterwards coming up, passed the Mæander, and immediately gave battle to the Carians on the banks of the Marsyas: a fiercely contested and long continued conflict ensued, but at length the latter were overpowered by numbers. About two thousand Persians fell on the field; but nearly ten thousand Carians. Those who escaped from the battle were shut up at Labranda, in the temple of Jupiter Stratius, and in the extensive and sacred grove of plane-trees. The Carians are the only people known to worship Jupiter Stratius (*the military*.) Inclosed in this place they deliberated on the means of safety, and consulted whether it would be best to surrender themselves to the Persians, or to abandon Asia for ever. While discussing this question, the Milesians with their allies arrived to their succour. The Carians now relinquishing their first proposition, prepared to renew the war, and when the Persians came up, gave them battle; but after a contest still more obstinate than the former, they were defeated. Great numbers fell, especially of the Milesians.

Yet afterwards the Carians recovering from this blow, in some measure restored the balance of war. Having learned that the Persians were advancing to attack their cities, they placed an ambuscade on the road to Pedasus. The Persians falling into the snare by night, were put to the sword—they and their commanders Daurises, and Amorgas, and Sisamaces. With them perished also Myrsus, son of Gyges. Heraclides, son of Ibanolis, a Mylassian commanded this ambuscade. Thus perished these Persians.

Hymeas, one of the generals who pursued the Ionians of the Sardian expedition, turning towards the Propontis, captured Cios in Mysia; but hearing that Daurises had left the Hellespont to invade Caria, he led his army

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thither. There he subdued all the *Æolians* who occupy the *Troade*, and also the *Gergithes*—the remaining descendants of the ancient *Teucrians*. After making these conquests *Hymeas* died of some disease in the *Troade*. *Artaphernes*, governor of *Sardis*, and *Otanes*, one of the three generals, received instructions to invade *Ionia*, and the adjoining territory of *Æolia*. In the former they took *Clazomene*, in the latter *Cyme*.

Thus fell these cities; meanwhile *Aristagoras* the troubler of *Ionia*, and who had produced such extensive mischiefs, himself displayed a soul of little elevation; for when he witnessed the course of events he concerted the means of retreat. Indeed he perceived it to be impracticable to gain any advantage over *Darius*; convoking his partisans, he conferred with them on the state of their affairs:—"It will be well," said he, "for us to have an asylum in case we should be expelled from *Miletus*; I ask then whether you would that I should conduct you from this place to settle in *Sardinia*; or whether you would repair to *Myrcinus* of the *Edonians*, which was given by *Darius* to *Histiæus*, and which he fortified?"

Hecataeus the historian, son of *Hegesander*, was of opinion that instead of setting out for either of the places mentioned, he should, if obliged to leave *Miletus*, construct a fortress in the isle of *Leros*, and there remain quiet until occasion should offer for issuing out and returning to *Miletus*. But the decision of *Aristagoras* was to proceed to *Myrcinus*. And appointing *Pythagoras*, a distinguished citizen, to the government of *Miletus*—took with him all who approved of his design, and sailed for *Thrace*; and actually possessed himself of the territory which was the place of his destination. But making an excursion thence, he himself, with all his people, were destroyed by the *Thracians*, while laying siege to a town from which the people would have gone out on terms of capitulation.

BOOK VI.

E R A T O.

SECTION I.

CONDUCT OF HISTIÆUS. CONCENTRATION OF FORCES NEAR MILETUS.

THUS perished Aristagoras, the mover of the Ionian revolt. Histiaëus, tyrant of Miletus, as soon as dismissed by Darius from Susa, repaired to Sardis. When he arrived, Artaphernes, governor of that city, asked him by what inducements he supposed the Ionians had been led to revolt. But he, affecting utter ignorance of the actual state of affairs, declared that he could not tell—indeed he was amazed at what had happened. Artaphernes perceiving that he was using subterfuges, and well knowing the real origin of the revolt, said, “Histiaëus, the state of the case is this—you made the shoe—Aristagoras put it on.”* Histiaëus fearing that Artaphernes understood his intrigues, lost no time when night arrived; but fled to the coast, and instead of fulfilling his promise to Darius to reduce the island of Sar-

* If the allusion seems to the modern reader beneath the dignity of history, and the quality of the speaker—that is nothing to a translator. Larcher, who renders literally some phrases which may well be generalized, thinks it necessary to veil his author's simplicity from the reader in this and many similar instances.—The very form and colour of antiquity are lost by such squeamish paraphrases.

dinia, he sought to invest himself with the command of the Ionian forces, that he might carry on the war against him. Passing over to Chios, he was arrested by the people of that island, who accused him of coming, on the part of Darius, to execute some plan of subjugation. But when they learned the whole truth, and that he was really the king's enemy, they released him.

When asked by the Ionians during his stay in Chios why he had, with so much earnestness, urged Aristagoras to revolt, and by this means wrought so much mischief to Ionia—instead of revealing to them the true reason, he told them that Darius the king had resolved to remove the Phoenicians from their own country, and to settle them in Ionia, and the Ionians in Phoenicia; and that it was on this account he had despatched the message to Aristagoras; yet in truth the king had formed no such design. But Histiaëus wished to keep the Ionians in alarm. After this he despatched letters to certain Persians residing at Sardis, who had previously been in correspondence with him on the subject of the revolt. Hermippus of Atarneus, to whom these letters were entrusted, instead of delivering them to the persons addressed, gave up the packet to Artaphernes. He, having learnt by this means what was going on, commanded Hermippus to deliver the letters as directed, and to bring to him the answers which these Persians should address in return to Histiaëus. The consequence was an extensive discovery, on the ground of which Artaphernes put many Persians to death, and caused commotions at Sardis.

Histiaëus thus disappointed, was conducted by the Chians to Miletus at his own request. But the Milesians pleased to have freed themselves from Aristagoras, and having just tasted the delights of freedom, were the less disposed to admit another tyrant within their territory. He then made an attempt to enter the city by

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force during the night, but being wounded in the thigh by a Milesian, and rejected from his state, he returned to Chios;—thence—as he could not prevail upon the Chians to furnish him with ships, he passed over to Mitylene, and met with better success in his application to the Lesbians. They, in eight triremes, sailed under his command to Byzantium, where he fixed his station, and captured all vessels sailing from the Euxine that refused to promise submission to his orders. While Histæus, with the Mitylenians, was acting this part, a large armament by land and sea, was expected at Miletus; for the Persian commanders concentrating their forces from all quarters, and forming a combined army, advanced against that city;—they paid little regard to the other towns. In the fleet the Phœnicians displayed the most zeal. The Cyprians—lately subdued, formed part of the armament, as did also the Cilicians and the Egyptians.

Informed of the advance of the Persians upon Miletus and Ionia at large, the Ionians despatched senators to Panonium (pp. 69, 71) where, after the council had conferred, it was resolved—That no land army should be sent to oppose the Persians; but that the Milesians should be left to defend their own city.—That the entire naval strength of the states, without any exceptions, should be fitted out with their full complement of men, and assembling with all speed at Lada, should defend Miletus by sea.—Lada is a small island lying off Miletus. In consequence of this resolution, the Ionian ships, when equipped, repaired to the place appointed, with the Æolians of Lesbos. The fleet formed their line in the following order:—The Milesians themselves, with eighty ships, held the eastern wing; next to these were twelve ships from Priene; then the Myusians, with three;—the Teians with seventeen; next to whom were the Chians with one hundred ships. The Erythræans who furnished eight, and the Phocæans three vessels, ranged

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next in order to the Chians. Seventy vessels from Lesbos were placed next to the Phocæans; and the line of battle was concluded on the western wing by the Samians, with sixty ships. The entire number of vessels constituting the fleet was three hundred and fifty-three.

The Barbarians numbered six hundred ships. When they arrived off Miletus, and the entire land army had also arrived, the Persian generals, informed of the number of the Ionian fleet, feared that they should not be able to overcome it, and so—not being masters of the sea, should fail in their attack upon Miletus, and incur the king's displeasure. After holding a council, they convoked those Ionian tyrants, who having been displaced from their governments by Aristagoras, had taken refuge with the Medes, and were present in the army advancing against Miletus. These tyrants were addressed in the following terms by the Persian generals:—"Ionians! now let the zeal of each of you for the interests of the king appear! Let each of you endeavour to detach the people of his government from the confederacy. Promise and declare to them that no punishment shall be inflicted on them for the revolt—neither their temples nor their private edifices shall be burned: no unwonted violences shall be put in practice against them. But if they will not yield to this proposition—if they are determined to give battle, threaten them sternly with the ills that shall overtake them;—that if vanquished in arms, themselves will be sold as slaves, their sons mutilated—their daughters led off to Bactra, and their lands given to strangers."

The Ionian tyrants thus commissioned were sent by night severally to the people they had governed. But the Ionians to whom these communications were separately made, supposing the offer was made by the Persians to themselves alone, resolutely rejected it, nor would listen to the mention of treachery. This attempt was made immediately after the arrival of the Persians near Miletus.

The Ionians assembling to deliberate at Lada, were addressed among others by Dionysius, general of the Phocæans—"Our affairs," said he, "are on the turn of a point.—Ionians! we are now either to be freemen or slaves;—yes, we shall be treated as run-away slaves. But yet if you will undergo hardships, and submit to immediate toil, you will become equal to contend with the enemy—to vanquish him, and you will be free. But if you abandon yourselves to present ease and insubordination, I can entertain no hope of your escaping the punishment which the king will exact for your rebellion. Yield then to my advice—place yourselves under my command, and—so long as the gods distribute fortune with even hand, I promise you that either the enemy will not engage you, or engaging, shall be vanquished."

The Ionians surrendered themselves to the direction of Dionysius, who every day exercised the fleet, forming it in line of battle by the oar, and making the ships successively pass through between the others: meanwhile the marines were held under arms, and all the remainder of the day the ships were kept at anchor,* so that the toils of the men were continued without intermission. During seven days the Ionians yielded obedience, and accomplished their enjoined task; but on the eighth—having been heretofore unaccustomed to support so much labour, and being now worn out by hardships and the heat of the sun, they began to confer one with another in such terms as these—"What god have we offended that we endure these toils? We lost our reason surely, and have gone mad, in thus yielding ourselves to the controul of a

* The ancient ships of war being crowded with men, and unfurnished with accommodations, it was usual every day, if possible, to draw them ashore: the crews then disembarked, and formed a *naval camp*, where they refreshed, slept, and eat. To restore soldier-like habits, Dionysius kept the fleet at anchor throughout the day; so obliging the men to endure long continued privations.

boastful Phocæan—of a man who commands only three ships! and whom we suffer to afflict us with intolerable hardships! Many of us have already fallen under diseases, and many more have reason to expect the same fate. We might as well endure any ills as these which actually oppress us;—even slavery itself, of whatever kind, would be preferable to our present woes. Come then, let us no longer obey him.” Speeches like this were presently followed by universal disobedience to orders. The men pitched tents like a land army on the island—reposed under the shade, and would neither embark, nor be exercised.

SECTION II.

NAVAL ENGAGEMENT. FALL OF MILETUS.

When the commanders of the Samians became acquainted with what was passing among the Ionians, they listened to the offers of *Æaces* son of *Syloson*, who had before exhorted them on the part of the Persians to abandon the Ionian confederacy. For seeing that an utter dissolution of military discipline among the Ionians had taken place, they plainly perceived it to be impracticable longer to withstand the forces of the king, especially as they well knew that even if the fleet of *Darius*, now at sea, were captured, another five times as large would presently appear in its place. Influenced also by the hope of preserving their temples and their homes, they seized the occasion offered them by the bad conduct of the Ionians, to desert them. This *Æaces*, from whom the Samians accepted the conditions, was the son of

Syloson, son of *Æaces*, and tyrant of Samos, and had been deprived of his government along with the other Ionian tyrants, by *Aristagoras* of Miletus.

The Phœnicians first advanced, and the Ionians formed their line to oppose them : nearing each other the battle joined, but what happened then, or which of the Ionians behaved disgracefully—which with valour, I am not able certainly to declare ; for they mutually accuse each other. The Samians are reported—according to their previous agreement with *Æaces*, to have hoisted sail when the battle joined, and falling from the line to have returned to Samos. Yet eleven ships are excepted, the captains of which refusing to obey their commanders, remained and fought. Afterwards the people of Samos, in commemoration of the conduct of these eleven captains, erected a column on which, with the names of their ancestry, their bravery was recorded. This column now stands in the forum at Samos. The Lesbians, who were next to the Samians, seeing them retire, did the same, and the example was followed by many of the Ionians.

Among those who maintained the contest, none suffered more severely than the Chians ; for none displayed more gallantry or unyielding valour. They furnished, as I before said, one hundred ships, and in each vessel were forty chosen men of Chios. Though witnessing the treachery of so many of their confederates, they disdained to follow the bad example, but with the few who remained true to the cause, they continued to break the enemy's line, and captured many of their ships, until most of their own were sunk or disabled. Then, with such as remained, they returned to their island.

Those Chian's vessels which had suffered so much injury as to be disabled, when pursued, sought shelter at Mycale. There the crews running their ships aground, left them, and proceeded overland. These Chians passed on towards Ephesus, and it happened that they reached the

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city during the night, and while the Ephesian women were celebrating the festival called Thesmophoria. The Ephesians who had yet heard nothing of what had happened to the Chians, seeing their territory invaded by a body of armed men, doubted not that they were brigands, come to seize their women. The whole population coming out to protect them, put the Chians to the sword. Such was their unhappy fate!

Dionysius the Phocæan, when he perceived the affairs of the Ionians to be ruined, sailed away with three ships he had captured from the enemy—not indeed to Phocæa, for he well knew that with the rest of Ionia it must be reduced to slavery:—but he proceeded directly to Phœnicia, where he seized some merchant vessels, laden with valuable commodities: thus enriched he sailed to Sicily. Thence he made predatory excursions upon the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians—always avoiding to injure the Greeks.

Having gained this naval victory, the Persians immediately besieged Miletus by sea and land, and by undermining the walls, and bringing to bear against them all kinds of military engines, they took it by assault (*or, with the citadel.*) This happened in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras. The people were sold as slaves.

[Thus the calamity corresponded with the prediction of the oracle relating to Miletus. On an occasion when the citizens of Argos inquired at Delphi concerning the conservation of their city, they received an answer belonging to others as well as themselves:—for in the response which concerned the Argives, there was a parenthesis uttered for the Milesians; the former I shall record when I come to speak of the Argives: what related to the Milesians—not then present, was as follows:—

“ And then Miletus, versed in mischief late,
A feast and prey to many yield thy state :
Thy matrons wash the feet of long-haired bands ;
And Didymus is served by other hands.”

The Milesians received the accomplishment of this prediction when the greater part of them fell by the swords of the long-haired Persians, and when their wives and children were sold for slaves. As for the temple of Didymus—the fane and the oracle—all was pillaged and burned. The treasures contained in this temple I have already mentioned on several occasions (p. 44, 175.)]

Those of the Milesians who had been made prisoners were conducted to Susa. King Darius did not inflict upon them any further sufferings, but established them on the coast of the Erythræan sea, in a town situated at the mouth of the Tigris, named Ampé. The Persians reserved to themselves the country around Miletus, and the plain, and bestowed the highland territory upon the Carians of Pedasus.

The sufferings of the Milesians from the Persians received not a grateful return of sympathy from the people of Sybaris, who, driven from their city, occupied Laos and Scidros. When Sybaris was captured by the Crotonians, all the Milesians, young and old together, shaved their heads, and made a great lamentation: for the two cities had been united in the bonds of the strictest friendship. The Athenians displayed a very different spirit.—Among the many proofs they gave of their sorrow on account of the capture of Miletus was this:—When Phrynichus produced a drama entitled—the Capture of Miletus, the whole theatre burst into tears at the performance, and even condemned the poet to pay a fine of a thousand drachms for having reminded them of misfortunes which they regarded as their own. The future performance of the play was also forbidden.

Thus was Miletus stripped of its inhabitants.

SECTION III.

SAMIAN IN SICILY—DEATH OF HISTIÆUS.

Those of the Samians who possessed any property were far from being pleased with the conduct of their generals towards the Medes, and in a council held immediately after the naval engagement, resolved to leave the island and found a colony before the tyrant Æaces should arrive ; lest by remaining they should become his slaves, and the subjects of the Medes. About the same time it happened that the Zancleæans of Sicily sent messengers to Ionia, inviting that people to Calacté, where they should found an Ionian city. The spot called Calacté (*beautiful coast*) is on that part of Sicily which is opposite to Tyrrhenia. The Samians alone of all the Ionians actually set out in consequence of the invitation ; excepting that some fugitive Milesians accompanied them. While the Samians on their way to Sicily were off the coast of the Epizephyrian Locrians, it happened that the Zancleæans under their king Scythes were employed in the blockade of a Sicilian town, of which they wished to possess themselves. Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium, who was then at variance with the Zancleæans, gaining intelligence of what was taking place, held correspondence with the Samians, and persuaded them to dismiss the thought of proceeding on their intended voyage to Calacté, and rather to possess themselves of Zancle, which was then destitute of men. The Samians yielded to the advice, and took Zancle. The Zancleæans instantly on learning that their city was occupied, advanced to its rescue, inviting the aid of Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, who was their ally. But when

Hippocrates advanced with his army, he put in irons Scythes—prince of the Zancleæans, and who had already lost his city, with his brother Pythogenes, and sent them to Inycus. The other Zancleæans, after a friendly conference and interchange of solemn engagements with the Samians, he delivered up to them. The conditions exacted by him were that he should have half of all the effects and slaves found in the city, and the whole of what was in the open country. The greater part of the Zancleæans he held in chains as slaves; but gave up about three hundred of the principal citizens to the Samians to be slaughtered; they however did not consummate the deed.

Scythes, prince of the Zancleæans, escaped from Inycus to Himera, and from thence found his way to Asia, and presented himself to king Darius, who esteemed him as the most honourable of all the Greeks that had frequented his court, for having asked permission to do so, he visited Sicily, and returned thence to the king. He terminated peacefully a long and happy life at the Persian court. The Samians who (*by retiring from Samos*) had freed themselves from the Persians, possessed without difficulty the fair city of Zancle. After the naval engagement off Miletus, the Phœnicians, at the command of the Persians, conducted Æaces to Samos, who was highly esteemed by them, and considered as their benefactor. Of all those who had revolted against Darius, the Samians alone—in consideration of their leaving the line in the naval action—were allowed to preserve their city and their temples unburned. Immediately after the fall of Miletus the Persians subdued Caria, in which province some of the people voluntarily submitted, while others were compelled to bow by force.

While Histæus of Miletus was off Byzantium, seizing the Ionian merchant vessels on their return from the Euxine, he was informed of the fate of Miletus. He

then left his affairs in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, under the management of Bisaltes, son of Apollophanes, of Abydos, and himself, with the Lesbians, sailed to Chios; but the garrison not admitting him, he fought them in a place called Coeles (*the hollows*) and put many to the sword: the remaining Chians who had suffered so much in the action off Miletus, Histiaëus, with the Lesbians under his command, succeeded in subduing. He made his attack from Polichna.

Some presages usually foreshow the approach of signal calamities to a city or a nation. Thus to the Chians, before these events occurred, there happened some extraordinary portents. In the first place, when they sent to Delphi a chorus of a hundred youths, two of them only returned home, the ninety-eight having been carried off by pestilence. In the next place, about the same time, and very soon before the naval action, the roof of a building in the city fell upon a number of children while learning, so that of a hundred and twenty children, one only survived. Such were the signs sent to them by the god. Presently the sea-fight took place, which brought the commonwealth upon its knees. Then followed the arrival of Histiaëus, with the Lesbians, who found little difficulty in subduing a people already ruined by misfortunes.

From Chios Histiaëus proceeded to attack Thasos, at the head of a large body of Ionians and Æolians: while surrounding Thasos, news reached him that the Phœnicians, parting from Miletus, were advancing against the other parts of Ionia. He therefore left Thasos unsubdued, and proceeded with his whole force to Lesbos; while there, his army suffering famine, he passed to the main, intending to reap the harvests of Atarneus, and afterwards of the plain of Cæcus, belonging to the Myrians. But it happened that Harpagus, the Persian general, was then occupying that territory with no incon-

siderable force ; and giving battle to Histiaëus as soon as he landed, took him prisoner, and destroyed the greater part of his army. The circumstances of his capture were these.—The Greeks fought the Persians at Malena in Atarnea, and for a long time maintained their ground ; but at length yielded under a charge of the Persian cavalry, and by this means the conflict was decided. When the Greeks gave way, Histiaëus entertaining a hope that the punishment due to his present offence would not be inflicted by the king, was seized by a strong love of life—as he fled he was arrested by a Persian soldier, who was about to pierce him to the heart ; but Histiaëus, in the Persian language, made himself known. If he had been preserved, and led before Darius, I am of opinion that he would have suffered no punishment, but would have received pardon for his fault. It was in this very expectation, and lest if suffered to escape their hands, he should regain his influence with the king, that Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, whose captive he was, as soon as he reached Sardis, affixed his body to a cross, and preserving his head with condiments, sent it to Darius at Susa. When the king was informed of all that had taken place, he severely blamed those concerned in the transaction for not bringing him alive into his presence. The head he caused to be cleansed, adorned for burial, and interred with the honour due to a man who had performed signal services to the king and the Persians.

SECTION IV.

REDUCTION OF THE ISLANDS—MILTIADES.

The Persian fleet after passing the winter near Miletus, set sail in the following year, and without difficulty took possession of the islands nearest to the continent—namely Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos. The Barbarians as soon as they had made themselves masters of an island, captured the inhabitants as fish are taken by a drag-net from a pond; for joining hand to hand, they extended their line across from the northern to the southern shores, and so traversing the island, caught the inhabitants. A like principle was acted on in taking the Ionian cities of the continent; yet the same mode of capturing the people was not there practicable. Nor did the Persian generals fail to accomplish the threats they had uttered when the two armies were opposed; for on taking any city they selected the handsomest youths to be mutilated, and the most beautiful virgins were torn from their families and sent to the king. They burned also the cities with the temples. Thus was Ionia a third time reduced to servitude; once by the Lydians, and then twice by the Persians.

Leaving Ionia, the fleet proceeded to the Hellespont, and captured all the towns on the left (*European side*) for those on the right had already been subdued by the Persians, advancing from the continent. On the European side of the Hellespont is the Chersonese, containing many cities, as Perinthus, and the fortified places of Thrace, and Selybria, and Byzantium. The people of Byzantium and of Chalcedon, on the opposite coast, did not wait the arrival of the Phoenicians, but leaving their

abodes, betook themselves to the shores of the Euxine, and founded the city Mesambria. After burning the towns on these coasts, the Phoenicians turned towards Proconnesus, and Artace; here also they gave all to the flames. Then they returned to the Hellespont, accomplishing the capture and destruction of such towns as they had failed to take on their first arrival. Cyzicus they did not attack, for the people of that place had before submitted to the king by treaty, concluded with Œbares son of Megabazus, governor of Dascylium. The Phoenicians succeeded in their attack upon every town of the Chersonese, excepting only Cardia.

[These towns had hitherto been ruled by Miltiades, son of Cimon, son of Stesagoras, who had received the tyranny from Miltiades, son of Cypselus, and he had acquired it in the following manner:—The Dolonces of Thrace had held the Chersonese: they, being pressed upon in war by the Absinthians, sent their chiefs to Delphi, to inquire concerning the war. The Pythian told them “to lead with them, as founder of a colony, him who, on their return from the temple, should first invite them to his house.” The Dolonces proceeding along the sacred way, passed through Phocis and Bœotia, and as no one had invited them, they turned towards Athens. Pisistratus at that time held the sovereign power at Athens. Miltiades, also, son of Cypselus, exercised considerable influence. His family was of the rank to maintain chariots for the games, and reckoned their descent from Æacus and Ægina; though in later times they had been numbered among the Athenian citizens. The first of the family naturalized at Athens was Philæus, son of Ajax. This Miltiades, being seated in the porch before his own house, when the Dolonces passed, and having noticed that their dress and javelins were foreign, challenged them—and when they approached, offered them shelter and entertainment. They accepted the invitation, and while receiving his hospitalities, made known to him the answer of the oracle, and entreated him to yield to the commands of the god.

Miltiades already vexed with the rule of Pisistratus, and wishing to leave his country, listened favourably to the proposition. Presently he set out for Delphi, to inquire of the oracle whether he should comply with the petition of the Dolonces.

The Pythian ratified their request, and so Miltiades, son of Cypselus, who before had won prizes in the chariot race, taking with him all the Athenians who were disposed to share in the enterprize, sailed with the Dolonces, and possessed himself of the territory. Those who introduced him established him as tyrant of the country. The first thing he did, was to construct a wall to protect the Chersonese: it was carried across the isthmus from Cardia to Pactya, and was designed to preclude the predatory incursions of the Absinthians. The width of the isthmus is thirty-six furlongs, and the length of the Chersonese, reckoning from the isthmus, is four hundred and twenty furlongs. Having fortified the neck of the Chersonese, and by this means repelled the Absinthians, he next attacked Lampsacus; but the people of that city placed an ambuscade, and took him prisoner. Miltiades was in favour with Cræsus king of Lydia, who on learning what had happened, sent a message, commanding the Lampsacians to release him—"or he would destroy them like pines." The people of Lampsacus were quite unable to divine the meaning of Cræsus when he threatened "to destroy them like pines." At length, after many surmises, one of the elders guessed the true meaning—for he reminded them that the pine is the only tree which, if once cut down, puts forth no shoot, but utterly perishes. Dreading the power of Cræsus, they therefore released Miltiades.

Not long after he had thus escaped by the intervention of Cræsus, Miltiades died childless, and left his sovereignty and his property to Stesagoras, son of his brother Cimon, by the mother. After his death, the people of the Chersonese, honoured Miltiades with sacrifices, and horse-races, and gymnastic contests, as it is customary to do to a founder: in these games no citizen of Lampsacus is permitted to contend for the prize. The war with that city still continued, when Stesa-

goras met his death, which happened from the stroke of an axe, given him in the Prytaneum by a man who, under the guise of a deserter, proved himself to be indeed worse than an open enemy. Stesagoras died childless, and immediately Miltiades, son of Cimon, and brother of the late Stesagoras, was sent to assume the government by the Pisistratids. They had before treated him with kindness at Athens, as if they had not been parties to the death of his father Cimon—the circumstances of which I shall presently relate. When he arrived, he kept himself within his palace, as if, forsooth, he would pay respect to his brother Stesagoras. On hearing this, the principal persons from all parts of the Chersonese came together, and in a body presented themselves to condole with him; but he made them his prisoners. He also strengthened his rule over the Chersonese, by maintaining a body of five hundred auxiliaries, and he married Hegesipyla, daughter of Olorus, king of Thrace.]

Miltiades, son of Cimon, had not long established himself in the Chersonese, when he was involved in troubles greater than those which at first beset him. In the third year after his arrival, he fled before the nomadic Scythians, who, harassed by Darius, had collected their forces and advanced even as far as the Chersonese. Miltiades, not daring to await their approach, left the country; but when they retired the Dolonces brought him back. These events happened three years before (*the Ionian troubles*).*

When he learned that the Phœnicians were at Tenedos, Miltiades, filling five triremes with his treasures, sailed away for Athens. Parting from Cardia, his course lay through the gulf of Melas, and as he coasted the Chersonese, the Phœnicians met with him. Miltiades himself with four of his vessels escaped to Imbros; the fifth was pursued and taken by the Phœnicians: and it happened

* A chronological difficulty besets this passage, with which the general reader need not be troubled. Probably the text is corrupted.

to be the one commanded by his eldest son Metiochus—not by the daughter of Olorus, king of Thrace, but by another wife. When the Phoenicians on capturing the vessel discovered that the captain was son of Miltiades, they, in expectation of winning especial favour, conducted him to the king; for it was Miltiades who had advised the Ionians to yield to the entreaties of the Sythians, and to dissolve the bridge, and retire to their homes. But Darius, when Metiochus was brought to him by the Phoenicians, instead of doing him any ill, loaded him with favours—bestowing upon him a house, with possessions, and a Persian wife, who bore him children that took rank among the Persians. From Imbros Miltiades proceeded to Athens.

In this year the Persians ceased to carry on any further hostilities against the Ionians; but rather conferred upon them some signal benefits. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, summoning deputies from the different cities, obliged them to enter into engagements among themselves to abstain from violences, and to refer their disputes to legal decisions. In effecting this improvement he exerted his power. He also measured the Ionian lands by the Persian parasang—equal to thirty furlongs, and according to these measurements he regulated the tribute to be paid by each district. The taxes as then established by Artaphernes have continued to be paid from that time to this; and indeed they were then nearly the same as they had been before. These proceedings restored peace to the country.

SECTION V.

ATTEMPT UPON GREECE UNDER MARDONIUS.

In the spring, the other generals having been dismissed by the king, Mardonius, son of Gobryas, descended towards the coast at the head of a very numerous army of foot, and attended by a large body of marines. Mardonius was young, and had lately married Artazostra, daughter of king Darius. When he arrived in Cilicia he himself embarked, and proceeded with the entire fleet. While the land forces, under the command of other generals, marched towards the Hellespont. Coasting the shores of Asia, he reached Ionia, where he effected a change which will appear incredible to those Greeks who cannot believe that Otanes—one of the seven Persians, proposed to establish democracy in Persia.—Mardonius deposed all the Ionian tyrants, and established democracy in each state. This done, he urged his course towards the Hellespont, where collecting together a vast assemblage of vessels, he transported his numerous army and marched forwards on European ground, professedly to attack Eretria and Athens.

These two cities were the professed objects of the expedition; but in truth it was intended to subdue as many as possible of the Grecian states. The fleet in the first instance reduced Thasos, without opposition; meanwhile the army imposed the yoke of slavery upon those of the Macedonians who hitherto had been free; for all the tribes of that nation nearest to Asia were already subjugated. The fleet passing over from Thasos, coasted the main land as far as Acanthus; from thence they pro-

ceeded to double mount Athos. But while sailing round the headland, a violent and embarrassing gale of wind sprung up from the north, by which great numbers of the ships were cast upon Athos, and utterly broken.—It has even been said that as many as 300 ships were lost, with 20,000 men. The waters around mount Athos are peculiarly infested with monsters of the deep—these caught and devoured many—many were dashed on the rocks—many perished because unskilled in swimming, and some died of cold. Such was the fate of the fleet.

While Mardonius with the army was encamped in Macedonia, the Brygian Thracians fell upon them by night, killed many, and even wounded Mardonius: notwithstanding this success, they did not escape subjugation by the Persians; for Mardonius would not quit the country until he had vanquished them. Having accomplished this conquest, the check the army had received from the Brygians, and the signal discomfiture of the fleet at Athos, induced him to retrace his steps; and thus disgracefully did this expedition retire into Asia.

In the next year after these events, the Thasians, having been accused by their neighbours of hatching rebellion, Darius despatched a messenger, commanding them to demolish their fortifications, and to send their ships to Abdera. The Thasians having suffered a siege from Histiaëus, and being in possession of ample revenues, employed their wealth in constructing ships of war, and in surrounding their city with a wall stronger than heretofore. The Thasian revenues proceeded in part from possessions on the continent, and in part from the mines of the island. The gold mines of Scapté-Hyla ordinarily produce eighty talents, those of the island somewhat less; yet so much that the Thasians, though commonly exempt from taxes on the produce of the soil, commanded a yearly revenue from the continent and from the mines of

two hundred talents, and sometimes it amounted even to three hundred. I have myself seen these mines. The most admirable of them are those which were discovered by the Phœnicians, who with Thasos colonized the island, which received from him its name. The Phœnician mines are found in that part of the island which lies midway between Ænyra and Coenyra, and opposite to Samothrace. A mountain of no inconsiderable magnitude has been utterly subverted by the continued quest of ores. The Thasians, at the command of the king, actually demolished their walls, and sent all their ships to Abdera.

The next step taken by Darius was to try the dispositions of the Greeks, and to discover whether they would engage in war, or surrender themselves to him. He therefore despatched heralds separately to the several states throughout Greece, "to demand earth and water for the king." These being despatched to Greece, others were sent off to the several tributary maritime states, commanding them to provide ships of war, and transports for cavalry. The requisition was complied with by these cities. Meanwhile the heralds arrived in Greece, and many of the continental Greeks yielded the gifts demanded by the Persian; nor did any of the islanders from whom they were asked refuse. Among these who presented earth and water to Darius were the people of Ægina:—no sooner had this been done, than the Athenians took the alarm, not doubting that they had done so with an ill-intention towards themselves, and with the resolution to join the Persians in the invasion of Attica. They therefore readily seized the pretext for repairing to Sparta, where they accused the Æginetans of having acted as traitors against Greece.

On this accusation Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, the then king of Sparta, passed over to Ægina, intending to seize the most culpable of the citizens; but in prosecuting this attempt he was opposed by many of the

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Æginetans, among whom the most distinguished was Crius, son of Policritus, who said, "that he should not with impunity take away one citizen of Ægina—that he acted on this occasion without the consent of his commonwealth, and only upon the instigation of Athenian gold;—otherwise he would have been accompanied by the other Spartan king." This he said on the ground of instructions received from Demaratus. Thus repulsed from Ægina, Cleomenes, when about to depart, asked Crius what his name might be—when he told him, the Spartan king replied, "Now then, Ram, (*crios, a ram,*) tip your horns with brass; for you are about to butt upon signal mischiefs."

Meanwhile Demaratus, son of Ariston, who remained at Sparta, accused Cleomenes. He was himself king, and though sprung from the younger branch of the same stock, was in no other respect inferior to the descendant of Eurysthenes.

SECTION VI.

KINGS OF SPARTA.

[The Lacedæmonians, in opposition to all the poets, affirm that it was by king Aristodemus himself, son of Aristomachus, son of Cleodæus, son of Hyllus, they were conducted into the country they now inhabit; and not by the sons of Aristodemus. Not long after their arrival, say they, Argia, wife of Aristodemus, who was daughter of Autesion, son of Tisamenes, son of Thersander, son of Polynices, brought forth twins:—the king their father lived only long enough to see the infants. The Lacedæmonians of that age wished, in conformity with

their laws, to invest the eldest son with the kingly dignity; but they knew not which of the two to take, for the children were alike in figure and size. Unable to decide even after some time, any better than at first, they asked the mother; but she replied that, "even she could not distinguish the one from the other."—She did indeed know, but professed her ignorance, in order that, if possible, both might be made kings. Under this incertitude, the Lacedæmonians sent to Delphi to inquire what they should do. The Pythian enjoined them "to account both sons their kings; but to honour most the eldest." This answer left them in the same difficulty as before, in discovering which was the eldest. At length a Messenian, named Panites, advised them to watch the mother, and to see whether she invariably washed and fed one of her sons before the other; and if so, they might consider their doubts ended, and the wished-for discovery to be made. But if she deviated in her treatment of them from the same course, and attended to them interchangeably, they might conclude that she knew no more than themselves on the subject of their inquiry; and in that case they must adopt some other course. In pursuance of the advice of the Messenian, the Spartans having, unknown to her, observed the conduct of the mother of the sons of Aristodemus, found that in fact she gave to one the honour of her first cares in washing and dressing. They therefore considered the one so distinguished by the mother as the elder of the two, and in consequence reared him in public, and gave him the name Eurysthenes: the younger they called Procles. When they attained manhood, though brothers, a variance arose between them, which continued unabated throughout their lives, and the same dissension has been perpetuated between their descendants.

Such is the account given by the Lacedæmonians; but I must now relate what is said by the other Greeks. These exhibit exactly the succession of Dorian kings, up to Perseus, son of Danaë—omitting the god—and prove them to have been Greeks; for even so early they were numbered among the Greeks. I have said up to Perseus, and have not ascended higher, because Perseus has no sir-name derived from

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a mortal father ; and may thus be compared with Hercules, in regard to Amphitryon. I may therefore properly stop at him. But if we ascend from Danae, daughter of Acrisius, it will appear that the ancestors of the Dorian princes were of Egyptian origin. Thus are these genealogies reckoned by the Greeks. Yet according to the Persian traditions, Perseus was an Assyrian, who became a Greek, though his progenitors were not ; yet they agree that he was not of kin to the ancestors of Acrisius, who were Egyptians, as the Greeks also affirm.—But enough of this. How, being Egyptians, they obtained sovereignty over the Dorians, has been explained by others, and I may omit to declare ; but shall rather record some particulars which others have passed over.

The privileges granted by the Spartans to their kings are these :—Two priesthoods—that of Jupiter Lacedæmonius, and that of Jupiter Uranius.—They may carry war into whatever country they think fit ; nor has any Spartan the right to oppose them in the exercise of this prerogative, or in attempting to do so, becomes obnoxious to the charge of sacrilege. On the march, the kings lead the van, and bring up the rear in a retreat : a band of one hundred chosen men attends them in the field, as a body guard. In their expeditions, they are allowed to take as much cattle as they please, and the skins and shoulders of all the victims are their perquisite. These are their privileges in time of war.

Those enjoyed in time of peace are the following :—in all public religious festivals the kings take the first seats. They are first served, and each receives a double portion of all the meats : their's is the right of offering the first libations ; and they claim the skins of all animals sacrificed. On the new moon, and the seventh day of every month, a perfect victim is given to each of them at the public cost, which is sacrificed in the temple of Apollo ; also a medimnus of barley-meal, and a quart of wine—Laconian measure. In the games they take the chief seats. They nominate whom they please among the citizens to entertain public guests. It is the part of each king also to choose two Pythians—or persons employed to be sent to Delphi to consult the god : and they are maintained

at the public cost by the kings at home. If the kings do not make their appearance at the public supper, two choenices of barley-bread are sent home to each of them, with a small pint of wine :—if they are present, they have a double portion of all. The same honour is conferred upon them, when invited to a private house. To the kings is committed the conservation of the responses of oracles ; yet the Pythions are privy to them also. It is their province, and their's alone, to decide in the following cases, and in these only—an heiress who has not been affianced by her father is given in marriage by the kings. They decide questions relative to the highways. Any one who wishes to adopt a child, must enter upon the engagement in presence of the kings. They sit in the senate of eight-and-twenty elders, or if not present, their place is supplied by one of the senators who is nearest of kin to them, and who then gives three votes—two for the kings, and one for himself.

Such are the honours conferred by the Spartans upon their kings during life : on occasion of the death of a king, horsemen are instantly despatched in all directions through Laconia, to announce the event : at Sparta the women go about the city beating caldrons, upon hearing which two free persons from every household—a man and a woman—are by an inevitable necessity required to disfigure themselves as mourners ; or in default of doing so, are liable to heavy inflictions. The usages of the Lacedæmonians, in relation to the sepulture of their kings, are very much the same as those of the barbarians of Asia ; for in truth almost all the barbarians observe the same ceremonies on occasion of a royal death. When a Lacedæmonian king dies, a certain number of Lacedæmonians from all parts of the country, besides the Spartans, are compelled to attend the funeral. When these, with the helots and Spartans, amounting to many thousands, are assembled, men and women together ; they all zealously strike their foreheads, and utter unbounded lamentations, and profess always that this last of their kings was the best. When a king dies in war, they form an effigy of him, which is placed in a richly furnished litter, and borne forth. During ten days after the interment

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no assemblies of the people are held, nor any sittings of magistrates; but the whole time is given up to mourning.

In another instance also they resemble the Persians; for on the death of a king, his successor immediately on his accession remits the payment of all sums due by any Spartan to the late king, or to the public:—among the Persians, the successor to the throne remits the tribute due in all cities of the empire. The Lacedæmonians agree in some customs with the Egyptians: among both people the function of heralds, pipers, and cooks, is hereditary:—the son of a piper is a piper—of a cook, a cook—of a herald, a herald. Nor is the son ever excluded from his hereditary office because he is excelled by some one in the excellency of his voice; but the right of birth rather is respected.]

SECTION VII.

CLEOMENES AND DEMARATUS.

At the time of which we have been speaking, Cleomenes being at Ægina, promoting the common interests of Greece, was accused by Demaratus, moved not so much by good-will to the people of that island, as by envy and jealousy. Cleomenes on his return from Ægina resolved to deprive Demaratus of the kingly dignity, and in making the meditated attack he was furnished with a pretext.

[Ariston, king of Sparta, had two wives, but no children; after a time he married a third wife. He was on terms of most intimate friendship with a certain citizen of Sparta, whose wife was a woman of singular beauty, though she had been at first remarkably ugly. She was the daughter of opulent

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parents, and her nurse perceiving that they were greatly afflicted by the extreme deformity of their child, devised the following course:—she took her every day to the temple of Helen, which stands in a place called Therapné, above the temple of Phœbeum. When the nurse brought the child, she stood with it before the statue, and prayed the goddess to dispel the deformity of the babe. One day it is affirmed, as the nurse was returning from the temple, a woman presented herself, and inquired what she carried in her arms. “An infant,” replied the nurse. The woman then asked that it might be shewn to her; but the nurse refused; for the parents had enjoined her to let it be seen by no one: still the woman urged her request, and displayed so much desire to see it, that at length she showed her the child.—The woman touching its head, pronounced that it should excel in beauty all the women of Sparta. From that very day its appearance changed. When she became marriageable, she was espoused to Agetus, son of Alcides, the friend of Ariston. Ariston smitten with the beauty of his friend’s wife, adopted this means to make her his own.—He engaged to give to his friend whatever he should choose among all his treasures, on condition that he in return would do the like. Agetus having no fear for his wife, knowing that Ariston was married, consented to the proposal; and they confirmed the conditions with oaths. Then Ariston gave whatever it was that Agetus selected from the treasures of the king, and in like manner sought the fulfilment of the agreement from his friend, and attempted to take his wife home to himself; but he wished to except her from the engagement; yet at length feeling himself compelled by his oath, and the fraud that had been practised, he suffered her to be led away. Ariston having put away his second wife, married this third, who ere long gave birth to Demaratus. The news that a son was born to him was brought to Ariston by one of his servants, while seated on the bench with the ephors. He exclaimed with an oath, “This cannot be mine.” This was heard by the ephors; yet at the moment they gave it no particular attention. As the child grew, Ariston repented of what he had said, for altogether he reckoned Demaratus to be his son. He received the name

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Demaratus, because the whole Spartan people (*demos*) had uttered prayers (*ara*) that Ariston, the most approved of all their kings, might have a son.

In progress of time Ariston died, and Demaratus succeeded to the throne. But it seems to have been inevitable that the word which had been noised abroad should deprive him of his honours. He had become odious to Cleomenes, first when he led off the army from Eleusis, and now on account of his conduct when Cleomenes went against the medizing Æginetans. Eager to avenge himself, Cleomenes entered into an agreement with Leotychides, son of Menares, son of Agis, (*or Agesilaus*) and of the family of Demaratus;—he was to follow Cleomenes to Ægina, if the latter could place him in the room of Demaratus on the throne. Leotychides entertained an extreme animosity against Demaratus, because, when affianced to Percalé, daughter of Chilon, son of Demarmenus, Demaratus had supplanted him in the connexion, and had actually carried off Percalé, and retained her as his wife. Such was the cause of the enmity borne by Leotychides to Demaratus; and, instigated by Cleomenes, he declared with the solemnity of an oath, that “Demaratus not being the son of Ariston, had not lawfully become king of Sparta.” This solemn affirmation he followed up by every where recalling to the recollection of the people the speech of Ariston, when informed that he had a son, and when he declared that it was not his. Leotychides taking advantage of this declaration, made it appear that Demaratus, not being the son of Ariston, was not by right king of Sparta, and he adduced the ephors as witnesses who had sat with Ariston and had heard what he said.

At length, as disputes ran high on the question, the Spartans thought proper to consult the Delphic oracle, and to ask, “If Demaratus was the son of Ariston.” It was by the management of Cleomenes, though not generally known to be so, that this reference was made to the Pythian, and he had engaged the interest of Cobon, son of Aristophantus—a man possessed of very great influence at Delphi; and Cobon prevailed with Perialla, the priestess of Apollo, to give such a response as Cleomenes wished. And so, when consulted by

the messengers, the Pythian decided that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston. Some time afterwards this intrigue becoming matter of notoriety, Cobon fled from Delphi, and Perialla the chief priestess was deprived of her dignity. Nevertheless by these means Demaratus lost the sovereignty, and afterwards retired from Sparta, and went over to the Medes, on occasion of the following contumely.—After his deposition he was chosen to exercise a magistracy, and while presiding at certain games of the Spartan youth, Leotychides, who had become king in his place, sent an attendant, mockingly and in contempt, to ask Demaratus “ what he thought of the magistracy after the sovereignty ?” He, vexed by the question, replied—“ That indeed he had made trial of both—not so Leotychides. As for the question now put to him, it would prove the source either of numberless woes, or of numberless benefits to the Lacedæmonians.” So saying he drew his cloak over his face, and issuing from the theatre, went home. Instantly making the necessary preparations, he sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, and then called for his mother.

When she arrived, he placed in her hand some of the entrails;* and in the tone of supplication thus addressed her.—“ O my mother, I adjure you by all the gods whom I invoke as witnesses, and especially by Jupiter, patron of our house, tell me truly and plainly who is my father.—In the late contentions, Leotychides affirmed that your former husband was my father : others speak still more reproachfully of my birth. I beseech you therefore, by the gods, tell me the truth : if you are in fault you are not alone :—Ariston even is blamed by many of the Spartans.” His mother thus replied : “ Since, my son, you urge me with these entreaties, I will narrate to you the whole truth.—Soon after my marriage to Ariston, a spectre, in the likeness of my husband, appeared to me, and placed a crown which he brought with him on my head. When he departed, Ariston himself came, and seeing me wearing a crown, asked who it was that had given it me. I said, he—he denied this—I affirmed the same with an oath,

* The form of administering an oath.

and blamed him for denying it. Ariston on hearing my solemn attestation perceived that there was something supernatural in what had happened, especially as it appeared that the crown had been taken from the shrine of the hero Astrabacus, which stands near the palace gate; and also because the diviners pronounced the spectre to have been the hero himself. You have then, my son, the whole truth, and all you wish to know. The hero Astrabacus—or Ariston is your father. Your enemies indeed strongly insist upon the declaration of Ariston, in the presence of many witnesses, when informed of your birth, that you were not his son. But he uttered that word under the influence of mistaken notions; for there are great diversities in the time of birth: and soon afterwards Ariston himself acknowledged the folly of what he had said. Nor need you give heed to other stories concerning your birth; for you have now heard the entire truth: and may the wife of Leotychides, and of all who affirm these scandals, themselves fall under such reproaches as have been heaped upon me!”

Having learned what he wished, Demaratus furnished himself with provisions for the journey, and proceeded to Elis, professedly in his way to Delphi, to consult the oracle. The Lacedæmonians suspecting that he meditated flight, pursued him; yet he succeeded in passing over from Elis to Zacynthus. The Lacedæmonians crossed to that island also—laid hands on him, and seized his attendants; but the Zacynthians refused to give him up, and in the end he sailed from Zacynthus to Asia, and repaired to the court of Darius, who received and entertained him magnificently, and conferred upon him lands and towns. Such were the circumstances under which Demaratus arrived in Asia, and such were his fortunes. At Sparta he had distinguished himself by many achievements as well as by his wisdom in council. At the Olympic games he had carried the prize in the chariot-race—an honour not obtained by any other Spartan king.

Leotychides, son of Menares, having dethroned Demaratus, took his dignity. A son was born to him named Zeuxidamus; or, as some of the Spartans called him, Cyniscus. This

Zeuxidamus did not succeed his father as king of Sparta, but died before him, leaving a son named Archidamus. Having lost his son, Leotychides married a second wife, Eurydamé, the sister of Menius, and daughter of Diactoris. No male offspring was the fruit of this marriage; but a daughter only, named Lampito, whom he bestowed upon Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus. Neither did Leotychides end his days at Sparta, but, as I shall mention, in some sort yielded revenge to Demaratus.—He commanded the Lacedæmonians in Thessaly, and might readily have reduced the country; but accepted a large sum of money from the enemy. He was detected sitting in the camp on a bag, filled with silver. Condemned by the tribunals, he was driven from Sparta, and his house rased; he fled to Tegea, where he died. But these events happened long after the time of which we are speaking.]

SECTION VIII.

ACTIONS AND FATE OF CLEOMENES.

[Cleomenes having succeeded in his endeavours against Demaratus, associated Leotychides with himself, and proceeded against the Æginetans, towards whom he entertained a deep grudge on account of the affront already received. The Æginetans finding that both the Spartan kings were coming against them, thought proper to make no further resistance; but selected ten of the citizens—the most eminent for character, wealth, and family—among whom were Crius, son of Polycritus, and Casambus, son of Aristocrates, who possessed the chief influence in the island, and conducted them to Attica, where they surrendered them to the custody of the Athenians—the enemies of Ægina.]

Afterwards, when the intrigues practised against Demaratus

became notorious, Cleomenes, dreading the resentment of the Spartans, retired into Thessaly. Thence he came into Arcadia, where he endeavoured to excite troubles, and to move the Arcadians against Sparta. Among other oaths which he induced them to take was one obliging them to follow him wherever he might lead them. He was very desirous of leading the Arcadian chiefs to Nonacris, to make them swear by the water of Styx, which is said to be found at that city. A small quantity of water only is visible, which distils in drops from a rock, and falls into a cavity : this cavity is fenced about on all sides. Nonacris, where this spring is found, is a city of Arcadia, near to Pheneus. The Lacedæmonians, informed of the intrigues of Cleomenes, were influenced by their fears to place him again on the throne, and they restored to him all his former prerogatives. But presently after his return he was seized with a frenzy, to which indeed he had before been liable. With his sceptre he would strike in the face any Spartan he happened to meet. On observing this insane conduct, his family confined him in stocks. While so bound it happened that, seeing himself left with a single attendant, he asked him for a knife : the man at first refused ; but being a helot, was at length intimidated by his threats, and gave him one. Cleomenes seizing the weapon, began to hack his legs—making long gashes in the flesh : from the legs he ascended to the thighs, and from thence to the hips and the loins ; and then reaching the belly, made many deep incisions and so died. The Greeks for the most part affirm that this happened to him because he corrupted the Pythian in the matter of Demaratus. But the Athenians differing from the majority, affirm that it was because, when he invaded Eleusis, he cut down the sacred grove of the goddesses. Again the Argives say that it was in punishment of his having put to the sword those Argives who, after escaping from the field, had taken refuge in the temple of Argos, and then, in utter contempt of its sanctity, burned the grove.

For on one occasion when Cleomenes was consulting the oracle, it was told him by the god that he should take Argos. In consequence of this intimation he marched at the head of

the Spartans to the banks of the river Erasinus, which is said to flow from the lake Stymphalus; for that lake disappearing in a chasm is believed to come forth in the territory of Argos, where it receives from the Argives the name, Erasinus. Cleomenes arriving at this river, slew victims to it, but the sacrifice by no means sanctioned his passing the stream; upon which he said he commended the Erasinus for not betraying its people; but yet the Argives should have no reason to rejoice. He then returned, and led his forces to Thyrea, and after sacrificing a bull to the sea, embarked his army and proceeded to Tirynthia and Nauplia. Informed of this descent, the Argives hastened to relieve their towns on the coast. When they approached Tirynthus, in the spot called Sepia, they formed their camp at a short distance from that of the Lacedæmonians. They did not fear to engage the enemy in the open field; but dreaded lest they should be taken by stratagem; for such was the import of the response given to them and the Milesians in common by the Pythian (p. 416,) which was as follows:—

When o'er the men a female hand prevails,
 And Argive honour wins;—then Argos wails:
 And future men shall say, the lancing spear
 Has slain a coiling snake—inspiring fear.

The Argives were therefore held in alarm by these intimations; and they resolved to avail themselves of the enemy's herald, so that as often as he gave any orders to the Lacedæmonians, the Argives, on their part, performed the same evolutions. When Cleomenes perceived that the Argives executed whatever movements his own herald proclaimed, he commanded his men, when the herald uttered the word for dinner, to take their arms, and advance upon the Argives: this was accomplished, and the Lacedæmonians rushed upon them while taking their repast in obedience to the signal. Many were put to the sword, and many more taking refuge in the grove sacred to Argus, were there surrounded.

Cleomenes then adopted the following course;—he had with

him certain deserters, from whom he learned the names of the Argives who were shut up in the precincts; he therefore sent a herald, who calling them severally by name, said that he had their ransom-money. Among the Peloponnesians the price of ransom from captivity is fixed at two mines for each man. About fifty of the Argives obeying the summons, came out, and were put to death by Cleomenes. This was concealed from those in the enclosure by the thickness of the grove, which prevented those within from seeing what took place without. At length one of them, climbing a tree, beheld the fact, and then no more of them issued when called for. After this Cleomenes commanded all the helots in attendance to heap combustibles around the grove; and when this was done he set fire to it. While it was still burning, he asked one of the deserters to what god the grove was consecrated; he replied—"to Argus." On hearing this, Cleomenes uttered a deep groan, and exclaimed—"O Apollo! how hast thou deceived me in the response—telling me that I should take Argos, and now I conjecture that the prediction is fulfilled!"

Cleomenes then sent away the greater part of the army to Sparta, and himself taking a thousand of the best troops, went to perform a sacrifice at the temple of Juno. But when he wished to offer the victim on the altar, the priest forbade him, saying that no stranger might sacrifice in that temple. Cleomenes on receiving this refusal, ordered the helots to drag the priest from the altar, and to scourge him. He then himself performed the sacrifice, and returned to Sparta. On his return his enemies arraigned him before the ephors, and accused him of having taken a bribe not to capture Argos, when he might easily have done so. He alleged in his defence—whether truly or not I am unable certainly to affirm—"that he had believed when he destroyed the sacred grove of Argus, that the prediction of the oracle was accomplished, and that until he had learned from sacrifices whether the god would favour or oppose the attempt, he ought not to attack the city. That when the sacrifices were auspicious in the temple of Juno, a flame had burst from the bosom of the statue; whence he had concluded certainly that he should not capture Argos;

whereas, had the flame appeared on the head of the statue, he should have inferred that he was to take it, even to the citadel; but coming from the breast, he believed he had accomplished all that the god intended to be done." This defence appeared to the Spartans so sincere and reasonable, that he was acquitted by a large majority of voices.

Argos was so stripped of men by what had happened, that the slaves possessed themselves of the supreme power, which they continued to hold, managing all affairs, until the sons of those who had perished came of age, when they regained possession of the state, and expelled the slaves. These, after a contest, took Tirynthia. At length peace was established between them. But afterwards a certain diviner, named Cleander, of Phigalia in Arcadia, visited the slaves, and incited them to attack their masters. A war of long continuance was the consequence, in which the Argives did not gain the final advantage without great difficulty.

It was therefore on account of his conduct towards themselves that the Argives affirmed Cleomenes to have gone mad and miserably perished. But the Spartans themselves denying that the madness of Cleomenes was occasioned by any *dæmon*, affirm that it proceeded from the immoderate use of ardent spirits, learned by keeping company with the Scythians. The nomadic Scythians, after having been invaded by Darius, indulged the desire of vengeance. With this intention they sent an embassy to Sparta, wishing to form an alliance, and proposing to cross the Phasis and invade Media, while, at the same moment, the Spartans should advance against the Persians from Ephesus, and so unite their forces. The Spartans say that Cleomenes contracted a great intimacy with the Scythians who came to Sparta on this business—a too great intimacy—for he learned from them to drink unmixed liquors; and it was from this cause, as they believe, that he became mad. And hence it is that when they wish to indulge in strong drink, the Spartans are accustomed to say—"Let us be Scythians." Such is the opinion of the Spartans relative to the madness of Cleomenes;—for my own part, I think that it was the wrongs of Demaratus that were avenged upon him.]

SECTION IX.

AFFAIRS OF ÆGINA—STORY OF GLAUCUS.

[When the Æginetans were informed of the death of Cleomenes, they despatched deputies to Sparta, to inveigh against Leotychides for the detention of the hostages at Athens. When brought before the tribunal to prefer their complaint, the Lacedæmonians acknowledged that the Æginetans had been ill-treated by Leotychides, and they adjudged him to be carried to Ægina, as security for the citizens detained at Athens. When the Æginetans were about to take Leotychides, they were addressed by Theasides, son of Leoprepis, a man of distinction at Sparta, who thus spoke:—"Men of Ægina, what is it you would do, in taking a king of Sparta as hostage for mere citizens of your own? If moved by anger on the moment the Spartans have thus decreed, take heed lest ere long, if you act in this way, they invade your island, bringing with them utter destruction." On hearing this remonstrance, the Æginetans refrained from the attempt, and it was agreed that Leotychides should follow them to Athens, in order to obtain the surrender of the hostages.]

When he arrived and demanded the surrender, the Athenians not willing to deliver the persons in their custody, had recourse to an evasion, saying that, as these Æginetans had been committed to them by the two kings, they could not think it right to deliver them to one without the other. On their giving this denial, Leotychides thus addressed them—"Athenians, take what course you please—if you surrender the hostages you will indeed act justly—not so if you detain them. Yet I will narrate to you what once happened at Sparta, connected with a deposit.—Among us Spartans it is related that three generations before the present time, there

was at Lacedæmon a citizen named Glaucus, son of Epicydes, who on various accounts was held in high repute, and especially for his probity, in which excellence he was deemed to surpass all his contemporaries. We say then that when the determined moment arrived, there happened to come to Sparta a certain Milesian, who wished to confer with him, and who thus explained his business:—I am, said he, a Milesian, and I come—Glaucus, wishing to avail myself of your probity, which is famed, not only in all other parts of Greece, but throughout Ionia. Taking into consideration the constantly insecure state of Ionia, and the settled condition of Peloponnesus, and perceiving that in the former, fortunes are not long in the same hands, I have, after much deliberation, thought proper to convert the half of my property into silver, and to lodge it with you, being well assured that what I leave with you will be safe. Receive therefore my treasures, and with them take and preserve these symbols, and whoever shall present the same and demand the money, surrender it to him. Thus spoke the Milesian stranger, and Glaucus accepted the deposit upon the conditions mentioned. It was not till long afterwards that the sons of him who had given these treasures in trust arrived at Sparta. Addressing themselves to Glaucus they exhibited the symbols, and demanded the silver. But he, rebutting the demand, thus replied to them—I remember no such transaction, nor can I recall to mind any of the circumstances of which you speak. Yet I am willing, if it should be brought to my recollection, to do whatever is just, and if indeed I received the money—to surrender it. But if, in fact, I have received nothing, I shall avail myself of the laws of Greece against you. I therefore defer settling the business with you four months from the present day. The Milesians thus deprived of their property went their way in great grief. Glaucus then repaired to Delphi to consult the oracle whether he might make a prey of the money by a (*false*) oath. The Pythian replied to him in these verses:—

“ Son of Epicydes! your oath retains—

Just for the moment—all the plundered gains.

Sware then ; for death, alike the just—the knave
Lays undistinguished in the silent grave.
But the False Oath a direful monster sends,
Which, footless hastens—which, though handless rends
His house and offspring whom the gods detest.
While his—who fears an oath, are ever bløst.”

On hearing this answer, Glaucus prayed the god to pardon him what he had said. But the Pythian replied that “ to tempt the god and to perpetrate the deed were one and the same thing.” Glaucus returned and sent away the Milesians with the money committed to his trust. But now, Athenians, I will explain why I have recounted this story to you. At the present time there remains not one descendant of Glaucus, nor any house which is believed to have been his. Every thing belonging to him is uprooted from Sparta. Well is it for those who entertain no thought but that of surrendering a deposit when demanded !” Thus spoke Leotychides ; but the Athenians, not being disposed to listen to him, he took his departure.

The Æginetans while yet they had not expiated the injuries which to gratify the Thebans they had inflicted on the Athenians, pursued the same course of violence. Aggravated against them, and thinking themselves the injured party, they made preparations to wreak vengeance upon them. The sacred ship called Theoris,* was lying at Sunium. This, by forming an ambuscade, the Æginetans captured, while filled with distinguished Athenian citizens, whom they put in irons. After suffering so grievous an injury the Athenians hastened to devise every possible means of retaliation.

A distinguished citizen of Ægina, named Nicodromus—son of Cnæthus, being at variance with the people, had banished himself from the island ; but learning that the Athenians were on the point of attacking the Æginetans, he entered into an engagement with them to betray the island to them ; and the day was fixed when he should make the attempt, and when they should be there to aid the enterprise.

* Sent annually from Athens to Delos, with sacrifices for Apollo.

According to this agreement Nicodromus seized what is called the old town. But the Athenians did not appear at the appointed day, for they did not then happen to have at command ships in sufficient number to contend with the fleet of the Æginetans; and while they were negotiating with the Corinthians to lend them ships, the enterprise failed. The Corinthians were at that time on terms of strict friendship with the Athenians, and on the present occasion yielding to their request, afforded them twenty ships, at five drachms each; for their law forbade them to make a gift. These vessels, joined to their own, composed a fleet of seventy ships, with which they proceeded to Ægina: but arrived there the day after that which had been agreed upon. Nicodromus finding that the Athenians did not appear at the appointed time, went on board a vessel and escaped from Ægina; he was attended by other Æginetans, whom the Athenians settled at Sunium, whence, at a later time, they were accustomed to make predatory excursions upon the island.

The opulent class at Ægina now prevailed over the common people, who had revolted with Nicodromus, and having vanquished them, led them to execution: but on this occasion they incurred a guilt which no sacrifices could afterwards avail to expiate; but they were driven from the island ere the goddess (*Ceres*) was propitiated. They had made prisoners of seven hundred of the common people, whom they were conducting forth to destruction: but one of these, escaping from detention, took refuge in the vestibule of *Ceres Thesmophora* (*the legislatress*) and seizing the ring of the door, held it fast. Those who were sent to take him, not being able by all their efforts to pull him away, cut off his hands, and so led him to execution, while the hands were left entangled in the ring.

Such was the treatment which the Æginetans dealt, one to another. Meanwhile the Athenians approached with their fleet of seventy ships, and engaging those of Ægina, defeated them. The vanquished called upon the Argives to whom they had before applied to aid them. But these refused to do so, alleging as a ground of complaint, that the ships of Ægina,

forcibly seized by Cleomenes, had approached the coast of Argolis, and the crews disembarking with the Lacedæmonians, had invaded their lands:—the crews also of some Sicyonian ships had joined in this descent. In consequence the Argives had imposed a fine of a thousand talents upon them—five hundred for each people. The Sicyonians, acknowledging their fault, had agreed to pay one hundred talents, and were acquitted. But the Æginetans, more haughty, refused to acknowledge themselves in the wrong. On this account no aid from the commonwealth was afforded to the request of the Æginetans; yet a thousand volunteers offered their services. These, under the command of Eurybates—a man accomplished in the five exercises,* repaired thither. Few of them returned to their homes, the greater part having been put to the sword by the Athenians in Ægina. Among these was Eurybates their captain, who after vanquishing three antagonists in successive single combats, received his death in the fourth from the hand of Sophanes of Decelea. While the Athenian fleet was in disorder the Æginetans attacked them, and obtained the advantage—capturing four of their vessels with the men on board.]

SECTION X.

INVASION OF ATTICA—BATTLE OF MARATHON.

While the Athenians and Æginetans were carrying on this contest, the Persian pursued his design. Every day his attendant reminded him of the Athenians, and every day the Pisistratids beset him with accusations against that people. Darius being furnished with a pretext,

* Leaping, running, throwing the disque, the javelin, and wrestling.

meditated the conquest of all those Greeks who had refused to offer him earth and water. Mardonius having been unfortunate in the late expedition, was removed from the command, which was conferred upon Datis, a Mede, and upon Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes, and nephew of the king. These generals were sent against Eretria and Athens, with an injunction from Darius to bring both the Athenians and the Eretrians as slaves before him. *omitted 452*

After being instituted in their command, the two generals left the king, and repaired to Cilicia, and with a very numerous and well appointed army, formed their camp in the plain of Aleum. The combined fleet furnished by the several nations from whom the levies had been required, arrived also on the coast, together with the cavalry-transport, which Darius had ordered to be prepared the preceding year, by the tributary people (*of the maritime provinces.*) The horses were embarked in these transports, and the army in the ships:—six hundred triremes sailed to Ionia. Thence, instead of coasting the continent, by the Hellespont and Thrace, the fleet parted from Samos, and held its course through the islands of the Icarian sea. They proceeded in this direction, as I think, from fear of doubling the promontory of Athos, in attempting which the year before the fleet had so severely suffered. Besides, not having in the former expedition taken Naxos, they now felt compelled to advance against it.

Leaving the Icarian sea, the Persians approached Naxos, which, in recollection of their late attempt, they held themselves bound first to attack. The Naxians without waiting for the enemy, fled towards their mountains. The Persians seizing for slaves such as they could find, burned the temples and the city, and then proceeded against the other islands. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Delos abandoning their island, took refuge in Tenos. As

the fleet passed Delos, Datis advancing before the other ships, would not permit any to approach the island, but ordered them to pass over to Rhenea; and when he learned where the Delians had gone, he despatched a herald with this message:—"Sacred men! why do you flee? Why entertain an opinion of me so unfavourable? My own dispositions and the commands of the king, forbid my permitting any injury to be done to an island, or to its inhabitants, where the two gods (*Apollo and Diana*) were born. Return therefore to your homes, and possess your island." Such was the message sent to the Delians. Then Datis burned three hundred talents of frankincense which he heaped upon the altar.

The Persian commander now advanced with the fleet towards Eretria first; leading with him the Ionians and the Æolians. After he had taken his departure, the island, as the Delians affirm, was shaken, and this was the only earthquake which, to the present time, has ever been felt there. By this portent the god indicated to men the woes that were about to come upon them. For under the three successive reigns of Darius, son of Hystaspes, and Xerxes, son of Darius, and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, a greater amount of calamity fell upon Greece, than during the twenty generations that preceded the first of those kings. These misfortunes were occasioned in part by the Persians, and in part also by the contentions for dominion among the Grecian chiefs. It was not therefore without cause that Delos, hitherto unmoved, should quake:—and thus it was written in the prediction concerning that island:—

And Delos fixed I them shall move.

The names of the three kings may thus be rendered in Greek — Darius, the Coercer: Xerxes, the warrior: Artaxerxes, the great warrior; and truly the Greeks have not erred in giving these princes the appellations by which they are known among us.

The Barbarians, parting from Delos, approached the other islands, from which they took the men to serve in the army, and also brought away the children of the islanders as hostages. After touching at the several islands they anchored off Carytus (*in Eubœa.*) Now the Carystians not only refused to give hostages, but professed that they would not join in a war against their neighbours the Eretrians and Athenians. The Persians therefore besieged the town, and ravaged the country, until at length the Carystians submitted to the conditions imposed on them. The Eretrians when informed of the advance of the fleet against them, besought the aid of the Athenians, who refused not their assistance, but granted them the services of four thousand colonists who occupied the grazing meads of the Chalcidians. But there was a want of sane counsels among the Eretrians; for between those who sent for the Athenians there existed a difference of intention, some advising to abandon the city and to retire to the fastnesses of the island; while others, meditating only their private advantage with the Persians, concerted the means of betraying the commonwealth. Æschines, son of Nothon, a man of distinction at Eretria, being well informed of the views of both parties, explained the state of affairs to the Athenian auxiliaries on their arrival, and he entreated them to retire to Attica, that they might escape the ruin about to fall on the Eretrians. The Athenians yielded to this advice, and passing over to Oropus, saved themselves from destruction.

The Persian fleet drew to shore on the Eretrian territory, at Tamyné, at Choërea, and at Ægilia; where they disembarked their cavalry, and made preparations for attacking the enemy. But the Eretrians had resolved not to issue from the town, or to give battle; and as it had been decided not to abandon their city, they gave all their attention to the defence of the walls. Furious assaults were made upon the defences, in which, during

six days, many fell on both sides. But on the seventh, Euphorbus, son of Alcimachus, and Philager, son of Cyneas, both of them distinguished citizens, betrayed the town to the Persians, who entering, not only pillaged and burned the temples, in retaliation for the temples burned at Sardis; but also, in obedience to the commands of Darius, made slaves of the people. Masters of Eretria, the Persians rested a few days, and then embarked for Attica; thus pressing upon the Athenians, and not doubting that they should deal with them as they had just dealt with the Eretrians. The plain of Marathon, on the coast of Attica, and not far from Eretria, was better adapted than any other part of the country for the movements of cavalry—it was here therefore that Hippias, son of Pisistratus, conducted the Persian army.

On hearing of their arrival, the Athenians also repaired to Marathon. They were (*as was customary*) commanded by ten generals, the last in order being Miltiades, whose father Cimon, son of Stesagoras, had fled from Athens, when ruled by Pisistratus, son of Hippocrates. While in exile he had won the prize in the chariot race, in the Olympic games; but had transferred the honour to Miltiades, his son. In the next Olympiad, with the same mares he was again victor, but conceded to Pisistratus the right to be announced as such: by this means he entered into treaty with him, and returned to Athens. A third time, and with the same mares, he carried the prize in the Olympic games; but was murdered by the sons of Pisistratus—who had died in the interval. They effected his death at night by the hands of assassins, secretly placed near the Prytaneum. Cimon was interred in front of the city, beyond the road through Coelé, and opposite to his sepulchre is that of his mares, which three times obtained the Olympic prize. The mares of Evagoras, of Lacedæmon, did the same, but none besides these. The eldest son of Cimon, named Stesagoras, was

at that time with his uncle Miltiades, in the Chersonese, while the younger, named Miltiades—after the founder of the colony in the Chersonese, was with Cimon at Athens.

This same Miltiades, lately come from the Chersonese, and who had escaped a double death, was one of the Athenian generals. The first of these escapes was when the Phoenicians, who earnestly desired to take him prisoner, and to deliver him to the king, pursued him as far as Imbros. The second was when, on his return to Athens, where he expected to find safety, his enemies instantly arraigned him on the charge of seizing the tyranny of the Chersonese. But being acquitted, he was, by the choice of the people, appointed one of their generals.

Before the generals left the city they despatched as herald to Sparta, Phidippides, an Athenian, and a daily courier by avocation. According to the account which this messenger gave to the Athenians, while he traversed mount Parthenius, above Tegea (*the god*) Pan encountered him, and calling him loudly by his name—Phidippides, commanded him to ask the Athenians why they paid him no respect—well disposed as he was to them, and having often, in times past, promoted their welfare, and intending to do so in time to come. The Athenians giving credit to this message, consecrated a temple to Pan, beneath the Acropolis, when they found their affairs prosperously re-established, and on the faith of the message they have ever since propitiated his favour by annual sacrifices, and by torch-races.

This Phidippides, despatched by the generals, and to whom, as he affirmed, Pan appeared, reached Sparta on the second day after he left Athens, and thus addressed the magistrates:—"Lacedæmonians, the Athenians entreat you to afford them aid, nor to witness unconcerned the subjugation of one of the most ancient cities of Greece by Barbarians. Eretria is already reduced to slavery,

and Greece is weakened by the loss of that celebrated city." Thus he delivered his instructions, and the Lacedæmonians resolved to aid the Athenians: but it was impossible for them to do so immediately, for they would not violate the law—it being then only the ninth of the month, and on the ninth, or before the circle (*of the moon*) was filled up, they could not set out. They therefore awaited the full moon.

Meantime Hippias, son of Pisistratus, had conducted the Barbarians to Marathon. The night before, he had in his sleep seen a vision, in which he believed himself to hold intercourse with his mother, of such a kind as seemed to him to intimate that he should return to Athens—recover the power, and die an old man in his palace;—such were the conjectures he formed from the vision. Then, as guide to the army, he first sent the Eretrian captives to an island of the Styreans, named *Ægilia*, and in the next place he brought the ships ashore at Marathon as fast as they came up; and disembarking the Barbarians, formed them on the ground. While occupied in these arrangements, it happened to him to sneeze and cough with greater violence than ordinary, and being already advanced in years, many of his teeth were shaken by the effort; and one was actually thrown out by the force of the cough. It fell upon the sand, and he used great diligence in searching for it; but no tooth could be seen. Then uttering a deep sigh, he said to the bye-standers, "This land is not ours—nor shall we be able to conquer it—my tooth occupies as much of it as shall ever come to my lot." Hippias concluded that the intention of the vision was now accomplished.

When the Athenians had formed their order in a spot consecrated to Hercules, the Plataeans in full force arrived to support them.

[These people had surrendered themselves to the direction of

the Athenians, who had already undergone many toils on their account. The Platæans, pressed upon by the Thebans, had at first claimed the protection of Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides, when in their neighbourhood with a body of Lacedæmonians. But the Spartans not accepting the proffered submission, thus addressed them:—"We live at a distance from you, and the aid we might afford you would be but of a chilly sort. Once and again it might happen that you would be reduced to servitude before any of us had even heard of the matter. We therefore counsel you to surrender yourselves to the Athenians—your near neighbours, and who are well able to defend you." Such was the advice given by the Lacedæmonians to the Platæans—not so much in good will to them, as with the design of involving the Athenians in wars with the Bœotians. The Platæans yielded to this advice, and while the Athenians were celebrating the festival of the twelve gods, repaired to Athens, and presenting themselves as suppliants at the altar, surrendered themselves to the commonwealth. On hearing this the Thebans marched against Platæa. The Athenians failed not to afford their aid. But when the two armies were about to engage, the Corinthians, not indifferent to the quarrel, came up, and mediated a treaty of peace, and by the consent of both parties fixed the limits between them in such a manner, that those Bœotians who were unwilling to be included in the Bœotian commonwealth should not be annoyed by the Thebans. After making this arrangement the Corinthians retired, as did also the Athenians; but were attacked on their march by the Bœotians: an engagement ensued in which the latter were vanquished. The Athenians then transgressing the boundaries that had been assigned by the Corinthians to the Platæans, decided that the Asopus and Hysia should be the boundary between the Thebans and Platæans. Such were the circumstances under which the Platæans had surrendered themselves to the controul of the Athenians. And now they arrived to give their aid at Marathon.]

The Athenian generals were divided in opinion, some

advising not to engage the enemy, alleging that the Greeks were too few to contend with the forces of the Medes; while the others, among whom was Miltiades, urged to give battle. Such was the difference, and Miltiades perceiving that the worse of the two opinions was likely to prevail, applied himself to the Polemarch, who was to give the eleventh and casting vote.—The Polemarch is an officer elected by the suffrages of the Athenians, and by ancient custom his vote was of the same value as that of the generals. Callimachus, of Aphidna, was then Polemarch, and Miltiades, thus addressed him:—“Upon you, Callimachus, it now depends to decide whether Athens shall be reduced to slavery or remain free; and with you it is to leave to all future generations a fame surpassing that of Harmodius and Aristogiton. For now indeed the Athenians approach a greater danger than they have ever yet encountered. If they bow beneath the Medes let it be imagined what they will suffer when given up to Hippias. But if our commonwealth is preserved, it will become the first among the states of Greece. I will now explain the actual position of affairs, and how it is that so much depends upon your vote. We, the ten generals, are divided in opinion, some advising to give battle, others dissuading. And now, if we do not fight, I anticipate that factious differences beginning to operate, will shake the resolution of the Athenians, and dispose some to favour the Medes. But if we engage the enemy before any such unsoundness of purpose takes place among the Athenians, then, if the gods distribute their favours with an even hand, we are of force enough to fight the enemy, and to prevail. All this then awaits your decision, and on you it depends. Adopt my advice, and there remains to you your country free—and not only free, but first in rank among the states of Greece: but the opposite to all these benefits must be yours if you follow the opinion of those who would delay

to give battle." Callimachus was gained by this address, and giving his vote, it was decided that battle should be given. Then the generals, who had been of that opinion, severally as their turns came to be in command for the day, surrendered their right to Miltiades: he accepted the offer; but would not lead the army against the enemy, until his own day of command arrived.

When that day came the Athenians took their station in order of battle in the following manner.—Callimachus the Polemarch, commanded the right wing—for such was the rule with the Athenians. Then followed the several tribes according to the series in which they were usually reckoned; and closely adjoining each other. Last of all, and forming the left wing, were ranged the Plateæans. Ever since this battle, when the Athenians celebrate the festival with its sacrifices which is observed once in five years, the herald prays "for the prosperity of the Athenians, together with the Plateæans." The Athenian army was so arranged on the field of Marathon, that its front extended as far as that of the Medes; its centre consisting of few ranks, was the weakest part of the line, while the two wings were strong and deep.

Battle was thus ranged—the auspices were fair, and the Athenians, on signal given, ran upon the Barbarians—an interval of not less than eight stades,* having divided the two armies. The Persians seeing them at full speed, prepared to receive them; but indeed viewed them as madmen, rushing upon destruction—few as they were, and destitute of cavalry and archers. Thus thought the Barbarians. But the Athenians in a compact body broke in upon the line of the Barbarians, and fought with a valour worthy of fame. Of all the Greeks these Athenians were the first, so far as we know, who advanced to the attack at full speed, and indeed the first that could stand

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490.

* It seems probable that the lesser stade is here intended.

the sight of the Median costume, and the Median figure ; for at that time the very name of the Medes inspired the Greeks with terror.

The contest in the field of Marathon was long maintained. In the centre, occupied by the Persians themselves, and the Saces, the Barbarians were victorious, and breaking the line, pursued the Athenians to some distance from the coast. Meanwhile the Athenians and Platæans on the two wings vanquished their opponents, and leaving the Barbarians to retreat, drew towards each other, so as to close upon the Persians who had broken their centre. The Athenians engaging with these, prevailed ; the Barbarians fled ;—were followed, and cut down, till the pursuit reached the sea, where the victors laid hold of, and sought to fire the ships.

In this contest perished Callimachus, after behaving like a brave man ; and among the slain was Stesilaus, son of Thrasyllas, one of the ten generals ; and Cynægirus also, the son of Euphorion, having laid hold of a vessel by the stern, had his hands severed by an axe, and fell slain : many Athenians of rank were left dead on the field. Seven of the enemy's ships were captured by the Greeks, who followed the enemy to the sea. The Barbarians hauling their vessels from the beach, put to sea, and after taking the Eretrian captives from the island where they had left them, doubled the promontory of Sunium, with the intention of preventing the Athenians, and gaining the city before them. The Alcmaeonids have been held guilty among the Athenians of having suggested to them this plan ; and it is said that, having made a previous arrangement with the Persians, they held up a shield as a signal, when the enemy had reached their ships. They then proceeded to double the headland of Sunium. Meanwhile the Athenians hastened with all speed to protect their city, and in fact they did prevent the coming of the Barbarians : it happened that their camp was

removed from one temple of Hercules—that at Marathon, to another at Cynosarges, which was the station where they posted themselves after their march. The Barbarians hove in sight off Phalerum, which was then the port of Athens, and after remaining at anchor there for a time, sailed away to Asia.

About 6,400 of the Barbarians fell in the battle of Marathon; and of the Athenians, one hundred and ninety-two:—such were the respective numbers of the slain. During the action an extraordinary circumstance occurred—an Athenian named Epizelus, the son of Cuphagoras, while strenuously fighting in his place, lost his sight without having received any sort of wound or blow; and he continued blind during the remainder of his life. He was accustomed to give the following account of the manner in which this calamity befel him;—he thought he beheld, standing before him, a man of great stature and completely armed, and whose beard flowed entirely over his shield; and that the spectre passing him, killed the man who stood next to him. Such is the account, as I am informed, which Epizelus was wont to give.

Datis returned with the fleet to Asia: on his way he touched at Mycone, where he saw a vision in sleep, the nature of which is not recorded; but as soon as day appeared, he caused a search to be made through all the ships, and finding in a Phœnician vessel a gilded statue of Apollo, he inquired from whence it had been stolen, and having learned to what temple it belonged, he sailed in his own ship to Delos: the Delians had by this time returned to their island. Datis on arriving, placed the statue in the temple, and enjoined the Delians to convey it to Delium of the Thebans, a place on the coast opposite to Chalcis: leaving these commands, he departed; but the Delians retained the statue, which twenty years afterwards the Thebans themselves, on the admonition of an oracle, brought home to Delium.

The Eretrian captives were conducted by Datis and Artaphernes, after their landing in Asia, to Susa. Darius the king had felt a deep resentment against these people before they were reduced to slavery; for they were the first authors of the wrongs that had been committed. But when he beheld them brought before him, and entirely in his power, he inflicted no punishment upon them; but allotted them a tract to inhabit on his own estate at Ardericca, in Cissia. This spot is two hundred and ten furlongs distant from Susa, and not more than forty from the spring which yields three different substances; for there is drawn from it, asphaltum, (*mineral pitch*) and salt, and oil, in the following manner:—they let down a rope by a pulley, to which is attached, instead of a pail (*or bucket*) the half of a leathern wine bottle: this being lowered is drawn up, and the contents emptied into a receiver, whence the whole runs into another, where it assumes three forms;—the asphaltum and the salt presently congeal, while the oil is collected in vessels and is called by the Persians rhadinace: this oil is black, and emits a strong odour. In this neighbourhood it was that king Darius settled the Eretrians, who in my own time continued to dwell there, and have preserved their ancient language.

After the full moon the Lacedæmonians, two thousand strong, arrived at Athens. Their march was so rapid that they reached Attica on the third day after leaving Sparta. Though too late to take part in the battle, they strongly desired to see the Medes, and proceeded to Marathon to view them (*the slain*). Then, after applauding the Athenians and their achievement, they returned home.

The report concerning the conduct of the Alcmaeonids is in my opinion too strange to be credited, as if they had, by agreement with the Persians, held up a shield as a signal, wishing to bring the Athenians under the power of

the Barbarians and of Hippias. The Alcmæonids evidently felt a greater, or at least as great a hatred towards the tyrants, as did Callias, son of Phœnippus, and father of Hipponicus: for this Callias was the only Athenian who was bold enough, when Pisistratus was driven from Athens, and his effects were put up to sale by the vote of the people, to purchase them. In many other ways also he displayed his determined animosity.

SECTION XI.

THE ALCMÆONIDS.

* [[This Callias is worthy of being had in universal admiration, not only—as appears from what I have mentioned above—on account of his ardent desire for the liberty of his country; but because of his successes in the Olympic games, where he was victor in the horse-race, and second in the chariot-race. And moreover, after distinguishing himself in the Pythian games he surpassed all the Greeks in magnificence. His conduct towards his three daughters deserves also to be mentioned; for when they were of marriageable years, he not only bestowed upon each a handsome portion, but allowed them to choose among all the Athenians whom they preferred for their husbands, and espoused them to the men of their choice.]]

Yet the Alcmæonids did not hate the tyrants at all less than Callias. To me therefore the accusation seems incredible, and not to be admitted, which charges them with having displayed the shield:—they who abandoned their country

* This paragraph is believed, on some probable grounds, to be an interpolation.

all the time of the tyranny, and they by whose exertions the Pisistratids were deprived of power, and who, in so doing, are, in my judgment, rather to be esteemed the liberators of Athens, than even Harmodius and Aristogiton; for these, in killing Hipparchus, only exasperated the other tyrants so much the more, and were far from putting an end to their oppressive rule. But the Alcæmonids incontestably liberated their country—if indeed the story I have already related be true, that it was they who prevailed upon the Pythian to enjoin the Lacedæmonians to deliver Athens. But will it be said that they endeavoured to betray their country on account of some discontent given them by the Athenian commonality? But there were none more esteemed or more honoured by the Athenians. We cannot then believe that from any such motive they might be induced to display the shield. Yet a shield was displayed; nor must the fact be denied; but who it was that held it, I am unable to say, further than I have already stated.

From the earliest times the Alcæmonids have been illustrious at Athens. Especially Alcæmon himself, and Megacles his successor, rendered the family conspicuous. Alcæmon, son of Megacles, acted as coadjutor to the Lydian sent by Cræsus to consult the Delphic oracle, and he aided them with great assiduity. On the return of these messengers, Cræsus, being informed by them of the kind treatment they had received from him, sent for him to Sardis; and when he arrived presented him with as much gold as he was able to carry on his person at once. Alcæmon prepared himself for the obtaining of such a gift in the following manner. He put on an ample cloak, in which a deep recess (*on the breast*) was left; and he wore the widest boots he could find: thus attired he approached the treasury to which he was conducted, and fell to, upon a heap of pieces;—first he stuffed around his legs as many gold pieces as his boots would hold; then he loaded his bosom absolutely full of gold, and even stuck the pieces into his curls, and filled his mouth also with gold. Thus he left the treasury—with difficulty dragging his boots, and looking like any thing rather than a man—his mouth puffed out, and his

whole body swollen. Cræsus on seeing him, burst into laughter. Besides presenting him with this gold, he bestowed other gifts not inferior in value. By this means the family became opulent, and he, training horses for the race, won prizes in the Olympic games.

In the second generation from Alcmaëon, the family was elevated to a higher celebrity in Greece than ever by Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon. Clisthenes, son of Aristonymus, son of Myron, son of Andreas, had a daughter named Agariste, whom he resolved to marry to the most accomplished man he could find in Greece. At the Olympic games, in which Clisthenes obtained the prize in the chariot-race, he made proclamation to this effect:—"Whoever deems himself to be worthy of becoming the son-in-law of Clisthenes, let him come to Sicyon, on or before the sixtieth day from this time: for he has fixed the nuptials of his daughter to take place on the anniversary of that sixtieth day." Forthwith as many Greeks as, by their possessions or ancestry, could make the pretension, repaired thither as suitors; and Clisthenes prepared for their exercises a race course, and a palæstra. From Italy there came Smyndyrides, son of Hippocrates, a Sybarite, who carried luxury to its utmost excess—and Sybaris was at that time in its height of prosperity. And from Siris came Damasus, son of Amyris, called the sage, these came from Italy. From the Ionian Gulph—Amphimnestris, son of Epistrophus, of Epidamnus. From Ætolia, Titormus, who surpassed the Greeks in strength, and who retired from the society of men to the extreme parts of Ætolia; he was brother to Males. From Peloponnesus came Leocedes, son of Phidon, tyrant of Argos, (*whose ancestor*) Phidon introduced the use of measures among the Peloponnesians, and displayed uncommon arrogance in expelling from their office the Elean presidents of the Olympic games, (p. 175,) and himself regulated the contests. Also Amiantus, son of Lycurgus, from Trapezunté in Arcadia; and Laphanes from Pæus, of Azania, son of Euphorion, who, as the story is told in Arcadia, received to his house the Dioscures (*Castor and Pollux*) and

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from that time kept open house for strangers of all sorts.—And Onomastus, son of Agæus, an Elean.—These came from Peloponnesus. From Athens came Megacles, son of Alcmaeon, the same that visited Cræsus, and also Hippoclides, son of Tisander—eminent among the Athenians both for wealth and beauty of person. From Eretria—at that time in its most flourishing state, came Lusantias—the only man from Eubœa. From Thessaly, Diactorides, a Cranonian of the family of the Scopades, and from the Molossians, Alcon. These were the suitors.

Arriving on the day appointed, Clisthenes first inquired the country and extraction of each: then reserving the decision to the end of the year, he meantime made trial of their valour, and spirit, and learning, and manners, by having familiar intercourse with each and with all, and by exercising the younger of them in athletic games, and especially by conversation at table. During the whole time in which he retained them, he continued the same course of proceedings, and meanwhile entertained them sumptuously.

Of all the suitors, those from Athens most pleased him; and of these chiefly Hippoclides, son of Tisander, both on account of his personal merits, and because of the affinity of his ancestors to the Cypselides of Corinth. When the day appointed arrived for celebrating the marriage, and on which Clisthenes was to decide among the suitors, he killed a hundred oxen, and regaled, not only them, but all the people of Sicyon. After the feast, the suitors contended in a musical performance, and in discussing themes proposed to them. When wine had circulated freely, Hippoclides, who engrossed the attention of the company, commanded the piper to play a merry air, which he did, while Hippoclides danced to the time—much to his own satisfaction; but Clisthenes beheld the performance with disgust. Then, after resting himself a while, he commanded a table to be brought in, upon which he mounted, and executed, first the Laconic figure, (*dance*) and then the Attic. In the next place, pitching his head on the table, he performed with the legs the gestures proper to the

arms.* The first and the second dance had made Clisthenes revolt from the idea of making Hippoclides his son-in-law : yet, though offended by the indecorum of the performance, he restrained himself, not being willing to express aloud his feelings. But when he beheld him gesticulating with his legs—no longer able to refrain, he exclaimed—“ Son of Tisander, you have danced away the sonship” (*the pretension to marry his daughter*). To which the other only replied—“ No matter to Hippoclides.” The answer became a bye-word.

Clisthenes then having commanded silence, thus addressed the assembly:—“ Gentlemen—the suitors of my daughter ! I applaud you all, and, were that possible, I would gladly avoid distinguishing one above the others, or reject any. But since the contention has been for one lady, it is impracticable to gratify the ambition of all. To each one of you therefore, whose pretensions must be rejected, I give a talent of silver, as an expression of the sense I entertain of the honour you do me in wishing to marry my daughter, and also to defray the expences of your journey hither. And I bestow my daughter Agarista in marriage, according to the usages of Athens, upon Megacles, son of Alcmaeon.” Megacles professed his acceptance of the offer, and the nuptials were celebrated by Clisthenes. Thus it was that the choice among the suitors was decided, and thus that the Alcmaeonids became celebrated throughout Greece. The offspring of this marriage was named Clisthenes, after his maternal grandfather of Sicyon, and it was he who distributed the Athenians into (*ten*) tribes, and established the power of the people. Megacles had another son, named Hippocrates, whose son was named Megacles, and his daughter Agarista, after the daughter of Clisthenes. She married Xantippus, son of Ariphron, and dreamed that she should bring forth a lion : soon afterwards she gave birth to Pericles.]

* Tumbling performances of this kind are represented on many Greek works of art : the performers are generally women.

SECTION XII.

EXPLOITS AND DEATH OF MILTIADES.

After the defeat of the Persians at Marathon, Miltiades, who had before possessed a high reputation at Athens, found his fame greatly augmented. On the strength of this increased credit he asked of the Athenians seventy ships, with men and money, without making known what place was the object of the expedition; but only saying that he would greatly enrich them if they would follow him, leading them to a land whence they might with ease obtain an unlimited quantity of gold. Elated with these hopes, the Athenians granted the ships. Assuming the command of the armament, Miltiades sailed to Paros, using as a pretext the allegation that the Parians had begun hostilities by sending a trireme with the Persian to Marathon. Such was his pretext; but in fact he was moved by hatred against the Parians, on account of Lysagoras, son of Tisias, a Parian, who had calumniated him to Hydarnes the Persian. Arriving with the fleet off the island, Miltiades besieged the Parians within their walls, and sending a herald, demanded a hundred talents, saying that unless they gave him that sum, he would not withdraw the army until he had taken the city. But the Parians, instead of entertaining the proposition of Miltiades, thought only of every means to strengthen their defences. Among other measures adopted by them, they, by working at night, raised the walls double their former height in all those places where the town was most open to attack.

So far we follow the account in which all the Greeks concur; but for the rest we depend on the Parians alone.

While Miltiades was yet doubtful of the issue of the siege, a Parian woman named Timo, who was his captive, conferred with him ;—she was priestess of the infernal gods. This woman advised Miltiades, if indeed he was intent upon taking Paros, to follow her instructions, which he listened to, and in consequence he repaired to the hill in front of the city, whence he leaped the fence of the temple of Ceres Thesmophora ; for he could not open the door. Having surmounted the partition, he proceeded towards the temple—with what intention—whether to move those things which were not to be moved, or to effect any other object, is not known ; but when he reached the gates, suddenly a horror seized him, and he returned the way he came, but in vaulting over the fence, he dislocated his thigh ; or, as others say, wounded his knee.

After this disaster, Miltiades withdrew the fleet, without either obtaining money for the Athenians, or getting possession of Paros. The siege lasted six and twenty days, in which time the open country of the island was ravaged. The Parians being informed that the priestess Timo had given instructions to Miltiades, wished to inflict punishment upon her, and as soon as the siege was raised, sent messengers to Delphi to inquire if they should not condemn to death the priestess of the infernal gods, who had acted as guide to the enemy in his attempt against her country, and had exposed to Miltiades those sacred mysteries which no man should behold. But the Pythian suffered them not to do so, saying, “that it was not of Timo that these things had happened ; but Miltiades, being fated to end his days disastrously, she had only led him to his own calamities.”

On his return from Paros, Miltiades was loudly complained of by the Athenians, especially by Xantippus, son of Ariphron, who accused him capitally before the people, of having deceived the Athenians. Miltiades was unable to answer for himself ; for his thigh had become gangrenous ;

but he was brought on a couch into court, where his cause was pleaded by his friends, who largely dwelt upon his merits in the battle of Marathon, and mentioned also the capture of Lemnós, which he had given up to the Athenians, after wreaking vengeance on the Pelasgians. The people were so far won over as to acquit him of the capital part of the charge; but they adjudged him to pay a fine of fifty talents for the injury he had done to the state. Presently after the passing of this sentence, a mortification of the thigh took place, and Miltiades expired. The fifty talents were paid by his son Cimon.

[Miltiades had possessed himself of Lemnos in the following manner.—Whether justly or not I shall not decide—the Athenians had expelled the Pelasgians from Attica—I only report what I have heard. Hecataeus, son of Hegesander, does indeed affirm, in his history, that the expulsion was unjust, for, says he, the Athenians seeing that the lands under Mount Hymettus, which they had given to the Pelasgians as their hire for building the wall around the Acropolis was well cultivated, though heretofore the district had been sterile and of no value, envied them the possession of it, and actually drove away the Pelasgians, without even assigning any other reason for so doing, except their strong desire to regain possession. But on the other hand the Athenians say—that they drove them away not without just cause; for the Pelasgians, while living at the foot of Mount Hymettus, were wont to make incursions on the lands of the Athenians, and to injure the young women and children of the Athenians, who went to draw water at the well called Enneacrunos (*nine springs*), for at that time there were no slaves at Athens, nor indeed in other cities of Greece. As often as these young women came to the fountain, the Pelasgians treated them with the utmost insolence and contempt. Nor was this enough; but in the end they were detected in an attempt against the city. On this occasion the Athenians exhibited their eminent moderation, for when they had right to put the Pelasgians to death, who had been con-

victed of treason, they would not do so; but only required them to quit the country. Thus driven from their lands, the Pelasgians betook themselves to different places, and some settled in Lemnos. The first account is that of Hecataeus, the last that of the Athenians.

These Pelasgians who settled in Lemnos desired to avenge themselves on the Athenians, and being well informed of the times of the Athenian festivals, they equipped some fifty-oared gallies, and forming an ambuscade at Brauron, seized and carried off a number of Athenian women, who were celebrating the feast of Diana at that place: with these they sailed away to Lemnos where they detained them. The children of these women were taught by their mothers the language of Attica, and the manners of the Athenians, and they refused to hold any intercourse with the Pelasgian children, and if ever any one of them received a blow from the Pelasgian children, they would all run together to avenge the affront, and actually affected to rule the others as if they were their slaves. The Pelasgians perceiving it, considered the matter seriously, and said one to another—"If now these boys support each other against the children of our true wives, and even now attempt to domineer over them, what will they do when they become men?" Forthwith they resolved to put to death all the sons of the women brought from Attica, and actually effected their purpose, destroying with them the mothers also. From this deed, and from one perpetrated at an earlier period, when the women (*of Lemnos*) killed all their husbands, together with Thoas (*the king*)—has arisen the usage throughout Greece of denominating any atrocious deed—"a Lemnian act."

But after the Pelasgians had in this manner destroyed their own sons, and the women, neither did their lands yield harvests, nor their wives bear children, nor their herds produce young, as heretofore. Urged by want and bereavement, they sent to Delphi to ask some release from their impending woes. But the Pythian commanded them to pay as a forfeit to the Athenians whatever that people should think fit to demand. The Pelasgians came therefore to Athens, and professed their

willingness to make full satisfaction for the wrong they had done. The Athenians dressing a couch in the prytaneum very magnificently, and also spreading a table with good things of all kinds, commanded the Pelasgians to surrender their island to them in like condition. The Pelasgians in reply said:—"When the north wind shall in one day bring a vessel from you to us, then we will surrender our island to you." This they said well knowing the thing to be impossible; for Attica bears south from Lemnos, and at a considerable distance.

This was all that then took place. But very many years afterwards, when the Chersonese of the Hellespont came under the domination of the Athenians, Miltiades, son of Cimon, was carried by the etesian wind (*summer north wind*) from Elæus in the Chersonese to Lemnos; and commanded the Pelasgians to quit the island, reminding them of the prediction which they had imagined could never be accomplished. The citizens of Hephæstia obeyed; but those of Myrina, not acknowledging the Chersonese to be Attica, were besieged, and at length compelled to yield. Thus it was that the Athenians, by the agency of Miltiades, became possessed of Lemnos.]

BOOK VII.

POLYMNIA.

SECTION I.

NEW PREPARATIONS TO INVADE GREECE--XERXES SUCCEEDS DARIUS.

WHEN the news of the battle of Marathon reached king Darius, son of Hystaspes, the strong resentment he had before entertained against the Athenians, on account of their attack upon Sardis, was greatly increased; and now, more than ever, he desired to prosecute the war upon Greece. Presently after the arrival of the intelligence, he despatched messengers to every city, demanding levies of men, which were required to be much larger than before: ships also, and horses, and grain, and transports, were to be furnished. During three years all Asia was kept in agitation by the circulation of these orders; the bravest men being every where enrolled to serve in the expedition against Greece. But while these preparations were making, and in the fourth year, the Egyptians, who had been subjugated by Cambyses, revolted from the Persian domination. Whereupon a quickened movement took place, to attack both (*Egyptians and Greeks*).

Just as Darius was about to proceed against Egypt and Athens, a great contention arose among his sons for the

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right of succession to the throne: for by the Persian law the king could not set out on a military expedition until he had named his successor. Before he came to the kingdom, Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas; and after his ascending the throne, four, by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus. Of the first three, the eldest was Artabazanes, and of the after four—Xerxes; and these not being sons of the same mother, contended for the right of succession. Artabazanes, on his part, alleged that he being the eldest of all his father's sons, his claim rested on the universal usage of mankind, which gave the right of succession to the eldest son. On the other hand Xerxes founded his pretension on his being the son of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus—the prince who had obtained emancipation for the Persians.

Darius had not yet declared his opinion, when it happened that Demaratus, son of Ariston, having been deprived of the kingly office, and obliged to retire from Lacedæmon, arrived at Susa. This personage being informed of the dissension among the sons of Darius, joined himself—as it is commonly affirmed, with Xerxes, and advised him, in addition to the plea already advanced, to use the following argument. He (*Xerxes*) was born to Darius after he had become king, and actually held the Persian sceptre. Whereas, when Artabazanes was born, Darius was only a private person. It could not therefore be deemed either reasonable or just for any one to possess the sovereign dignity before himself (*the son of the king*). “And thus,” continued Demaratus, “at Sparta, the law obtains, that, though a king may have sons born before his accession, the son born after the father becomes king actually succeeds him on the throne.” Xerxes availed himself of the advice of Demaratus, and Darius acknowledging the justness of the argument, declared him to be heir to the throne. To me it seems that Xerxes would

have obtained the kingdom even without the advice of the Spartan; for Atossa possessed unbounded influence at court.

Darius having appointed Xerxes as his successor in the Persian throne, hastened his departure on the intended expedition. But as he was about to do so, when all preparations were completed, and in the second year of the Egyptian revolt, Darius died, after a reign of thirty-six years, and before he could avenge himself either on the rebellious Egyptians, or upon the Athenians. On his death the royal authority descended to his son Xerxes.

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At the commencement of his reign, Xerxes was far from being inclined to prosecute the war against Greece, and the forces he assembled were designed to reduce Egypt. But Mardonius, son of Gobryas, who was cousin to Xerxes, being son of the sister of Darius, was near the king, and beyond any other Persian possessed influence over him. And in such terms as the following it was that he addressed Xerxes:—"My lord, it ought not to be that the Athenians, who have already wrought so much mischief to the Persians, should be suffered to have done so with impunity. Finish then what you have now in hand; and after quelling the insolence of Egypt, set out for Athens. So shall you obtain the applauses of mankind; nor shall a hostile force ever in future dare to set foot within your dominions." In addition to these motives of vengeance, he went on to say, that—"Europe was an exceedingly fair land, producing all kinds of fruit-bearing trees;—in a word, altogether excellent, and a fit possession for none but the king."

In urging this advice, Mardonius was impelled by the desire to be employed in new enterprizes; he wished also to obtain Greece as his government. At length he succeeded in persuading Xerxes to give effect to his proposal, and other events concurred to produce the same

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determination. For in the first place there arrived from Thessaly messengers sent by the Aleuads, calling upon the king with zealous importunity to invade Greece. Now these Aleuads were Thessalian kings (*chiefs*). Moreover the Pisistratids, who had come to Susa, incessantly held the same language as the Aleuads, and they prevailed with the king even more, by having in their interests Onomacritus, an Athenian diviner, who interpreted the oracles of Musæus: in coming to Susa they had reconciled themselves with him; for Onomacritus had been banished from Athens by Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, on occasion of his having been detected by Lasus, of Hermione, in interpolating among the oracles of Musæus, one which predicted that the islands around Lemnos should disappear in the sea. On this account it was that Hipparchus, who before had been on very good terms with him, banished the diviner. But at the time of which we are speaking, Onomacritus, having joined himself with the Pisistratids, they had said much of him to the king; and he, whenever introduced into the royal presence, recited some of these oracles. Such of them as predicted any calamity to the Barbarian he did not repeat; but selected only those verses which spoke of successes. Among them was one declaring that "a Persian was destined to yoke the Hellespont with a bridge:" this he referred to the expedition against Greece. Such were the predictions produced by the diviner, and such the arguments used by the Pisistratids and the Aleuads.

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Xerxes having consented to invade Greece, first proceeded to quell the insurgents. This took place in the second year after the death of Darius. Having defeated them, he reduced Egypt to a state of servitude more severe than that in which it had been held by Darius; and appointed as governor Achæmenes his brother, and son of the late king. This Achæmenes some time after-

wards, and while prefect of Egypt, was slain by Inarus, son of Psammitichus, a Libyan.

After the reduction of Egypt, Xerxes, before he led his forces against Athens, convoked an assembly of the principal Persians, both to learn their opinions, and to make known his purpose to all of them. Xerxes thus addressed the assembly:—"Persians, I introduce nothing new among you; but only follow the practices received from our ancestors: for, as I learn from the ancients, never since we obtained the sovereign power from the Medes, when Cyrus deposed Astyages, have we been inactive. But the divinity—so leading the way—we have followed in the course of continued successes. You well know, nor need I recount the exploits of Cyrus, and of Cambyses, and of my father, Darius; or tell what they achieved, and what nations they added to our empire. For myself, ever since I ascended the throne, it has been my study not to be inferior to my precursors in the glory of conquest, nor less than they, to extend the boundaries of the Persian domination. And on mature deliberation I find that we may at once win for ourselves an increase of glory, and obtain possession of a country not inferior to that we now inhabit—a country by no means despicable, and indeed eminently fertile; while at the same time we execute vengeance on our enemies. I have therefore convoked you that I may impart to you my intentions. I propose, after joining the Hellespont, to lead an army on the European side into Greece, that I may punish the Athenians for the injuries inflicted by them upon the Persians, and upon my father. You know that when Darius was setting out to invade these people, he died, and so failed to avenge himself. But I, on behalf of him, and of the Persians at large, will not desist from my endeavours till I have captured and burned Athens; for the Athenians have been the authors of wrong against both me and my father;—first, when with Aristagoras of

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Miletus, our slave, they advanced upon Sardis, and burned the sacred groves and the temples: and then, what they did when our army under Datis and Artaphernes invaded them, you all perfectly well know. On these grounds therefore I am resolved to make war upon them. But besides these reasons, I find that signal advantages offer themselves also to us, for if we vanquish these people and their immediate neighbours—the inhabitants of the country of Pelops the Phrygian—the Persian empire will be limited only by Jove and the heavens; nor will the sun behold any land that shall form our boundary. With you traversing the whole of Europe, I will form, of all countries, a single empire. I am informed, that if the people I have mentioned are subdued, there is not a city nor a nation remaining, at all capable of contending with us in the field. And thus, with rightful cause, or with none, all shall alike receive the yoke of bondage. It remains then for you in executing my purposes to merit my favour. At the time which I shall fix, use, all of you, your greatest diligence to be in readiness. Upon him who shall come attended by the best appointed troops, I will bestow such gifts as are most highly valued among us. This then is to be done. Yet lest I should seem to you to act on my own advice only, I now propose the matter to you, giving leave to any one who wishes to do so, to make known his opinion."

Mardonius next spoke as follows—"My Lord!—the best, not only of all the Persian kings that have yet lived, but the best that shall ever reign! Well and truly have you spoken on all points, especially in declaring that you will not suffer the Ionians of Europe—contemptible as they are, to mock us. Of most ill consequence would it be, if after reducing to servitude the Saces, and the Indians, and the Ethiopians, and the Assyrians, and other great and powerful nations, who had done us no injury, and whom we subdued only to enlarge our empire—we

should fail to punish the Greeks, who have commenced hostilities against us! And what have we to fear? what confluence of numbers? what resources of wealth? We know their manner of fighting; we know their strength—that it is very feebleness. We hold already in subjection their descendants, who occupy our continent—I mean the Ionians, and the Æolians, and the Dorians. I myself, under the orders of your father, have made trial of these men in the field, and when I invaded Greece, and led our armies as far as Macedonia, and almost reached Athens itself, none of them opposed my progress. So great, as I am informed, is the fool-hardiness and stupidity of the Greeks, that they prosecute wars in the most heedless manner. For when two nations among them have declared hostilities, they seek out the most open and level spot they can find, where they fight; so that even the victors do not fail to sustain great loss. And as to the vanquished—if they are not utterly destroyed, I know not what to say of them. But, speaking as they do all one language, they ought to adjust their differences by heralds and ambassadors, and by any means rather than by the sword. But if they must fight, why not search for positions the least accessible that their country affords, and there try their quarrels? It was from the want of some such advantageous mode of warfare that, when I advanced as far as Macedonia, the Greeks never met me in the field. But as you, O king, will lead with you the entire force of Asia, both by land and sea, shall any dare to oppose you in arms? Truly I think not—I do not believe the presumption of the Greeks has reached that height. And yet, should I be mistaken, and should they in unadvised temerity meet us in the field, it will be for them then to learn that we are of all men the most valiant and the most skilled in war. I say then let the issue be tried. Human affairs move not of themselves—success loves to wait upon

endeavours." Having thus smoothed the way for the adoption of the king's opinion, Mardonius ceased.

For some time, all the Persian princes kept silence; no one venturing to declare an opinion opposite to the one before them. At length Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and brother of the late king, confiding in the respect to which he was on this ground entitled, thus spoke—"Sire! unless opposing opinions are advanced, no choice can be exercised—the one proposed must needs be adopted. But if different opinions are stated, the better may be taken. Thus the find gold is not to be discerned by itself; but we rub (*or compare*) the one piece against the other, and so recognize the better. I warned your father, and my brother Darius, not to invade the Scythians—a people not inhabiting towns; but he, confident that he should subdue the nomadic tribes, would not listen to my advice; and ere he returned from that enterprize, lost a large number of his bravest troops. But you, O king, are about to attack a people much superior to the Scythians, who are reputed to excel in war, both by sea and land. It is then my duty to set before you the hazard you are incurring. You say that after joining the Hellespont, you intend to lead your forces through Europe to Greece. But it may happen to you to be defeated, either by land or by sea; or perhaps by both; for these people are said to be of high courage. And indeed of this we have convincing proof, for the Athenians alone destroyed that vast army which, under Dares and Artaphernes, invaded Attica. But let us suppose that they are not successful both by land and sea; but only that they engage and defeat our fleet, and then, sailing to the Hellespont, dissolve the bridge.—That, sire, would be no small calamity! Nor do I, in making such a supposition, reason prudentially upon mere probabilities, but found my calculations upon what had very nearly happened to us, when your father, throwing

bridges over the Thracian Bosphorus, and over the Ister, passed into Scythia. At that time, no means were left untried by the Scythians which might induce the Ionians, who were left in charge of the bridge over the Ister, to break up the passage; and if then Histiaëus, tyrant of Miletus, had not opposed the will of the other tyrants, the Persians would have been utterly ruined. Truly it is a fearful thing to hear it said, that the whole fate of the empire actually depended upon the fidelity of an individual.

“ Do not then, where no necessity exists, incur a like peril. Yield to my advice.—Dismiss this assembly, and once again—when it shall seem to you proper—deliberate with yourself; and then command what you shall think best. Nothing in my judgment is so advantageous as to act upon mature deliberation. And then, having prudently concerted our measures, even if the result does not correspond to our wishes, it is chance that has defeated wisdom. But when a man’s designs are ill concerted, even if fortune favours him, though he has gained his object, it is nevertheless only the success of folly. See you that God hurls his bolt at the more lofty creatures, nor endures their self-display; while the smaller chafe him not? See you that the tallest mansions always, and the tallest trees are scathed by the shafts of heaven? For God delights to cut short whatever is proudly eminent, and thus often a mighty host is destroyed by a few. If God is jealous toward them, he casts his terrors on them, or his thunders roar, and thus, forfeiting their fame, they perish. For God will suffer none but himself to be highly exalted. Affairs that are hurried, fail not to produce mischances, whence extensive damage will arise. But what is done with cautious delays, contains in it success, which, though not at once apparent, will in time be seen. Such then, O king, are my counsels.

“ As to you Mardonius, son of Gobryas, cease to utter
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empty calumnies against the Greeks, who merit not to be thus spoken of. In railing at the Greeks, you aim to excite the king to lead the army against them: for this seems to be the tendency of all your eager endeavours. But may it not so be! Slander is indeed a dire evil, wherein two unite to injure one. He who utters slander, wrongs another, for he accuses one who is absent; and he who hears it, wrongs him by assenting to a statement without full information: the absent man receives then a double injury, for he is calumniated by one, and ill thought of by the other.

“But if at any hazard these Greeks must be attacked, let the king remain at home in Persia. And let your children, Mardonius, and mine, be held as gages, while you set out at the head of such troops as you shall choose, and with the greatest armament you wish, and if the king’s affairs prosper, as you predict, then let my children and me also, be put to death. But if that happens which I anticipate, let the same be inflicted on yours, and on you—if indeed you ever return. Yet if you refuse to accept these conditions, and if at any rate you will lead the army against Greece, I announce that it will be heard by those who shall be left in this place, that Mardonius, after bringing great calamities upon the Persians, was torn in pieces by dogs and birds, in such or such a spot of the Athenian or of the Lacedæmonian territory:—if indeed this fate does not befall him ere he reaches Greece. Yet shall he first have learned what sort of men they are against whom he incites the king to make war.”

To this speech of Artabanus, Xerxes, in great anger, thus replied—“Artabanus, you are my father’s brother; this saves you from paying the forfeit due to the presumption of your discourse. Yet I lay upon you this disgrace, that, cowardly and pusillanimous as you are, you shall not attend me in this expedition against Greece;

but shall remain here among the women. Meanwhile I, without you, will accomplish all that I have spoken of. If I avenge not myself upon the Athenians, let me not be reckoned to be sprung from the stock of Darius, son of Hystaspes, and of Arsames—of Ariaramnes, of Teïspes, of Cyrus, of Cambyses, of Teïspes, of Achæmenes. And well I know that if we remain quiet they will not, but will presently invade our territory. This we may certainly infer from what they have already attempted, when they burned Sardis, and made inroads upon Asia. Neither party can now draw back; all that remains for us in the conflict on which we have entered, is either to make or sustain war. Either all these countries must become subject to the Greeks, or all those to the Persians. There can be no medium in this contention. And while it is honourable in us to avenge the injuries we have already sustained, I shall learn what dire evil I am to suffer in attacking these people, whom Pelops the Phrygian—a slave of my ancestors, so vanquished that, to the present time, they and the country they inhabit (*Peloponnesus*) are designated from the conqueror.”

[Such were the expressions of Xerxes at that time, but when the hour of calm reflection arrived, he was disquieted by the advice Artabanus had given; and consulting with himself during the night, he came altogether to the conclusion that it was not his interest to make war upon Greece. Having so determined, he fell asleep, and then, as the Persians relate, he saw a vision of a man—tall and beautiful—standing before him, which thus spoke:—“ Persian!—and after having resolved—after having commanded the princes to assemble their forces, will you not lead them against Greece? You neither act worthily in changing your purpose, nor will any one think well of you in so doing. Rather go forward in the course on which you this day resolved.” After uttering these words, the vision disappeared. At break of day, Xerxes, without

paying any attention to the vision, convoked the Persian princes whom he had before assembled, and thus addressed them :—“ Persians ! grant me your indulgence in changing my counsels. I have not yet attained consummate wisdom : and those who urge me to the enterprize in question have every moment beset me. On first hearing the advice given by Artabanus, the heat of youth impelled me to fling contumelious expressions at a man whose years should have commanded respect. But now, conscious of my fault, I adopt his advice. As therefore I have reversed the decree to invade Greece, desist from your preparations.” The Persians, filled with joy in hearing this determination, did reverence to the king.

But at night the same vision again appeared to Xerxes as he slept, and said :—“ Son of Darius, you have then openly renounced before the Persians the invasion of Greece, and have paid no more attention to my words than as if you had not heard them. But now learn, unless forthwith you set out with the army, what ills shall arise to you :—great and powerful as you have rapidly become, so rapidly shall you be brought low.” Xerxes, alarmed by this vision, rushed from his couch, and despatched a messenger to call Artabanus, whom, on his arrival, he thus addressed :—“ Artabanus, I had lost possession of reason when I replied to your good advice by insolent speeches ; but presently I felt my error, and perceived that I ought to take the course you recommended. And yet, though willing to do so, I am unable to effect my wishes. For since I changed my resolution, and perceived my error, a spectre has come, and presenting itself before me, utterly condemns my altered purpose. Even now it has gone from me, after uttering threats. If then it is a god that has sent it, whose pleasure it is that the war with Greece should be undertaken, the same vision will appear to you also, and will repeat the commands it has given to me. And I think the best way of accomplishing our object will be for you to invest yourself with all my regal attire, and then to sit upon my throne, and then to sleep upon my couch.”

So spoke Xerxes : but Artabanus, who deemed not himself worthy to sit on the royal throne, could not at first yield to

the invitation of the king; but at length, being compelled to conform himself to the royal will, he thus expressed himself: "Sire, in my judgment it is an equal merit to think wisely, or to be willing to yield to one who offers good advice. Both these merits are your's: but the profligate persons who are your companions, deceive you, and one might apply to you what is said of the sea, that though in itself the most useful of all things to man, the gusts of wind that fall upon it suffer it not to retain its real nature. As to the injurious words you uttered against me, they gave me less pain than to perceive that when two courses were proposed to us, of which the one tended to swell the arrogance of the Persians, and the other to allay it, by showing how hurtful it is to inspire the soul with the unceasing desire of obtaining something more than we at present possess—you adopted that course which is the most hazardous, both to yourself and to your people. And yet now, after adopting the better resolution, and when about to disband the armament intended to invade Greece, a vision, you say, has come—sent by some divinity, which prohibits your dismissing the forces. My son, these visions have nothing in them divine. These vagrant dreams which beset mankind arise from such causes as I will explain—and I have seen many more years than you.—Whatever a man has been most occupied with during the day, will usually give occasion to such wanderings of the fancy during sleep: and on the preceding day this same expedition very deeply engaged us. But if it is not what I suppose, but indeed an intimation from a god, then you have rightly judged that it will appear to me also, and utter the same injunctions. Nor will it the more appear if I put on your attire, than if I retain my own: nor rather if sleeping on your couch, than on my own—if indeed it is to appear at all. Whatever it may be, the spectre you saw is not so stupid as to take me for you, merely judging by the sight of your garb. But if it makes no account of me—if it deems me unworthy of such a manifestation, it would not deem otherwise, though I were clad in your robes instead of my own. Now then we have to learn whether it will present itself again. And if it does indeed reappear, and incessantly,

I shall myself think it divine. Yet, if you are so resolved, and if I cannot move your purpose, but must even sleep on your couch, I will do so, and may the spectre appear to me also ! But until it does, I must retain my own opinion."

Having spoken to this effect, Artabanus, hoping to convince Xerxes of the futility of what he had mentioned, complied with his instructions, and putting on the king's vesture, sat down on the royal throne ; and when afterwards he slept on the couch of Xerxes, the very same spectre presented itself to him also, and standing over him, thus addressed him :—" And art thou then the man that has dissuaded Xerxes from the expedition against Greece, as if thou wert his guardian ? But neither in future, nor even now, shalt thou with impunity avert the course of destiny. To Xerxes himself has been declared what he shall suffer if disobedient." Such were the menaces which Artabanus supposed the spectre to address to him ; and he thought also that he saw it about to put out his eyes with hot irons. Uttering therefore a loud cry, and leaping from the couch, he repaired to the chamber of Xerxes, announcing that the vision had come to him also—and now he addressed to the king a different discourse.

" I, O king, who have seen once and again extensive and powerful states reduced by inferior forces, could not suffer you to indulge the ambition of youth, well knowing as I do the evil of entertaining unbounded desires. I remembered also the issue of the expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetes ; nor have I forgotten that of Cambyses against the Ethiopians ; nor that of Darius against the Scythians, in which I myself took part :—I say, recollecting these enterprizes, I felt persuaded that in remaining tranquilly at home, you would enjoy an incomparable felicity. But since some divinity gives the impulse, and, as it seems, threatens destruction to the Greeks, I myself am gained over, and renounce my first opinion. You therefore will make known to the Persians the intimation sent to you from the divinity, and command them to fulfil the orders first given by you for the preparations ; and so conduct yourself, that, as this task is assigned to you by a god, nothing may be wanting on your part to accomplish it." Both

now confiding in the vision—day had no sooner appeared than Xerxes communicated what had passed to the Persians; and Artabanus, who at first had alone opposed the war, now displayed great assiduity in promoting it.

While Xerxes was preparing to set out on the expedition, a third vision appeared to him, which the Mages interpreted as relating to the whole earth, and as intending that all mankind should serve him. The vision was of this kind:—he thought himself crowned with an olive plant, the branches of which covered all the earth; but presently the crown of olive disappeared from his head. Such was the decision of the Mages.]

All the Persian princes who had been convoked immediately returned—each to his government, and each using the utmost diligence to acquit himself of the task imposed on him, in the hope of obtaining the promised gifts. Thus did Xerxes draw together his forces, by making requisitions from every country of the continent. Reckoning from the reduction of Egypt, four full years were occupied in training the levies, and in collecting the supplies. In the course of the fifth he set forwards at the head of a vast multitude. Of all the armaments that we have known to be collected, this was by far the largest. Nor could that with which Darius invaded Scythia be compared with it; nor that of the Scythians when in pursuit of the Cimmerians they invaded Media, and vanquished almost the whole of Upper Asia—which irruption Darius afterwards endeavoured to avenge; nor the army said to have been conducted against Troy by the Atrides; nor that of the Mysians and Teucrians, who, before the Trojan war, passing the Bosphorus into Europe, overthrew all the nations of Thrace, and advanced to the Ionian sea, and towards the south, as far as the river Peneus. None of these armies, I say, nor any others, can be compared with that of Xerxes. For what people

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of Asia was there which Xerxes did not lead against Greece? Or what streams—excepting only the largest rivers, were not consumed by his army? While some of the nations provided ships, others furnished men for the infantry, and others the cavalry:—some supplied transports for horses, besides men for the army, some prepared large vessels for forming the bridges; and others provisions, and ships also to convey them.

SECTION II.

CANAL AT MOUNT ATHOS. BRIDGES AT THE HELLESPONT. ADVANCE OF THE ARMY TO ABYDOS.

As the first expedition had suffered loss in doubling Mount Athos, preparations were made against the occurrence of a like misfortune, by a work commenced three years before. There were stationed at Elæum, a city of the Chersonese, a number of ships of war, from which were sent out men of all nations drawn from the army, who dug—under the lash;—one set of men being succeeded by another. The inhabitants also of the surrounding country were compelled to dig. The masters of the work were Bubares, son of Megabazus, and Artachæes, son of Artæus—both Persians. Athos is a great and celebrated mountain, stretching into the sea, and stocked with people. Where it joins the main land, it forms a peninsula, the isthmus being about twelve furlongs in width. At the isthmus the surface is even, nor are there any considerable hills between the Acanthian gulph and that of Torone. Upon the neck of land which terminates the promontory of Athos, stands the Greek city Sana; and within the peninsula upon Athos, which the Persians endeavoured to cut off from the continent,

are the following cities—Dium, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssus, and Cleonæ.

The excavation was thus managed:—The Barbarians stretching a line near the city Sana, allotted the entire space in parcels to the several nations that were to be employed. After the work had reached some depth, while those below dug, another set of men delivered the earth as fast as it was removed to a third set, stationed above them on the grade, and these again to others, and so on to the uppermost, who carried it off, and threw it aside. To all except to the Phœnicians it happened to undergo a double labour, by the caving in of the sides of the canal, occasioned by their making the width of the excavation as great below as above. But the Phœnicians displayed in this, as in other works, their superior intelligence; for having received the parcel of ground which fell by lot to their share, they commenced by making the upper part twice the width prescribed for the canal, and as they descended, constantly straitened the work, so that below it just equalled the other parts. Near at hand was a meadow, where was held a market and place of public business. Stores of provisions were brought from Asia. It is my deliberate opinion, that Xerxes commanded this excavation to be made from a vain ostentation, wishing at once to display and to leave a memorial of his power, for when with little labour he might have drawn his ships across the isthmus,* he caused this canal, through which the sea might flow, to be dug of such width that two triremes might work their oars in it abreast.

The same people who were charged with the execution of this canal, received orders also to construct bridges over the river Strymon. For securing these bridges, a quantity of the papyrus and of white flax was provided by

* A method practised in ancient times.

the Phœnicians and Egyptians, who were also charged to transport provisions, that neither the army nor the beasts of burden on their way towards Greece might suffer want. And Xerxes having informed himself of the line of country, he commanded that—here and there in the most fit places, stores should be collected, which were brought in barges and transports from all parts of Asia (*Minor*). Of these stores, the greater part was brought to a place called Leucé Acté (*White Coast*), in Thrace. Some also was placed at Tyrodiza, in Perinthia, some at Doriscus, some at Eïon, on the Strymon; and some in Macedonia.

While these various labours were in progress, the entire land forces having been brought together, marched forwards with Xerxes from Critallis in Cappadocia, towards Sardis; for there the forces collected from all parts of Asia had been ordered to assemble. Which of the generals it was who received the gifts proposed by the king to him who should bring the best appointed troops, I do not know, nor indeed am I sure whether the claims of the competitors were adjudged. The host crossing the Halys, spread itself through Phrygia, and arrived at Celæne, where arise the springs of the Mæander, and of another river not inferior to it, named Catarracte, which, springing up in the square of Celæne, discharges itself into the Mæander. In this city is to be seen hanging up the skin of Silenus Marsyas, formed into a leathern bottle:—it is said to have been suspended there by Apollo, after he had flayed Silenus. In this same city was settled Pythius, son of Atys, a Lydian, who entertained the army and Xerxes himself with magnificent feasts, and even offered him money towards the expences of the war. When this offer was made, Xerxes inquired of the Persians near him of what quality this Pythius might be, and of what treasures possessed, that he should make such an offer. “Sire,” replied they, “this is the

man who presented Darius, your father, with a golden palm tree, and a vine, and who now, excepting yourself, is, so far as we know, the richest man living."

Xerxes astonished by these accounts, inquired of Pythius himself what might be the sum of his wealth. "I will not, O king," he replied, "hide them from you, or affect not to know the amount of my possessions; but being, as I am, well informed on this point, will plainly declare it to you. For when first I learned that you were descending towards the Grecian seas—wishing to present you with a sum of money for the war, I made myself acquainted with my treasures, and found on calculation that I had two thousand talents of silver; and of gold, four millions, wanting seven thousand—of Daric staters.—The silver and the gold I give you—for my slaves and farms will be sufficient for my maintenance." Xerxes delighted with the proposition replied, "Lydian host, since I left Persia, I have not until now met with any one who voluntarily entertained my army, or who, appearing before me, has spontaneously offered to furnish me with money for the war. But you have both entertained my army sumptuously, and offered me vast treasures. I therefore confer upon you, in return, this honour—to be my friend; and I give you, from my own treasures, the seven thousand staters wanted to complete your four millions: thus my gift will leave you possessed of a round sum. Keep then what you have acquired, and be always such as you are: so shall you have no cause, at present or hereafter, to repent of the part you have acted."—Having thus spoken, the king fulfilled his engagement, and proceeded on his march.

Passing by Anaua, a city of Phrygia, and a lake whence salt is obtained, he arrived at Colosse, a large city of the same province, where the river Lycus, precipitating itself into a chasm, disappears, and passing under ground a distance of about five furlongs, issues again to the day,

and empties itself into the Mæander. Thence advancing, the host reached Cydrara, a city standing on the boundary between Phrygia and Lydia, where stands a column erected by Croesus, bearing an inscription to indicate the boundary. On leaving Phrygia, and entering Lydia, two roads present themselves; that to the left tends towards Caria, while the other, turning to the right, leads to Sardis, in pursuing which, it is necessary to cross the Mæander, and to pass by Callatebus, a city where confectioners manufacture a sort of honey from tamarisks and wheat. Xerxes advancing on this road, found a plane tree so beautiful, that he decked it with jewels of gold, and appointed one of the band called immortal to be its guardian. On the second day afterwards, he reached the Lydian capital.

When arrived at Sardis, his first care was to despatch heralds to Greece, demanding earth and water, and enjoining the people to provide entertainment for the king. These messengers went every where, except to Athens and Lacedæmon. He made this demand a second time, because he supposed that those cities which had refused to make the required offering when summoned to do so by Darius, would now comply, under the influence of fear. And he wished by this means to acquaint himself exactly with their dispositions. After sending out the heralds, he prepared to march to Abydos. Meanwhile, the persons appointed to that work were yoking the Hellespont to join Asia to Europe. In the Chersonese, on the shores of the Hellespont, midway between Sestos and Madytus, and opposite to Abydos, is a rugged promontory, jutting into the sea. It was on this spot, not very long after the time of which we are speaking, that the Athenian general Xantippus, son of Ariphron, having taken prisoner Artayctes, a Persian, the governor of Sestos, nailed him alive to a plank. This Persian had unlawfully and atrociously brought women into the temple of Protesilaus, at Elæum.

It was then at this promontory, commencing from Abydos, that the persons charged with the work, constructed the bridges. One was formed by the Phoenicians, who used ropes of white flax: the other by the Egyptians, who employed the papyrus. The distance from Abydos to the opposite shore, is seven furlongs. The bridges were no sooner completed, than there arose a hurricane, which rent and dissipated both of them. Xerxes on hearing of this accident was filled with rage, and commanded three hundred strokes of the whip to be inflicted on the Hellespont; and also that a pair of fetters should be thrown into the deep. I have indeed heard that he sent persons to brand the Hellespont with a hot iron; at least he directed, that when the flogging was inflicted, the following barbarous and outrageous words should be pronounced—"O thou bitter water! thy lord inflicts upon thee this punishment for having injured him, though uninjured by him. Yet the king—even Xerxes, will pass over thee, whether thou wilt or not. Justly no man offers sacrifice to thee, for thou art a perfidious and brackish stream." He also directed his officers to punish the sea in the same manner, and he caused the overseers of the bridges to be decapitated. This ungracious task having been executed by those to whom it was committed, other engineers were employed to construct new bridges, who proceeded in the following manner—They connected together penteconters and triremes—on the side towards the Euxine there were three hundred and sixty; and on the other, three hundred and fourteen. They were placed obliquely in respect of the Euxine; but yet corresponding with the current of the Hellespont, in order to keep the supporters on the stretch.* The vessels being connected in a line,

* This description of the bridge of boats has been variously understood, and I am inclined to think very much misunderstood. To explain the objections which lie against the several explanations that have

were also secured by large anchors on both sides;—towards the Euxine, to secure them against the winds that blow from within; and on the other side, towards the west, and the Ægæan sea, to guard against the south and south-east winds. In three places they left openings between the penteconters and triremes, for the passage to and fro of small vessels from the Euxine. From the land, the cables which connected the line were racked tight by capstans. Nor did they again use single cables, but formed each supporter with two of the flaxen cordage, or with four of those made from the papyrus. They were of even thickness and appearance throughout; yet the flaxen cables were—in the same length—heavier than the other sort:—a cubit's length weighed a talent. When the passage was thus bridged over, planks were sawn of length equal to the width of the raft, and these were nicely fitted together as a flooring over the stretched cables; and these were again firmly bound together throughout their extent. Small branches were strewed upon the planks, and laid with a fair surface: earth was then spread over the branches, and pressed flat. On each side of the raft a fence was raised, lest the beasts of burden and the horses should take alarm in seeing the water beneath.

All the works connected with the bridge were now completed; as was also the trench at Mount Athos, where dikes had been formed around the mouths of the canal, to prevent their being filled by the flux of the sea. It was announced then that the canal was completely

been given, would occupy some pages—I translate the passage on the supposition that the bridge, instead of being extended across the stream from the promontory *above* Abydos, was stretched *obliquely* across the *lower neck*; so that its line of cordages would nearly correspond with the direction of the current: thus the cables would be kept on the stretch without having to sustain the momentum of the stream on the flanks of the vessels. Probably the penteconters were in one line, and the triremes in the other: this arrangement accounts for the difference of numbers on the two sides.

finished. Xerxes, after passing the winter at Sardis, mustered the host at the commencement of spring, and advanced towards Abydos. While on his march, the sun, leaving its place in the heavens, disappeared; and though the sky was cloudless, and perfectly serene, day was exchanged for night. Xerxes in beholding and considering this event was filled with inquietude, and sought from the Mages the meaning of the portent. They declared—"That God predicted to the Greeks the extinction of their states:" for, as they said, "the sun was the tutelar of the Greeks, as the moon was of the Persians." Rejoiced at hearing this explanation, Xerxes resumed his march.

But as the host moved forwards, Pythius the Lydian, terrified by the prodigy that had appeared in the heavens, and also emboldened by the gifts (*he had offered and received*), approached Xerxes, and thus addressed him:—"My lord, would you grant me a favour which I desire to obtain, and which, though great for me to receive, will be of trivial cost for you to afford?" Xerxes, supposing it to be any thing rather than what he actually asked, said that he would afford it, and commanded him to declare what he wished for. Upon this encouragement he confidently said:—"My lord! I have five sons, and they are all, of course, enrolled in the army you are leading into Greece. Wherefore, O king, in pity to my advanced years, release to me one of my sons from the service, even the eldest, that he may take charge of me and of my property; and as to the four, lead them with you; and may you accomplish all your intentions, and return to your home."

Xerxes, extremely enraged, replied:—"Base man! and dost thou dare, when I am myself marching into Greece, and leading with me my own sons, and my brothers, and near relatives and friends, to make mention of thy sons, being as thou art my slave, and bound as
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thou art to follow me, with all thy house, and even thy wife! But now learn this truth, that the temper of man dwells in his ears; he who hears what is advantageous, has his whole body filled with gladness! but if he hears the reverse, he rages. When thou didst well, and made so many offers, thou hadst no room to boast of having surpassed a king in liberality; and now even that thou takest the course of shameless impudence, thou shalt not receive thy deserts; but less. Thy acts of friendship shall redeem thyself and thy four sons, but as for the one whom thou dost chiefly love, he shall pay the forfeit of his life." With this reply he instantly commanded those whose business it was to execute orders of this kind, to search for the eldest of the sons of Pythius, and to cut him in two, and then to place a half of the body on the right hand side of the road, and a half on the left, so that the army might pass between. This was done; and the army marched on between the two parts.

SECTION III.

MARCH AND MUSTER OF THE PERSIAN HOST.

In the order of march, the sumpter beasts with the camp equipage took the lead; next to them followed a promiscuous host of all nations, not distributed into distinct bodies: they formed more than half of the whole army. After these an interval was left; for this host was kept apart from the king. The royal train was led by a thousand horse, selected from the whole Persian army. Then a thousand spear men, chosen also from among all; they carried their spears with the point in-

clined towards the earth. After these came ten sacred Nisæan horses, gorgeously caparisoned. The horses called Nisæan, are such as are bred on a spacious plain in Media of that name, and which produces horses of uncommon size. Close behind the ten horses, followed the sacred chariot of Jupiter, drawn by eight white horses, and behind them walked the charioteer, holding the reins; for no mortal ever ascends this seat. After this followed Xerxes himself, in a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses, and the charioteer walked by the side; his name was Patiramphes, a Persian—the son of Otanes.

In this order did Xerxes issue from Sardis; but when he felt so disposed, he descended from the (*military*) chariot, and went into a close carriage.* Behind the king's carriage followed a thousand of the bravest and most nobly born of the Persians, carrying their spears in the usual manner (*not lowered*). Then another select body of a thousand horse. Then ten thousand of the Persian infantry; and of these one thousand carried spears which, instead of iron spikes at the lower end, had golden pomegranates: those who bore these spears formed the exterior ranks, so as to include the others: the nine thousand bore spears with silver pomegranates. The spearmen before mentioned, who carried their spears lowered, had also golden pomegranates; but those following nearest to Xerxes had golden apples. After the ten thousand infantry, came a body of ten thousand Persian cavalry; behind these an interval of two furlongs was left. Then followed, in a confused crowd, the rest of the host.

In leaving Lydia, the army took the road towards the river Caïcus, and entering the Mysian territory, advanced beyond the Caïcus, having Mount Cana on the left hand, and passing through Atarnea, reached the city Carina.

* Of that sort used by the Persian ladies—a Palanquin.

Thence it moved on through the plain of Thebes, leaving on one side Adramyttium, and Antandrus, a Pelasgian city. Keeping Mount Ida on the left, it entered the territory of Ilium. And in the night in which the army rested under Ida, there were thunderings and flashes, by which no small number of men perished. The army next reached the Scamander, the first river since leaving Sardis, whose waters failed to satisfy the thirst of the host and of the cattle; for its stream was dried up by them. When he reached the banks of this river, Xerxes ascended the Pergamus of Priam (*citadel of Troy*), which he much wished to see. After inspecting it, and learning the whole history of it, he sacrificed a thousand oxen to the Trojan Minerva; at the same time the Mages performed libations to the heroes of the place. The night after these ceremonies, a panic fell upon the camp, so that at day-break the army proceeded thence, leaving on the left Rhoetium, and Ophrynum, and Dardanus, which last city borders upon Abydos. On the right were the Gergithe-Teucrians.

When he reached Abydos, Xerxes wished to behold the whole army. For this purpose he had before given directions to the people of Abydos to construct, upon a rising ground, an elevated throne of white marble. Seated on this throne, he overlooked the line of coast, and saw at once both the army on land, and the fleet. After contemplating the scene, he desired to view a sea fight, which was accordingly performed, and the Phoenicians of Sidon were the victors. He was gratified both by the combat and the army. As he looked on every side, and saw the Hellespont entirely covered with vessels, and all the coasts and plains around Abydos filled with men, Xerxes at first blessed himself; but presently afterwards shed tears.

Artabanus, his uncle, who at first had with freedom advised the king not to invade Greece, perceiving his

emotion on this occasion, thus addressed him : “ O king, how diverse is your behaviour now and a short time since : then you blessed yourself—now you weep !” “ Compassion seized me,” replied Xerxes, “ in reflecting on the brevity of human life :—of this vast multitude not one shall be living a hundred years hence !” “ Yet,” replied Artabanus, “ there are ills to be suffered in the course of life, more worthy of commiseration than death itself. For even in so short a life there is no man—no, not the happiest in this assemblage, or elsewhere, to whom it does not happen more than once, yes often, to wish to die rather than live. Such are the calamities to which we are exposed, such the diseases that torment us, that they make life, short as it is, seem but too long. Thus it is that death, through the troublousness of life, becomes to man the most ardently desired refuge. In mixing the sweet in the cup of life, the Deity makes evident his jealousy.”*

“ Artabanus,” replied Xerxes, “ if indeed human life is such as you represent it, let us dismiss the subject ; nor employ ourselves in recounting woes, while we have so much that is prosperous before us. But now tell me—If the vision which appeared to us had been less convincing, would you still have retained your first opinion, and have opposed the invasion of Greece ; or would you have changed your opinion ? Tell me explicitly.” “ O king,” said Artabanus, “ may the vision which appeared to us issue as we both desire ! But for my own part, I am still so fraught with fear, that I scarcely possess myself ; and among many gloomy anticipations, there are two things especially which I regard as eminently adverse to you.” “ Most extraordinary of men,” said Xerxes,

* It was an opinion commonly entertained by the ancients, that the gods, jealous of men, reserved all real happiness to themselves ; and that they allowed mankind to taste of pleasure to render the calamities of life the more grievous.

“and what are these two things which you think so inimical to me? Is it that you complain of the army, as not numerous enough, and that you think the Grecian forces will greatly outnumber ours? or think you that our fleet will fail to match theirs? or do you entertain both suppositions? If indeed our present armament appears to be insufficient, another may be instantly collected.”

“O king,” answered Artabanus, “no reasonable person can complain of the army as too small, or of the ships as too few; and if you were to increase their numbers, the two things of which I speak would become still more formidable to you;—they are—the land and the sea. For as I conjecture, there is no where in any sea a port capacious enough to receive this fleet, should a tempest arise; or any place where the ships might securely ride. Nor would one harbour be enough; we need to find one such on each coast we may visit. But now as you have no such harbours of refuge, remember that man does not command fortuitous calamities, but they him. So much for the first of these things. I proceed to speak of the second. The land, I say, not less than the sea, presents itself as your enemy. If no adversary opposes your progress, by so much the more will it be hurtful to you, as you advance further and further, and continually steal upon the way. Men are never satiated with success. And if none oppose you, the land, I affirm, as time advances, will produce you famine. The perfection of human conduct is this—in previous deliberations to calculate with fear upon every ill that may arise: but in the execution of enterprises to be fearless.”

Xerxes resumed: “Artabanus, you have very plausibly discussed these points. Yet do not fear every thing, nor calculate on all occasions with equal care. If indeed you must anticipate every possible event that may attend each enterprise that is proposed, you will effect nothing. Better is it, in daring all, actually to suffer even the half

of what may be feared, than in retreating fearfully from every danger, to avoid suffering altogether. If you argue against whatever may be proposed, and yet cannot advance any thing absolutely certain, you will stumble in your own path, not less than those do whom you oppose : the choice then is even ; and I think there is no man living who can act upon absolute certainty. Success, for the most part, falls to the lot of those who resolve to act ; while it rarely comes to those who calculate all possibilities, and are tardy in performance. You see to what a height of power the Persian empire has attained. But if the kings, my predecessors, had followed a mode of thinking like yours, or if, though not themselves so disposed, they had been surrounded by counsellors like you, you would never have seen our affairs in this flourishing condition. It was in dashing through dangers that they advanced so far. Great enterprises are carried forward amid great dangers. We therefore are only following their example. We march at the most favourable season of the year, and after vanquishing the whole of Europe, we shall return home without any where suffering famine or any other unlucky accident. Not only do we carry with us a large supply of provisions, but we shall appropriate the grain of the people whose lands we invade ; for we are about to make war, not upon nomadic tribes, but upon cultivators of the soil."

" Since, O king," replied Artabanus, " you will yourself give no indulgence to fears, at least receive my advice on one particular—and the length of discourse must correspond to the greatness of the affairs in question. Cyrus, son of Cambyzes, vanquished all Ionia except Athens, and made it tributary to the Persians. I therefore counsel you not by any means to lead these men (*the Greeks of Asia*) against their fathers. Without their aid we are more than a match for the enemy. But if they follow us to the war, either they will act a most

unworthy part in aiding to reduce their mother country to slavery ; or they will prove themselves true to its interests—as they ought—in assisting to maintain its freedom. If they take the former course, the advantage to us cannot be very great ; but should they be just to their country, they may effect the most extensive damage to your army. Consider that ancient and true saying—the termination of an enterprise is not always to be foreseen at the commencement of it.”

“ Artabanus,” said the king, “ of all the opinions you have advanced, there is none in which you err more than in professing to fear the defection of the Ionians, of whom we have proof, which you yourself are witness to, as were also all those who attended Darius in the Scythian expedition, when it was upon them that the entire Persian army depended for destruction or preservation. Yet they afforded us then just and faithful service, and nothing else. Besides this proof of fidelity, while they leave in our territory their children, their wives, and their goods, it is not to be imagined that they will attempt any revolt. Dismiss then this fear also—be of good heart, and preserve my house and government at home.—To you alone of all the Persians I commit the ensigns of sovereignty.

So saying, Xerxes sent away Artabanus to Susa, and then convoking the most distinguished Persians, thus addressed them—“ Persians, I have assembled you, that I might enjoin you to acquit yourselves as brave men, and not sully the glory of the exploits hitherto achieved by our nation—great and memorable as they are. Let each and all of us be filled with zeal for the service. We are labouring to promote a cause common to all. Wherefore I exhort you to prosecute this war vigorously ; for, as I am informed, the people we are about to attack are valiant, and if we overcome them, there is no other people whatsoever that can bring an army into the field to oppose

us. We will therefore pass on as soon as we have implored the favour of the gods, whose is Persia."

The same day preparations were made for the passage of the army. The next was waited for, and the rising of the sun eagerly desired; meanwhile, incense of all kinds was offered to the gods upon the bridges, and the road was strewed with branches of myrtle. At the instant of sun-rising, Xerxes poured a libation from a golden cup into the sea, at the same time addressing a prayer to the sun, intreating that no accident might prevent his continuing to vanquish the nations of Europe, until he had reached its utmost limits. As he finished this prayer, he threw the cup into the Hellespont, together with a golden vase and a Persian sword of the kind called a scymetar. Whether this was done as an offering to the sun, or whether, repenting of the stripes he had inflicted on the Hellespont, he wished to make amends to that water by these gifts which were thrown into it, is a question I cannot certainly determine.

These ceremonies finished, the whole of the infantry and cavalry passed over that bridge which was on the side of the Euxine, while all the attendants with the sumpter beasts passed the other, on the side of the Ægæan sea. The march was led by the ten thousand Persians—all wearing crowns; then came the promiscuous host of all nations.—The march of these occupied the first day. On the second day came—first, the horsemen, and those with their lances lowered—these also crowned: after them the sacred horses, and the sacred car; then Xerxes himself, and the spearmen, and the thousand horse; and following them another host. While the army passed the bridges, the fleet also moved over to the opposite side. I have indeed heard it affirmed, that the king passed over last of all. When he reached the European side, he witnessed the passing forwards of his

army under the lash.* Seven days and nights, without a pause, were occupied in bringing the host across the bridges. On this occasion, when Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, a certain Hellespontine is reported to have exclaimed—"O Jupiter! wherefore is it that, assuming the habit of a Persian, and taking the name of Xerxes, thou dost lead all mankind after thee to subvert Greece, when without them thou mightest easily do the same thing."

When all had passed over, and were proceeding on their march, a great prodigy occurred, to which Xerxes paid no attention, although in fact its meaning was obvious;—a mare brought forth a hare! Whence it might readily have been foreseen that Xerxes, who was about to lead an army into Greece with great arrogance and magnificence, would return whence he came with much peril to himself. Another prodigy also had happened while the king was yet at Sardis, for a mule produced a mis-shapen birth. Yet disregarding both, he urged on his way at the head of the army, while the fleet, leaving the Hellespont, coasted along in a direction contrary to that of the army, for it proceeded directly towards the west, to the promontory of Sarpedon, where it was ordered to wait; while the army marching eastward (*north east*) on the main land, took the road through the Chersonese, having on the right hand the tomb of Helle, daughter of Athamas, and on the left the city named Cardia. Thence, having made the circuit of the Gulph of Melan, they passed through the midst of a city, called Agora, and crossed the river Melan, whence the Gulph takes its name, the waters of which failed to supply the thirst of the host. From this point they took a westerly

* It was the common practice of the Persians to flog their armies on the march, and into the field of battle.

direction, passing Ænos, an Æolian city, and the lake Stentoris, and reached Doriscus.

Doriscus is an extensive shore and plain of Thrace: through it runs the large river Hebrus, upon which is erected a royal fort, called Doriscus, and where Darius had placed a Persian garrison at the time of his Scythian expedition. This plain appeared to Xerxes very proper for the purpose of mustering and numbering his forces, which accordingly he effected. The entire fleet having arrived at Doriscus, the captains, at the command of Xerxes, hauled the ships on the beach, in the neighbourhood of the fort, and along the coast on which stands Sala, a Samothracian city, and Zona, and which is terminated by the celebrated promontory of Serrhium. This region anciently belonged to the Ciconians. The vessels being hauled ashore, the crews were refreshed, while the land forces were numbered.

What might be the precise number of each division of the army as furnished by the different nations, I am not able to state, for these particulars have never been mentioned. But the entire host is known to have amounted to one million, seven hundred thousand men. The numbering was managed in the following manner. Ten thousand men were brought together in one place, and being crammed as close as possible, a circle was drawn around them: this done, the ten thousand were removed, and a fence was reared on the circle about as high as a man's elbows.* Then another set of men was stuffed into the enclosed space, and so on in succession, until in this manner the whole host had been numbered. After the numbering, the host was divided into bodies, according to the several nations included in the army, which were these:—

The Persians, whose costume was this—The head was

* Metonymy for *ομφαλος*.

surrounded by a consolidated bonnet, called a tiara. The body was enclosed by a sleeved waistcoat, curiously wrought with scales of iron, like those of a fish. On the lower limbs were worn trousers; and for the shield, a buckler of osiers was used: beneath this hung the quiver. The Persian foot soldier carried a short spear, a long bow with arrows of reed, and also a dagger, suspended on the right thigh from the girdle. The Persians were commanded by Otanes, the father of Amestris, the wife of Xerxes. They were formerly called by the Greeks Cephenes, but by themselves and by their neighbours they were called Artæans. But Perseus, son of Danaë and of Jupiter, visited Cepheus, son of Belus, whose daughter Andromeda he married. By her he had a son, whom he named Perses, and whom he left behind him; and as Cepheus had no son, the appellation—Persians, was assumed by the nation.

The Medes were accoutred in the same manner as the Persians; in truth, this costume is properly Median—not Persian. They were commanded by Tigranes of the Achæmenidian family. The Medes were of old universally called Arians; but when Medea of Colchis came from Athens among these Arians, they changed their name. This is what the Medes say of themselves. The military habit of the Cissians was like that of the Persians, except that instead of the folded tiaras, they wore mitres. The Cissians were led by Anaphes, son of Otanes. The arms of the Hyrcanians were the same as of the Persians. Megapanus commanded them, who afterwards was governor of Babylon.

The Assyrians wore brazen helmets, wrought and twisted in I know not what barbaric form, hard to be described. Their shields, spears, and daggers, were like those of the Egyptians. Moreover, they carried wooden clubs, knotted with iron, and wore corslets of linen. By the Greeks they are called Syrians; but by the

Barbarians, Assyrians. In the midst of the Assyrians were the Chaldæans. Their general was Otaspes, son of Artachæus.

The Bactrians wore on their heads a mitre, very nearly resembling that of the Medes; their bows—peculiar to the country, were of reed (*bamboo*), and they carried short javelins. The Saces, who are Scythians, had cock's-comb tiaras, ending in a point which stood erect: they also wore trousers, and carried bows after the fashion of their country, with daggers, besides battle axes. These, though Amyrgian Scythians, were called Saces, which is the name given by the Persians to the Scythians at large. Hystaspes, son of Darius, and of Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and Saces.

The Indians were clad in garments made from the produce of a tree (*cotton*); they had bows of bamboo, and arrows of the same, headed with iron: such was the accoutrement of the Indians. They were marshalled under the orders of Pharnazathres, son of Artabates. The Arians were armed with Median bows; but in other respects like the Bactrians. Sisamnes, son of Hydarnes, was their general. The Parthians, the Chorasmians, the Sogdians, the Gandarians, and Dadices, march in the same military dress and furniture as the Bactrians. Of these, the Parthians and Chorasmians were commanded by Artabazus, son of Pharnaces: while the Sogdians were under Azanes, son of Artæus; and the Gandarians and Dadices under Artyphius, son of Artabanus.

The Caspians were clad in goats' skins, and armed in the manner of their country, with bows of reed, and scymetars: they had for their leader Ariomardus, brother of Artyphius. The Saranges wore garments splendidly dyed: their buskins reached to the knee; their bows and spears were Median. Pherendates, son of Megabazus, commanded them. The Pactyans also wore

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clothing of goats' skin, and carried bows and daggers peculiar to their country: their general was Artyn-tes, son of Ithamathres. The Utians, and Mycians, and Paricanians, were furnished like the Pactyans. The two former people were under Arsamenes, son of Darius, and the latter under Siromitres, son of Œobazus.

The Arabians were clad in long cloaks, girt about the waist: on the right arm were slung long bows, which bent both ways. The Ethiopians, clad in the skins of leopards and lions, carried bows formed from branches of the palm tree, and not less than four cubits in length: with these they used short reed arrows, pointed with sharpened stones instead of iron:—the stone used for this purpose is the same that is employed in engraving seals. They have besides pikes, armed with stags' horns, the ends of which are sharpened like the head of a dart; and also knotted clubs. When they go to battle, they daub one half of the body with gypsum (*white*) and the other half with red ochre. These Arabians, and the Ethiopians, inhabiting the country about Egypt, were under the command of Arsames, son of Darius and of Artystone, daughter of Cyrus, and whom of all his wives Darius most loved: he had an image of her formed of solid gold.

The eastern Ethiopians (*those of Asia*), for they were divided from the others, were marshalled with the Indians; they do not differ from the others in appearance, or in any thing except their language and their hair; for the eastern Ethiopians have flowing hair (*not frizzled*), while those of Libya have hair more crisp than that of any other people. These Asiatic Ethiopians were accoutred, for the most part, like the Indians: on their heads they wore the skins of horses' heads, with the ears;—the mane served them for a crest, while the ears stood erect. For bucklers they used defences made of the skin of the crane. The Libyans appeared clothed in skins, and

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carried javelins, the points of which were hardened in the fire: they were commanded by Massages, son of Oärizus.

The military furniture of the Paphlagonians consisted of a helmet formed of plaits: they had small bucklers, and spears of no great length; besides which, they carried darts and daggers:—their buskins, after the fashion of their country, reached to the mid-leg. Thus also were habited the Ligyes and the Matienians, and the Mariandynians, and the Syrians—called by the Persians Cappadocians. Dotus, son of Megasidrus, commanded the Paphlagonians and Matienians; while the Mariandynians, the Ligyes, and the Syrians were under Gobryas, son of Darius and Artystone. The Phrygians, with some variations, were attired like the Paphlagonians. The Phrygians, as the Macedonians affirm, were called Briges so long as they remained in Europe, and were intermixed with the Macedonians; but passing over to Asia, they changed their name as well as their country, adopting the appellation—Phrygians. The Armenians, being a colony of Phrygians, were armed like them: both were under Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius.

The marshal attire of the Lydians was much like that of the Greeks. The Lydians formerly were called Meonians, but afterwards adopted the name of Lydus, son of Atys. The Mysians wore a helmet peculiar to their country, and carried small shields, and used fire-hardened darts. These are sprung from the Lydians, and are also designated from Mount Olympus—Olympians. Both Lydians and Mysians were under the command of Artaphernes, son of Artaphernes, the same who was joined with Datis in the battle of Marathon.

The Thracians had the skins of foxes on their heads:—the body was wrapped in a tunic, over which was thrown

a cloak of many colours: the feet and legs were covered with boots of fawn's skin; they were provided with darts, crescent bucklers, and small daggers. These, when they passed into Asia, acquired the name Bithynians, though, according to their own account, their original name was Strymonians, derived from their inhabiting the banks of the Strymon, whence they say they were driven by the Teucrians and Mysians. The Asiatic Thracians were under Bassaces, son of Artabanus * they carry small shields, formed of raw hides, and each man had two javelins of the Lycian fashion (*or, of the sort used in hunting the wolf*), they wore brazen helmets, and on them the ears and horns of the ox, in brass also; and over all a crest. Their legs were bound about with red ribbons. Among these people there is an oracle of Mars.

The Cabalian Meonians (*and those*) called Lasonians, were habited and armed like the Cilicians: this costume I shall mention when I come to speak of the martial array of that people. The Milyans had short spears; their tunics were close buttoned up. Some of them carried Lycian bows; their helmets were of leather. Badres, son of Hystanes, commanded all these people. The Moschians wore wooden helmets, and carried small bucklers and short spears with large heads. In like fashion were furnished the Tibarenians, and Macrones, and Mosynœces:—they marched severally under the following leaders — Ariomardus, son of Darius, and of Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, commanded the Moschians and Tibarenians;—Artayctes, son of Cherasmes, who was governor of Sestos on the Hellespont, led the Macrones and the Mosynœces.

The Mares wore skull caps formed of many plaits, after the fashion of their country; their bucklers were small,

* The name of the people is believed to be here wanting in the text.

and made of skins: they carried darts. The head pieces of the Colchians were of wood; their bucklers small, and made of untanned hides; their spears short: besides these they were also armed with swords. Pharandates, son of Teaspes, commanded the Mares and Colchians. The arms of the Alarodians and Saspire were the same as those of the Colchians. Masistius, son of Siromitres, was their general.

The nations inhabiting those islands of the Erythræan sea, to which the king sends persons condemned to banishment, were habited and armed in a manner resembling the costume of the Medes. These islanders were commanded by Mardontes, son of Bagæus, who, two years afterwards, was slain fighting at the head of his troops at the battle of Mycalé.

These then were the nations marshalled in the army which marched overland to Greece; and those whom I have mentioned were their generals who marshalled them in order of battle, and numbered them, appointing captains of thousands, and of ten thousands; while they left it to the captains of ten thousands to nominate the captains of hundreds and of tens. Thus each people and troop had its own leaders, though all subordinated to the (*Persian*) princes I have named. Again, all these commanders, with the entire land forces, were placed under the control of Mardonius, son of Gobryas, and of Tritantæchmes, son of Artabanus, who gave his opinion against the invasion of Greece, and of Smerdomenes, son of Otanes—both of whom were nephews of Darius, and cousins of Xerxes; and of Masistes, son of Darius and Atossa; and of Gergis, son of Arizus; and of Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus. These were the commanders in chief of the entire land forces, excepting only the ten thousand selected from the whole Persian army, for they were commanded by Hydarnes, son of Hydarnes, and these ten thousand Persians were called immortal, because

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whenever any one of them was removed from his place, either by death or sickness, another man was elected in his room, so that the body never numbered more or less than ten thousand. The Persians, as they were the bravest men in all the army, so were they the most sumptuously arrayed. Their dress I have already described: besides this, they wore a vast profusion of ornaments of gold. They were also followed by close carriages (*or litters*) with their ladies, as well as by a very numerous and well appointed train of attendants. Their provisions also were carried apart from those of the army, by camels and other sumpter beasts.

All the nations above-mentioned have cavalry; but none furnished them on this occasion, except those now to be mentioned. The Persian cavalry are attired like the infantry, only that some of them had ornaments wrought in brass or iron on their tiaras. There is a nomadic race called Sagartians of Persian extraction, and using the same language, but attired in a manner between the Persian and the Pactyan. They furnished a body of eight thousand horse: these people are not accustomed to carry any weapon of brass or iron, except only a dagger; but instead, they are provided with reins, formed of thongs braided together: trusting to these alone, they enter the field of battle, and use them in the following manner—Mingling with the combatants, they throw out their reins, which have a noose at the end, and with these catch whatever may happen to come in their way, whether man or horse, and while entangled in the coils, pull him towards them till they stab him. Such is their mode of fighting;—they were marshalled with the Persians.

The Median cavalry, as well as that of the Cissians, were habited like the infantry.—So were the Indian cavalry, who beside their riding horses, had chariots of war, drawn, some by horses, and others by wild asses

(*onager* ; *zebra*). The Bactrians and Caspians were accounted the same—cavalry and infantry ; as were the Arabians, who all had camels—not less swift than horses. These were the only nations that furnished cavalry—the number of which, exclusively of camels, and the beasts attached to the chariots, was eighty thousand. The cavalry of each people were marshalled with its infantry, excepting only that of the Arabians, which was placed in the rear, that the horses might not take alarm at the camels, which they cannot bear.

The generals of the horse were Harmamithres and Tithæus, the sons of Datis. Pharnuches, the third general of the horse, was left at Sardis, having met with an accident as the army was leaving that city.—While on horseback a dog ran between the legs of his steed, which not having seen it before, took fright, reared, and threw Pharnuches : the fall occasioned his vomiting blood, and in the end, brought on a phthisis. His servants, in fulfilment of a command he gave immediately after the accident, brought the horse to the spot where it had thrown its master, and there they cut off its legs at the knee. Thus did Pharnuches lose his command.

SECTION IV.

MUSTER OF THE FLEET: REVIEW OF THE FORCES.

The triremes amounted to twelve hundred and seven, and were furnished as follows—The Phœnicians with the Syrians of Palestine, brought three hundred ;—the men were thus habited—their helmets were much in the Greek fashion ; they wore linen corslets, their targets

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had no tiers (*or iron felloes*); they were armed with javelins. These Phœnicians, according to their own account, anciently dwelt on the coast of the Erythræan sea; thence passing over (*land*), they came and settled on the coast of Syria. This part of Syria, and all the country as far as Egypt, is called Palestine. The Egyptians furnished two hundred ships; the men wore helmets formed in jointed pieces: their shields were concave, and had large rims (*or tiers*), their weapons were sea-javelins and massy hatchets. Most of them wore thoracles, and carried broad swords.

The Cyprians furnished a hundred and fifty ships: the costume of the men was this;—their chiefs wore mitres, and the rest turbans;* in other points, their attire was Grecian; for the Cyprians are a mixture of many nations, as they themselves confess, some coming from Salamis and Athens, some from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, some from Phœnicia, and some even from Æthiopia.

The Cilicians brought a hundred ships: these people wore a national helmet; their shields were mere targets, formed of raw hides; their cloaks were woollen; each man carried two darts and a sword, not unlike the Egyptian broad sword. The Cilicians were formerly called Hypachæans; but afterwards took their designation from Cilex, son of Agenor, a Phœnician.

The Pamphylians furnished thirty ships; they were armed in the manner of the Greeks. They are descended from those who, returning from Troy, were scattered with Amphilocheus and Calchas.

The Lycians had fifty ships: they wore thoracles and greaves: their bows were formed of the horn-beam tree, and arrows of reed unfledged; they had darts also. Over their shoulders they wore goats' skins, and on their heads caps garnished with feathers: their weapons were daggers

* *κισθωνας* probably *κιταρας*.

and falchions. The Lycians coming originally from Crete were called Termiles, but received the name of Lycus, son of Pandion, an Athenian.

The Asiatic Dorians furnished thirty ships; as they came from Peloponnesus their weapons were like those of the Greeks. The Carians had seventy ships, and were accoutered like the Greeks, only that they carried falchions and daggers. What name these people formerly bore, I have mentioned in an early part of this history (page 81). The Ionians furnished a hundred ships; their dress and arms were Grecian. So long as they dwelt in that part of Peloponnesus, now called Achaia, and before the time when Danaus and Xuthus came into Peloponnesus, they were, as the Greeks affirm, called Ægialian Pelasgians; but afterward, Ionians, from Ion, son of Xuthus.

The islanders brought seventeen ships: and were armed like the Greeks. They are of Pelasgian origin, but in after times came to be called Ionians, in the same manner as the people of the twelve cities founded by the Athenians. The Æolians had sixty ships; their costume is Grecian: they also, according to the Greeks, were anciently called Pelasgians. The Hellespontines—excepting those of Abydos, who, at the command of the king, remained at home as guardians of the bridge—with those from the Euxine, who joined the fleet, furnished a hundred ships. Their attire was Grecian, for they are colonies of the Ionians and Dorians.

There were Persians, Medes, or Saces, on board all the ships. Of the whole fleet, the best sailing vessels were those of the Phœnicians, and among the Phœnician vessels, those of Sidon were the best. The crews of the ships, as well as the men forming the land army, were all commanded by native officers, whose names I have not thought myself bound to learn or to record. Nor were there any distinguished leaders of the ships of each nation;

but among the vessels of each nation, there were as many commanders as there happened to be cities whence they were furnished. And these commanders, far from taking the rank of generals, were considered merely as slaves, bound to perform military service. And I have already mentioned the Persian generals in whom all the power was vested, and who commanded the several nations.

The general officers of the fleet were—Ariabignes, son of Darius; Prexaspes, son of Aspathines;—Megabyzus, son of Megabates;—Achæmenes, son of Darius. Ariabignes, son of Darius and of the daughter of Gobryas, commanded the ships of Ionia and of Caria; while Achæmenes, the own brother of Xerxes, commanded the Egyptians. The other two generals commanded the rest of the fleet. The trië-
conters and the penteconters—the barges, and the long horse-transports, altogether amounted to three thousand. After the generals above-mentioned, the most celebrated of the captains were these:—Tetramnestus, son of Anysus, a Sidonian; Mapen, son of Siromus, a Tyrian; Merbal, son of Agbal, an Aradian; Syennesis, son of Oromedon, a Cilician; Cyberniscus, son of Sicas, a Lycian; Gorgos, son of Chersis, and Timonax, son of Timagoras, both Cyprians; and of the Carians, Histiaëus, son of Tymnes; Pigres, son of Seldomus; and Damasithymus, son of Candaules.

It does not seem necessary to record the names of the other general officers. Yet I must mention Artemisia, whom I admire as having—though a woman—joined this expedition against Greece. On the death of her husband she had held the sovereignty during the minority of her son: though under no compulsion, she had joined the army from an impulse of intrepidity and manly courage. This Artemisia was the daughter of Lygdamis, the Halicarnassian; but on the mother's side, she was a Cretan. She commanded five ships, furnished by Halicarnassus, and Coos, and Nisyros, and Calydné; and,

excepting only the Sidonian ships, these five were the best equipped of all the fleet; and of all the associated generals, Artemisia offered to the king the best counsels. The people under her domination, and whom I have mentioned just now, are, I pronounce, all Dorians; for the Halicarnassians were from Trœzen, and the others from Epidaurus.—So much then for the naval armament.

When Xerxes had numbered and marshalled the host, he conceived the desire of inspecting the whole, by passing through the ranks. This was effected, and, drawn in a chariot, he pervaded the array of each nation, and in his progress asked questions, the answers to which were noted by his secretaries: thus he proceeded from the first to the last troops of both infantry and cavalry. When this review was accomplished, the ships were all hauled to sea, and Xerxes descending from his chariot, went on board a Sidonian ship, and sitting beneath a golden canopy, sailed along in front of the prows of the vessels; and as he had done on land, made inquiries and took notes. The captains of the ships had drawn them the distance of about four hundred feet from the beach, and there cast anchor, all in a line, with the prows towards the shore; and all the men on board were armed as if for battle. Xerxes sailing between the prows and the shore, inspected the whole line.

Having finished this review also, and landed from the ship, he sent for Demaratus, son of Ariston, who followed him in the army against Greece: him he called, and thus addressed—"Demaratus, it is my pleasure at this time to put to you some questions which I wish to be answered:—You are a Greek; and as I learn from yourself, as well as from other Greeks with whom I converse, are of a state which is not the least or the feeblest in Greece. Tell me then, will the Greeks dare to lift their hands against me? In my opinion, if all the Greeks and all the nations occupying the countries towards the

west were collected together, they would not be competent to meet me in the field ; unless indeed they were united in purpose and counsels. Now I wish to be informed what you think on this subject."

"King," replied Demaratus, "am I to say what is true, or what is agreeable?" Xerxes commanded him to speak the truth, and assured him he should not, on that account, be less in his favour than heretofore. Thus encouraged, Demaratus addressed the king as follows—"Since you enjoin me by all means to speak the truth, I will say that which—whoever may affirm it—you shall never find to have been erroneous. Poverty has always dwelt with the Greeks ; but virtue has been an acquisition procured by wisdom and the vigour of law. Then, by the aid of virtue, Greece has secured herself against both poverty and tyranny. I commend indeed all the Greeks inhabiting the Doric territory ; but leaving others, I will proceed to speak of the Lacedæmonians only, and I say in the first place, that there is no possibility of their listening to your propositions, which imply the slavery of Greece ; and then I affirm that they would oppose you in arms, even though all the other Greeks should go over to your interests. Nor do I care to ask how great their numbers are, that they should be able to act this part ; for were there only a thousand men bearing arms, they would give you battle ; and so would fewer—and so would more."

Xerxes derided this speech, and thus replied—"Demaratus, what is it you have said ? Would then a thousand men contend with an army like this ? Come now, say you not that you were yourself king of these very men ? Are you then willing on the spot to fight with ten men ? If indeed your polity is altogether such as you represent it to be, you, being the king of this community, it behoves you, in compliance with the customs of your country, to engage with a double number : and if every one

of them is a match for ten of such as might be taken from my army, I demand of you to enter in conflict with twenty, and then you will give consistency to what you have affirmed. But if indeed these Lacedæmonians whom you vaunt so much, are nothing better in quality and stature than yourself, and those Greeks with whom I am accustomed to converse, take heed lest there be found no little empty boasting in all you have advanced! Now make me understand, on reasonable grounds, how one thousand men, or even ten thousand, or fifty thousand, and though they were all absolutely free, as you talk, and not subjected to the domination of one man, could withstand so mighty a host as this. For if they were five thousand strong, even then we are more than a thousand to one. But if now, according to our institutions, they were placed under the control of an absolute master, then, inspired by dread of him, they would display a valour which nature has not given them; and if soundly flogged, they might even advance, few as they are, against multitudes. But abandoned to liberty, they will do nothing of this sort. For my own part I think that, though equal in numbers, the Greeks would find it hard to contend with the Persians alone. Valour such as you speak of, which indeed is always rare, exists among us; for there are Persians among my guards who will readily engage with Greeks—three to one, and whom you condemn only because you have not put them to the proof.”

“O king,” replied Demaratus, “from the first I felt assured that in adhering to the plain truth, I should not please you. But as you constrained me to say nothing but the simple truth, I have spoken of the Spartans such as they are. You well know what reason I have to hate them*—they, who besides depriving me of my paternal honours and dignities, have made me an exile and a

* The sense absolutely requires *αστοργως* to be read for *εστοργως*.

fugitive. On the contrary, your father received me, and gave me maintenance and a house: it is not then credible, that a man of common sense should thrust from him his benefactor;—he will love him rather.—Far from professing myself competent to fight ten men, I would not contend with two, nor even with one—spontaneously. And yet were there necessity, or any sufficient motive to impel me, I would willingly fight with any one of those men who, as you say, are singly a match for three Greeks. And thus the Lacedæmonians in general are inferior to none in single combat; but when combined they are the bravest of mankind. Free indeed they are, and yet not absolutely free; for they have a master—THE LAW, whom they fear much more than your slaves fear you. Whatever that master commands, they will do, if nothing more, and it inflexibly forbids them ever to fly from the field, how numerous soever the enemy may be; and it commands them to stand to their ranks until they conquer or perish. If in what I have said, I shall be found to have mocked you, I consent never again to break silence. Even now I have only spoken under compulsion;—and may all your wishes, O king, be accomplished.”

Such was the reply of Demaratus: Xerxes only made a jest of it, and far from feeling any resentment, dismissed him amicably.

SECTION V.

MARCH OF THE PERSIAN ARMY THROUGH THRACE AND MACEDONIA.

While at Doriscus, Xerxes deposed the governor appointed by Darius, and placed in his room Mascames, son

of Megadostes. Then he moved the army forwards through Thrace towards Greece. This Mascames, whom he left at Doriscus, was the only one of all the governors appointed either by Darius or himself, to whom Xerxes was accustomed to send presents, professedly because he was the bravest of them all. These presents were sent yearly, and were even continued to his descendants by Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes. Before the time of this invasion, governors had been established throughout Thrace and the Hellespont: but after the defeat of the expedition, all of them were removed by the Greeks, excepting only Mascames, the governor of Doriscus, whom, though they made repeated attempts, they could by no means dislodge. On this account, gifts continued to be made to the family by the Persian kings.

Of all the governors removed by the Greeks, only one was deemed by Xerxes to have behaved like a brave man.—This one was Bogen, governor of Eion, whom he never ceased to applaud, and whose surviving children in Persia he distinguished by peculiar honours. In truth, Bogen merited high commendation, for when besieged by the Athenians under Cimon, son of Miltiades, and when terms were offered to him which would have allowed him to leave the place and return to Asia, he would not yield lest the king should suppose he had saved his life through fear; but he defended the place to the last, and when no more provisions remained in the fort, he collected a great pile of combustibles—slew his children, his wife, his women, and his slaves, and threw the bodies into the fire. Then he took all the gold and silver that could be found in the city, and scattered it from the walls into the Strymon:—when this was done he cast himself into the fire. Justly then is Bogen celebrated by the Persians, even to the present day.

From Doriscus, Xerxes advanced towards Greece, and on his way compelled all he met with to fall into the

ranks of the army; for as I have before said, he had reduced to slavery the whole country as far as Thessaly, which was made tributary by the conquests, first of Megabyzus, and afterwards of Mardonius. On leaving Doriscus, he passed by the Samothracian towns, the last of which, towards the west, is Mesambria, near Strymé, a city of the Thasians:—the river Lissus flowing between the two. This stream also failed to supply the wants of the Persian army. The district formerly was called Gallaïca; but now Briantica. To speak correctly, it belongs to the Ciconians.

Passing the dried channel of the Lissus, the army moved near the Grecian cities—Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera, and by those celebrated lakes—Ismaris, between Maronea and Strymé—and Bistonis, near Dicæa, into which the two rivers Travus and Compsatus empty themselves. At Abdera there is not any lake of much note, but the river Nestus which flows into the sea was crossed by Xerxes. Continuing his march through these regions, he passed by the several maritime cities of the continent: in the neighbourhood of one of them there is a lake about thirty furlongs in circumference; it abounds with fish, and is extremely brackish. Yet the sumpter beasts, which only drank of it, dried it up. The city near this lake is called Pistyrus. These maritime Grecian cities he passed, leaving them on the left hand.

The Thracian tribes through whose lands Xerxes marched, are these:—The Pætians, the Ciconians, the Bistones, the Sapæans, the Dersæans, the Edonians, the Satres: all of whom, as they occupy the sea coast, joined the fleet in their ships. The Satres have never—so far as we know, owned subjection to any man; and they alone of all the Thracians have remained free to the present time; for they inhabit lofty heights on every side covered with forests and snows: they are also warlike in their disposition. They have among them an oracle of

Bacchus, situated on the loftiest of the summits. The Bessians are the interpreters of the oracle among the Satres, which are delivered by a priestess, as at Delphi; nor are the responses more artfully ambiguous than those.

After traversing this region, he next passed the towns of the Pierians, one of which is named Phagra, and the other Pergamus; for the road runs near both those places. Leaving on the right hand the great and lofty mountain Pangæus, which contains mines of gold and silver, worked by the Pierians, the Odomantiâns, and especially by the Satres. Proceeding still westward, the army traversed Pæonia, and passed the Doberes and Pæoples, who dwell northward of Mount Pangæus, until they reached the banks of the Strymon, and the city Eion, of which Boges, of whom I have already spoken, was then governor. The country around Pangæus is called Phyllis, and extends westward as far as the river Angitas, and southward reaches to the Strymon. Here the Mages sacrificed some white horses, and obtained auspicious omens. After the performance of various rites of divination, addressed to the river, the host marched through what are called the Nine ways of the Edonians, by the bridges which they found already constructed over the Strymon. The Persians hearing that the district was called the Nine ways, buried alive in it nine boys and nine girls, the children of the inhabitants; for it is a Persian custom to bury the living; and thus, as I have been informed, Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when advanced in years, buried alive fourteen youths taken from the most illustrious Persian families, in order to gratify the god who is said to be under ground.

The army having crossed the Strymon, passed a Greek city called Argilus, situated on the coast towards the west. This district, and the country above it, is called Bisaltia: thence, having on the left hand the gulph on which stands the temple of Neptune, it marched through the plain of

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Sylé, passing by the Greek city Stagirus, and arrived at Acanthus; and as it advanced, it drew along with it, as I have already said, all the tribes in its way, and even the inhabitants of Pangæus—the maritime people joining the fleet, while those further from the sea followed the army. The tract along which king Xerxes led his army is not to this day disturbed or cultivated by the Thracians, who regard it with great veneration. When the Persian arrived at Acanthus, he offered his friendship to the citizens—presented them with Median vestments, and seeing their readiness to give their aid in the war, and hearing that the canal (*at Athos*) was finished, he applauded them.

While he continued at this place, it happened that Artachæes, director of the canal, died of some disease; he was a man in high esteem with Xerxes; of the Achæminidean family, and the tallest Persian of his times, for he wanted only a hand's breadth of being five royal cubits in height. His voice also was of extraordinary power. Xerxes, deeply afflicted by his death, caused him to be buried with the utmost magnificence: the whole army was employed in raising a tumulus over him. To this Artachæes, the Acanthians, on the admonition of an oracle, perform sacrifices as to a hero, and invoke him by name. The king regarded the loss of this personage as a calamity.

Those Greeks who received the army into their territory, and who had to provide a feast for Xerxes, were reduced to such extreme misery, that they were obliged to abandon their homes. The Thasians being required, on account of the cities they held on the continent, to receive the army, and to give the supper, Antipater, son of Orges, one of the most distinguished citizens, who was chosen to discharge this duty, declared that four hundred talents of silver had been expended upon the single repast. Much the same took place in the other cities, as appeared

from the accounts rendered by those who presided. This supper was so much the more magnificent because it had been bespoke a long time before hand, and was a matter of the highest consequence to the interests of those who prepared it. Instantly, when the heralds who were sent in all directions, had informed a city of what was expected from them, some of the citizens divided among themselves the corn, which they employed themselves, during many months, in grinding into flour, whether of wheat or barley; while others fattened cattle—the fairest that could be found, and reared land birds in cages, and water fowl in ponds, to be in readiness for the army. Others again manufactured vessels of gold and silver, and vases, and other articles of all kinds, required for the table. These preparations were made for the king only, and his table companions. As to the rest of the army, provisions only were required to be furnished for them. When the army approached any place where it was to stop, a pavilion was erected, and held in readiness, in which Xerxes was to lodge. The rest of the army slept abroad. At the hour of supper, those who received the guests underwent no small labour, while they, after gorging themselves, passed the night in the pavilion, and the next day tearing it down, and seizing all its furniture, went off; nor was an article left which they did not carry away.

Well spoke Megacreon of Abdera on this occasion: he first advised the people of that city “to present themselves in a body with their wives before the gods, as suppliants, and to entreat a like remission of one half of any evils that might impend over them. And for what was passed, heartily to thank the gods that it was not the custom of king Xerxes to take two meals in the same day. For had it been the fate of the people of Abdera to provide a dinner as well as a supper, they must either have fled before his approach; or, if they had remained,

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must have suffered a ruin beyond example." These people, though grievously burdened, acquitted themselves of the part imposed on them.

Xerxes dismissed the fleet at Acanthus, enjoining the commanders to await his coming at Thema, a city of the Thermian gulph, to which indeed it gives its name : for he had been informed that the shortest course lay through that city. From Doriscus to Acanthus the army had marched in three divisions ; the first, under the command of Mardonius and Masistes, proceeded along the coast, attended by the fleet. The second was despatched under Tritantæchmes and Gergis, through the inland districts ; while the third division, with Xerxes himself, marched between the two, under the command of Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.

The fleet when dismissed by Xerxes, passed through the canal at Mount Athos, into the gulph on the shores of which stand the cities Assa, Pílorus, Singus and Sarta. Thence, after taking on board the military force of those places, the fleet proceeded towards the Thermaïc gulph—doubling the promontory of Ampelus, at the head of the gulph of Torone, and in passing the Greek cities Torona, Galepsus, Sermyla, Mecyberna, and Olynthus, of the territory now named Sithonia, took both men and ships. The Persian fleet then struck across from the promontory of Ampelus, to that of Canastræus, the most prominent point of the coast of Pallené, where they took men and ships from Potidæa, Aphytis, Neapolis, Æga, Therambus, Scioné, Menda, and Sana—cities of the territory once called Phlegra, now Pallené. Coasting this country, they proceeded to the appointed station, on their way levying men from all the neighbouring cities of Pallene, which border on the Thermaïc gulph : the names of these cities are as follows, Lipaxus, Combria, Lisæ, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila, and Ænia : the country occupied by these towns is to the present

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time called Crossæa. From Ænia, the last named of these places, the fleet sailed directly into the Thermaïc gulph, and touched upon the coast of Mygdonia. Still moving on, it reached Therma, the place of its destination, and Sindus, and Chalestra, on the river Axius, which divides Mygdonia from Bottiæis, on the narrow maritime district of which, stand the cities Ichnæ and Pella.

The fleet having reached its destination, awaited the arrival of the king, and meanwhile formed a naval camp on the banks of the Axius, and at Therma, and at the intermediate cities. Xerxes, with the army, proceeded by a short course over-land from Acanthus to Therma, and passed through the Pæonian and Crestonian territories, to the river Echidorus, which rising in the latter, runs through Mygdonia, and discharges itself into the marsh above the Axius. While marching through this country, the army was beset by lions, which attacked the camels employed in carrying provisions. These lions leaving their haunts at night, approached the camp, but seized nothing, either man or beast, excepting only the camels. One cannot but wonder why the lions should refrain from all other animals, and attack the camel—an animal they had never before seen or tasted. That region abounds not only with lions, but with wild bulls, the horns of which being of extraordinary size, are brought into Greece. The river Nestus, which flows near Abdera, and the river Achelous, which runs through Acarnania, are the boundaries within which the lions are found; no animal of that species being seen in Europe eastward of the Nestus, or any where throughout that continent westward of the Achelous; but between these rivers they are produced.

When Xerxes reached Therma, he encamped the army. This encampment occupied all the maritime district from Therma and Mygdonia, as far as the rivers
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Lydias and Haliacmon, which uniting their waters in the same channel, divide Bottiæis from Macedonia. Upon these lands then it was, that the Barbarians pitched their camp. And of all the rivers above-mentioned, the Echidorus alone, which rises in Crestonia, was not exhausted by the army.

Xerxes discerning from Therma the mountains of Thessaly—that is to say, Olympus and Ossa, which are of vast altitude, and learning that they were separated by a narrow defile through which runs the river Peneus, and that at that spot was the road into Thessaly, conceived the wish to sail to the mouth of the Peneus, that he might examine the exit of the river.—He was about to lead the army that way, being informed that it was the most secure; passing over the Macedonian highlands, it traverses the country of the Perrhæbians, and leads near the city Gonnus. His wish was no sooner formed than put in execution: going on board a Sidonian vessel—the same which he had used on every occasion of this kind, he, at the same time, gave signal for the fleet to weigh, and left the army to follow him. When he reached the place, and had inspected the exit of Peneus, Xerxes seemed struck with admiration, and calling his guides, inquired if the river were capable of being turned from its channel, and made to enter the sea at any other point. The tradition received among the Thessalians is that, anciently, their country was a lake, shut in on all sides by its lofty mountains:—towards the east by Pelion and Ossa, the bases of which were united:—towards the north by Olympus; towards the west by Pindus; and towards the south by Othrys. Thessaly is in fact a cavity, occupying the space between the above-mentioned mountains. It is watered by many rivers, of which the five following are the most noted—the Peneus, the Apidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus; all which descending into the plain of Thessaly from the

surrounding mountains, meet together and mingle their waters, and obtain their discharge into the sea by a single channel, and that a very narrow one. When these rivers meet, they severally lose their names, and that of the most noted—the Peneus, prevails. Now according to the ancient tradition, the pass and exit (*between Olympus and Ossa*) did not formerly exist, and yet the rivers above-mentioned, as well as the lake Boëbeïs, though not then known, as now, by name, actually flowed, as at present, into the plain, and formed an expanse of water, covering the whole of Thessaly. The Thessalians themselves affirm—and I think with great reason, that Neptune made the aperture through which the Peneus flows; for whoever is of opinion that it is Neptune who shakes the earth, and that the rents occasioned by earthquakes are the work of that god, will, on examining the fissure of which we are speaking, allow that Neptune formed it; for the parting of the mountains is, as it seems to me evidently, the work of an earthquake.

Xerxes, as I have said, inquired of the guides, if there were any other (*practicable*) exit for the Peneus; and they, knowing perfectly the country, replied:—"Sire, this river can discharge itself into the sea by no other channel but this; for Thessaly is entirely encircled by mountains." Upon which Xerxes is reported to have said:—"The Thessalians then are prudent men. Conscious of their inability to defend themselves against me, they have in good time taken the precaution of submitting; for besides other reasons, they know that the country they inhabit is one very easily and very quickly reduced. Nothing more would be necessary than by raising a dyke across the fissure through which the river flows, to turn the stream from its course upon their lands; and all Thessaly, excepting the mountain districts, would be inundated." The allusion of Xerxes was to the descendants of the Aleuads of Thessaly, who first of all

the Greeks surrendered themselves to the king, and, as he supposed, they did so on behalf of the nation at large. After finishing this inspection, Xerxes returned to Therma.

Xerxes remained several days in Pieria, while one of the three divisions of the army was employed in clearing the forests on the Macedonian hills, over which the entire host was to pass into the territory of the Perrhæbians. While there, the heralds who had been despatched into Greece, to demand earth, returned—some empty-handed, others bearing earth and water. Those Greeks who had offered the gifts were the Thessalians, the Dolopes, the Ænians, the Perrhæbians, the Locrians, the Magnetics, the Malians, the Achæans of Pthiotis, the Thebans, and indeed all the Bœotians, except the Thespians and the Plateans. Against these, the Greeks who engaged in the war with the Barbarian, bound themselves by an oath, in the following terms:—"From all those Greeks who, without compulsion, have surrendered themselves to the Persian, we—when our affairs are restored to good order—will exact a tythe, to be dedicated to the Delphic god."

Neither to Athens nor to Sparta did the Persian send heralds to demand the tokens of submission; for when, on a former occasion, Darius had sent messengers there on the same errand, the Athenians had cast them into the Barathron,* and the Spartans had thrown them into a well, commanding them to take earth and water thence, to carry to the king. On this account therefore Xerxes refrained from sending to either of those cities. What calamities befel the Athenians, in consequence of their treatment of these heralds, I cannot say, except we should mention the pillaging of their lands and city: yet it does not seem to me that this was actually the cause of those misfortunes.

* A pit at Athens, into which criminals were thrown.

Upon the Lacedæmonians (*on this account*) alighted the wrath of Talthybius, the herald of Agamemnon, to whom a temple is dedicated at Sparta, and whose descendants, called Talthybiads, still remain there. It is the privilege of these persons to discharge the function of heralds at Sparta on every occasion. But after the murder of the Persian heralds, the Spartans were no longer able to obtain auspicious indications from the sacrifices: this continued during a long time. The Lacedæmonians, afflicted and unprosperous, convoked frequent assemblies of the people, in which proclamation was made to inquire, "If any Lacedæmonian were willing to die for Sparta?" At length Spertbies, son of Aneristus, and Bulis, son of Nicolaus—both Spartans, and men nobly born, and eminently wealthy, offered themselves as willing to forfeit their lives to Xerxes, as an expiation of the murder of the heralds of Darius at Sparta. These persons were therefore despatched, as for death, to the Medes.

The intrepidity of these men, and their expressions on the occasion, were indeed worthy of admiration. On their way to Susa, they presented themselves to Hydarnes, a Persian, and the commander of the maritime provinces of Asia, who entertained them hospitably, and took occasion thus to address them:—"Lacedæmonians, why do you avoid the friendship of the king? You may see, while you look upon me, and upon my establishment, how he honours brave men. And thus too would he honour you, would you but surrender yourselves to him. Valiant as you are, he would gratify you by bestowing upon each a government in Greece." "Hydarnes," replied the Spartans, "the advice you give cannot affect us as it might you;—you recommend what you have yourself tried, but you know nothing of the alternative. What it is to be a slave, you know; but as to liberty, whether it be a sweet or not, you are ignorant. Had you actually made

proof of it, you would have counselled us to fight for it, not with spears only, but with hatchets.*” Thus was Hydarnes answered.

When these Spartans arrived at Susa, and were brought before the king, the guards commanded them to fall to the ground and worship him; and even used compulsion; but they utterly refused to do so, even though forced down upon their heads. “It is not,” said they, “our custom to worship a man; nor for this purpose came we hither.” After resisting this requirement, they addressed Xerxes in some such terms as the following:—“King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians sent us to suffer as a retaliation for the death of the heralds who perished at Sparta.” To this speech Xerxes magnanimously replied, “that he should not follow the example of the Lacedæmonians who, in violation of the customs of all nations, had put heralds to death; nor himself do what he blamed in them; much less would he, by killing them in revenge, release the Lacedæmonians from the guilt they had incurred.”

[The wrath of Talthybius was however, for the moment, allayed by the act of the Spartans, although in fact Spertbies and Bulis returned to Sparta. Nevertheless, some time afterwards it was again awakened, as the Lacedæmonians themselves affirm, during the war between the Peloponnesians and Athenians.—And to me there appears a divine interference (*or, no divine interference*) in what happened.† For that the wrath of Talthybius should alight upon the messengers, and not cease till it was accomplished, was just. But

* “De combattre de toutes nos forces pour sa defense.” Larcher. Why this cold paraphrase of a spirited figure? Beloe follows Larcher.

† The sense seems at first sight to require a *negative* in this and a following sentence. Larcher and others suppose the negation to have fallen from the passage, and render it accordingly. I think the meaning of Herodotus intelligible without such a supposition.

that it should fall upon the sons of those persons who went to the king to appease that wrath—I mean upon Nicolaus, the son of Bulis, and upon Aneristus, the son of Sperthies, who seized the Tirynthian fishermen whom he found sailing round Peloponnesus in a transport filled with men—clearly proves (*or, does not prove*) to me that the wrath fell upon them under a divine direction. For it happened that when sent by the Lacedæmonians to Asia, they were betrayed by Sitalces, son of Tereus, king of Thrace, and by Nymphodorus, son of Pythius—a citizen of Abdera, who captured them near Bisanthá, in the Hellespont, and conducted them to Attica, where they were put to death by the Athenians, and with them Aristæas, son of Adimantus, a Corinthian. But these events happened many years after the expedition of Xerxes.]

SECTION VI.

RESPONSES OF THE PYTHIAN. MEASURES OF THE GREEKS.

I resume the course of my history. The expedition of Xerxes was professedly undertaken against Athens; but in fact was directed against all Greece. The Greeks, though all well informed of what they had to expect long beforehand, did not all await its arrival with the same feelings; for some of them having given earth and water to the king, confided in their submission, and believed they had nothing to suffer from him; while others, who had not presented the gifts, were in the utmost consternation; for all the ships belonging to the Greeks together did not amount to a number that could oppose the invader; and in fact very many of the states, far from being willing

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to engage in the war, were eager to take part with the Medes.

And now I feel compelled to express an opinion which, though it will be thought invidious by most men, I shall not withhold—convinced as I am of its truth. If the Athenians, terrified by the approaching danger, had either abandoned their country, or, though not leaving it, had surrendered themselves to Xerxes, no force whatever would have been opposed to him by sea. And if Xerxes had met no enemy on the seas, then we may know what must have happened on land. For although the Peloponnesians had raised at the isthmus never so many ranges of walls, the Lacedæmonians would not the less have been deserted by their allies;—not perhaps willingly, but from necessity, imposed on them by the fleet of the Barbarian, which would have captured city after city along the coast. Thus deserted, they might indeed have achieved feats of valour, and have died nobly; or they might have submitted to the same fate as others; or at an earlier period—seeing the other Greeks go over to the Medes—they might perhaps have secured the benefit of a treaty with Xerxes. But in either case, Greece must have become subject to the Persians. What advantage could have been secured by the walls raised across the isthmus, I have never been able to learn; since Xerxes would have been master of the sea. He therefore who may affirm that the Athenians were the preservers of Greece, will not err from the truth; for to whichever side they had gone over, that side must have preponderated. But in determining for the liberty of Greece, they quickened the courage of all those states that had not already taken part with the enemy; and in fact it was they, next to the gods, who repulsed the king. Nor did even the responses of the oracle, brought from Delphi, fearful as they were, and such as must inspire terror, prevail with them to abandon Greece. On

the contrary they stood their ground, and endured the attack of the invader.

The Athenians wishing to consult the oracle, had sent deputies, who after performing the customary rites, entered the temple, and seating themselves as suppliants, received an answer from the Pythian—whose name was Aristonica; it was as follows:—*

“Infatuated men! why sit you here? Fly to the ends of the earth, leaving your homes, and the sharp summits of your circling city. Nor shall the head remain unmoved, nor the body, nor the lowest feet, nor shall the hands, nor the middle be left; but shall turn to unenvied ruin. Fire and keen Mars, driving a Syrian car, shall ruin all. And many other towers also, in like manner as yours, shall he destroy. And many temples of the Immortals shall he give to the consuming fire: even now, quaking with dread, they stand; and flow with sweat; and from their highest roofs black blood is shed, in pre-sage of inevitable woe. But get you hence from the sanctuary, and let your heart be conversant with ills.”

The Athenian deputies on hearing this response were affected with the deepest sorrow: while abandoned to despondency under the woe announced to them, they were advised by Timon, son of Androbulus, a Delphian of high repute, to take the olive branch and again to consult the oracle as suppliants. Yielding to this advice, the Athenians thus spoke:—“O Supreme! impart to us something more favourable concerning our country; nor condemn these olive branches which we bear in our hands before thee. Or if not, we refuse to depart from this sanctuary; but here it will be for us to remain until we die.” When they had thus spoken, the priestess again addressed them in the following terms:—

* There is so much historical significance in this and the succeeding response, that the reader will prefer the exactness of a prose translation to any metrical version that could be given.

“ Pallas is unable to propitiate Olympian Jove, though she has besought him with many words, and profoundest skill. I repeat to you therefore the same response, inflexible as adamant. Yet when all shall be captured within the Cecropian limits, and the recesses of the sacred Cithæron, the wide-seeing Jupiter gives to Minerva a wooden fort, which alone shall be impregnable; and that shall preserve you and your children. Wait not quietly the approach of horse and foot—the numerous host that advances from the continent. But turn the back, and leave your land. Yet the day shall come when you will face the enemy.* O divine Salamis! thou shalt destroy† the sons of women, whether Ceres be still abroad or housed.”

This response seemed to the deputies, as indeed it was, of milder import than the first. They therefore wrote it down, and departed for Athens. On their arrival, they announced it to the assembly of the people. In exploring the sense of the oracle, many and various opinions were advanced. The two which most prevailed were these. Some of the elders supposed that the god had foretold that the Acropolis should be preserved; for anciently the Acropolis of Athens was fenced about by a palisade: they therefore thought this fence was intended by the “ wooden fort.” On the other hand, some believed that the god by this phrase signified the fleet, and commanded them to equip their ships, and to abandon all besides. But those who affirmed that by the wooden fort was meant the fleet, were perplexed by the concluding verses, uttered by the Pythian—“ O divine Salamis! thou shalt destroy the sons of women, whether Ceres be still abroad

* *ἐτι τοι κοτε κἀντιος εἶσση* has been variously rendered. Mitford says, “ even though they be close upon you.” Larcher gives good reasons for understanding the phrase in an opposite sense.

† *ἀπολεις*—*cause to perish*—not *lose*.

or housed," which words held in suspense the minds of those who thought the fleet was the wooden fort. For the deputies took the words in this sense, as intending that if they engaged the enemy at sea, they should suffer a defeat off Salamis.

There was then among the Athenians a man who had very lately risen to eminence in the state. This was Themistocles, commonly known by the appellation—Son of Neocles. He maintained that the interpreters had not rightly understood the terms of the oracle: "If," said he, "the phrase had related to the Athenians, the terms employed would not, it is probable, have been so kindly. But instead of—"O divine Salamis," the Pythian had said—"O wretched Salamis"—if the inhabitants of the surrounding regions were destined there to perish. He therefore who rightly considers the oracle, will understand the god as predicting the ruin, not of the Athenians, but of the enemy." Themistocles therefore counselled the people to make preparations for defending themselves by sea—the fleet being in truth "the wooden fort." The Athenians decided that the opinion of Themistocles was preferable to that of the interpreters, who dissuaded from preparing to engage the enemy by sea, or indeed to make any kind of resistance, and advised that they should abandon Attica, and seek some other abode.

Themistocles had on a former occasion proposed a measure which, in this season, proved highly advantageous. At a time when the public treasure of the Athenians had been greatly augmented by the proceeds of the Laurian mines, a distribution was about to be made through all ranks, which would have given ten drachms to each citizen. Then it was that Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to abstain from the proposed distribution, and to construct two hundred ships with their accumulated treasure, to serve in the war—meaning the war then carrying on with the Æginetans. That war occasioned

the preservation of Greece; for it compelled the Athenians to become a maritime people. These ships were not actually employed for the purpose intended, and thus served the cause of Greece in the time of need. They were now therefore at the disposal of the Athenians, and it was only necessary to add some to the number. It was resolved, in a council held after the response of the oracle had been received, that the whole Athenian people, with such other Greeks as were of the same mind, should, in obedience to the advice of the god, meet the Barbarian who was invading Greece, at sea. Such were the oracles given to the Athenians.

All those of the Greeks who took the better part for their country were now convoked, and after exchanging assurances of fidelity to the common cause, it was resolved deliberately, that before any other affairs were attended to, all existing differences should be reconciled, and an end put to the wars then raging between several of the states; of which the chief was that between Athens and Ægina. In the next place, being informed that Xerxes with his army was already at Sardis, they resolved to send spies into Asia, to watch the king's movements. Then it was determined to send ambassadors to Argos, to conclude an alliance against the Persian, and again others to Sicily—to Gelon, son of Dinomenes; and others to Corcyra, enjoining the people of that island to succour Greece; and others to Crete. For their intention was, if possible, to combine the general body of Greeks, and so to bend the efforts of all towards the same object, since the extremest danger impended alike over all. The power of Gelon was reported to be very great, and indeed to surpass that of any Greek state.

These resolutions having been adopted, and all animosities being laid aside, the first step taken was to send three men as spies into Asia. When these persons reached Sardis, it became known that they were making them-

selves acquainted with the extent of the royal army. They were therefore seized by the commanders of the infantry, and after being examined by torture, were, in pursuance of the sentence passed upon them, about to be led to execution. But Xerxes, hearing what was taking place, blamed the commanders for the course they had taken, and sent some of his guards with an order to bring the men before him, if they should find them still living. The guards finding them still surviving, took them away, and brought them into the royal presence. The king after inquiring their business, commanded the guards to lead them around, and shew them the whole army, both infantry and cavalry, and when satiated with the spectacle, to send them in safety wherever they wished to go. In giving these directions, he said:—"If these spies had perished, the Greeks would not have become informed of the greatness of his preparations, which exceeded common report; while in putting three men to death, a very inconsiderable injury would have been inflicted on the enemy. On the other hand," said he, "when these men return to Greece, they will spread such reports of the vastness of my armament, that the Greeks, without waiting its arrival, will themselves resign their liberties, so that there will be no occasion to prosecute the war against them, and our labour will be spared."

This expectation of Xerxes resembles another entertained by him. While at Abydos he perceived some store ships, passing the Hellespont from the Euxine, and carrying provisions to Ægina and Peloponnesus. Those around him being informed that the vessels belonged to the enemy, were ready to seize them, and fixing their eyes on the king, awaited his commands. But Xerxes having inquired their destination, was answered "Sire, they are conveying provisions to your enemies!" To which he replied, "And are not we proceeding there too, and we also charged, among other things, with provisions?"

What injury then are they doing us in carrying corn for us?"—The spies having in the manner above related, inspected the army, and being dismissed, returned to Europe.

SECTION VII.

EMBASSIES TO ARGOS, SICILY, AND CORCYRA.

The Greeks confederate against the Persian, after sending the spies, despatched their ambassadors to Argos. The Argives give the following account of these transactions, so far as themselves were concerned. They say that they had information from the very commencement of the intentions of the Barbarian upon Greece. Having received this information, and learning also that the Greeks would endeavour to engage them to join in opposing the Persian, they despatched a deputation to Delphi, to inquire of the god—"What course it would be best for them to adopt; for very recently, six thousand of their citizens had been put to the sword by the Lacedæmonians, under Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides." Such was the occasion of their sending. The Pythian replied to their inquiries in the following terms—

"Nation, by neighbours scorned—by gods beloved!
Hold in your dart; and keep your watch unmoved.
Argives, beware! Preserve the head from ill:
The head, the body keeps from dangers still."

Such was the answer they had received before; and when the ambassadors arrived at Argos, they were introduced to the council, where they delivered their in-

structions, to which the Argives replied that—"they were willing to afford the aid required, on condition that a truce of thirty years should be agreed to by the Lacedæmonians, and that they should share equally with them the command of the allied forces, which was all they intended to claim, although in strict justice the undivided command was their right."

Such, say they, was the answer given by the council, although the oracle had forbidden their entering into an alliance with the Greeks. But though, fearing the oracle, they desired a truce of thirty years, to gain time in which their sons might attain manhood. Without this truce they feared that if, in addition to the losses they had already sustained in the late war, they should suffer a further reduction of their forces from the Persian, they must ever after submit to the Lacedæmonians. The Spartans who were included in the embassy, replied to the council in the following terms—"As to the truce, it should be referred to the people. As to the command of the forces, we are instructed to answer, that as the Spartans have two kings, and the Argives only one, it was impracticable to grant a condition which would deprive one of their own kings of his command; but nothing prevented the king of Argos from sharing authority with the two." Thus it happened, as the Argives affirm, that not being able to endure the encroaching spirit of the Spartans, they chose rather to submit to the Barbarian, than to yield an inch to the Lacedæmonians. They therefore warned the ambassadors to quit the Argian territory before sun-set, or they would be treated as enemies.

[Such is the account given by the Argives; but a different story is current throughout Greece.—It is said that Xerxes, before he commenced his expedition against Greece, sent a herald to Argos, with a message to this effect—"Argives, Xerxes the king thus addresses you:—we hold the opinion

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that Perses, our ancestor, was the son of Perses, son of Danaë, and of Andromeda, daughter of Cephes. We therefore, if this opinion be right, are your descendants. And we cannot think it proper, either for us to make war upon our progenitors, or for you, by taking part with the other Greeks, to become our enemies. Remain then tranquilly at home. And if this enterprize succeeds to my wish, there are no people I will treat with greater regard." The Argives considered this message as a matter of importance, and abstained from making any application to the Greeks; but when called upon by them, they demanded an equal share in the command of the forces, well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would not yield it, and so they should have a pretext for remaining neuter.

Some Greeks relate a story which agrees well with this, though the events referred to took place many years after the time of which we are speaking. It happened that the Athenians sent, on some affairs, Callias, son of Hipponicus, with others to Susa, the city of Memnon; at the same time there arrived messengers despatched by the Argives, to ask Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes—"Whether the friendship formed with them by Xerxes still endured, or whether he regarded them as enemies. To this inquiry, Artaxerxes the king replied—"Most certainly it remains, nor is there any city more dear to me than Argos."

Whether in truth Xerxes had sent any such message to Argos, or whether actually the Argives despatched their ambassadors to Susa, to inquire of Artaxerxes concerning the friendship, I am not able positively to determine. Nor shall I advance any opinion on the subject, but simply relate what the Argives affirm. Yet this much I know, that if all men were to bring their domestic disgraces together, with the intention of changing them for those of their neighbours, all, after narrowly inspecting the others, would gladly take away what they severally brought. Thus perhaps the conduct of the Argives was not more shameful than that of some others. I think myself obliged to report what is affirmed by others; but by no means am I bound to believe what every one says.

Let this profession be kept in mind throughout the whole of my history. And particularly when I report the assertion that it was the Argives who invited the Persian into Greece, because that having been defeated by the Lacedæmonians, they thought any condition would be preferable to the misery to which they were reduced. So much for the Argives.]

Other ambassadors—sent out by the confederates, arrived in Sicily, to confer with Gelon. Among them was Syagrus from Lacedæmon.

[The progenitor of this Gelon was an inhabitant of Gela, who came from Telos, an island off the promontory of Triopium. When the Lindians of Rhodes, under Antiphemus, founded a colony at Gela, he was associated with them. In process of time his descendants became priests (*expounders*) to the infernal deities (*Ceres and Proserpine*) and continued to discharge that function. Telines, one of their ancestors, obtained the dignity in the following manner—Certain citizens of Gela, who had excited a sedition, took refuge at Mactorium, a city of the higher country. These refugees were brought back by Telines, without the aid of any military force; and only by means of the sacred symbols of the two divinities: but whence he took them, or how he possessed them, I am unable to say. Yet certain it is that, confiding alone in their efficacy, he actually brought back the fugitives, and obtained the condition that his descendants should be the priests of the divinities. The achievement of Telines, such as I have heard it described, excites my admiration—actions of this sort are not to be performed by every man; but belong to magnanimous spirits, filled with manly force. And yet among the Sicilians, it is affirmed that his character was the very reverse of this, and that he was a man by nature effeminate and delicate. It was notwithstanding thus that he obtained the dignity.

Cleander, son of Pantares, who had governed Gela seven years, came to his end by the hand of Sabyllus—a citizen of

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that place, and was succeeded in the sovereign power by his brother Hippocrates. During the reign of Hippocrates, Gelon, a descendant of Telines, the priest, was included in the number of the tyrant's guards: among these also was *Ænesidemus*, son of *Pataïcus*. Within a very short time Gelon, by his bravery, raised himself to the command of all the cavalry, and obtained a high reputation in the attacks made by Hippocrates upon the Callipolitans, the Naxians, the Zancleæans, and the Leontinians, as well as the Syracusans, and many barbarian nations. Of the cities I have named, one only—Syracuse—escaped servitude under Hippocrates. But the Syracusans were succoured by the Corinthians and Corcyræans, after having been defeated in a battle on the banks of the *Elorus*. They also mediated a peace between Hippocrates and the Syracusans, on the condition that the latter should surrender to him *Camarina*, a city which from remote times had belonged to them.

Hippocrates, after reigning the same number of years as his brother, met his death before the city *Hybla*, while making war upon the Sicilians. Then it was that Gelon, under pretence of maintaining the rights of *Euclid* and *Cleander*, the two sons of Hippocrates, against the people who refused any longer to submit to the rule of that family—in fact took possession of the throne for himself, after defeating the citizens of *Gela*, and deposing the sons of Hippocrates. After this achievement, Gelon put himself at the head of certain Syracusans, called *Gamores* (*original landholders*) who having been expelled by the commonalty and by their own slaves—called *Cyllyrians*, had established themselves at *Casmenes*. These persons he led back to Syracuse, and on his approach, the commonalty surrendered themselves and the city to him. Master now of Syracuse, he made less account of *Gela*, and placed it under his brother *Hiero*; while he contented himself with Syracuse, which presently, under his rule, advanced to a high state of prosperity. In the first place he transferred to that city the inhabitants of *Camarina*, which city he razed to the ground. Then he did the same with more than half of the people of *Gela*. Having besieged the *Megarians* of Sicily,

he brought them to terms. The more opulent of them—as they had provoked the war, expected nothing but death : he however brought them to Syracuse, and admitted them to the right of citizenship. While the Megarian commonalty, who had no share in exciting the war, and who therefore expected no punishment, he also led to Syracuse, where he sold them as slaves, to be exported from Sicily. The same course he pursued with the Eubœans of Sicily—dividing them into two classes, and banishing the inferior class, whom he considered only as the most ungracious inmates of a community. By such means it was that Gelon became a powerful prince.]

The messengers from the Grecian confederacy arriving at Syracuse, were admitted to an audience, and thus addressed Gelon—“ The Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and their confederates, have sent us to secure your aid against the Barbarian, who, as you must have learned, is advancing upon Greece. This Persian, having joined the Hellespont, leads with him from Asia all the forces of the east, and is about to invade Greece. Professedly he advances against Athens only ; but in fact intends to reduce all the states under his sway. You therefore, who have attained so great a height of power, and who, as sovereign, have under your command no inconsiderable portion of the Grecian body—we exhort to aid the defenders of the Grecian liberties, and to labour with them for its preservation. All Greece is assembled, a numerous force is collected, and we are now competent to meet the enemy. But should some among us act a treacherous part, and others decline to afford their aid, so that the sounder portion of the community should be left in the minority, there would be the greatest reason to fear for the safety of all Greece. Nor must you imagine that if the Persian vanquishes us, he will not extend his progress to you. Rather take timely precautions to prevent his doing so. In aiding us you do in fact defend

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yourself. Measures well concerted are for the most part crowned with success."

Gelon replied to this speech with vehemence in the following terms—"Greeks, you have then the effrontery and the hardiness to call upon me to join you in resisting the Barbarian! You who refused your aid when some time since I entreated you to assist me against a barbarian host, while I was at war with the Carthagenians, and when I sought to avenge the murder of Dorieus, son of Anaxandrides, slain by the Egestæans, and when I offered to liberate the commercial towns from which you would have derived very great advantages! Yet none of these motives would move you, no not so much as to avenge the death of Dorieus! It was no thanks to you that all these regions did not become subject to Barbarians. But our affairs took a favourable turn, and have continued to improve; and now that war surrounds you, and reaches your homes—forsooth, you remember Gelon. Yet, though so shamefully treated by you, I will not follow the example you have set; but am ready to afford my aid, and to furnish two hundred triremes, twenty thousand heavy-armed troops, two thousand horse, two thousand archers, two thousand slingers, and two thousand light-armed cavalry. I also engage to supply provisions for the entire army of Greece during the continuance of the war. All this I am willing to do, on condition that I am to be general in chief of the Grecian forces acting against the Barbarian. On no other terms will I either myself appear in the field, or despatch any of my subjects.

Syagrus unable to restrain his emotions, thus replied to Gelon—"How would Agamemnon, offspring of Pelops, mourn to know that the Spartans have been spoiled of the supreme command by—a Gelon, and by Syracusans! Never again think of proposing to us to resign that honour to you! If you will succour Greece, know that you

must be commanded by the Lacedæmonians. Or if you think not good to submit, then neither afford your aid."

Gelon, perceiving the aversion indicated by the reply of Syagrus, at length made the following proposition—"Spartan friend! contumelies are wont to rouse the ire of him against whom they are directed. But no arrogance of yours shall provoke me to give you a return of indecencies. If you make so much of the supreme command, why may not I rather do so, who command a much larger force, and a much more numerous fleet than yours? Yet as our proposition is so obnoxious to you, we retract something from our first demand. If the land forces are under your control, the fleet shall be under mine. Or if it please you rather to command on the seas, I will take the army. It now remains for you either to make your choice between these two propositions, or to depart without the alliance."

Such were the conditions proposed by Gelon. The Athenian deputy preventing the Lacedæmonian, thus replied—"O king of the Syracusans, the states of Greece sent us not to ask of you a general, but an army: yet you declare you will send no army, unless the supreme command of the Greek forces is given to you: so eager are you to be chief of the Greeks! While you sought the command of the entire army, we Athenians were content to keep silence, well knowing that the Spartan was able to reply to you on behalf of both our states. But now that, being repulsed from your demand, you require the fleet only to be put under your control, the case is altered; for even if the Spartan would yield it, we would not; for this place belongs to us—liable only to the option of the Lacedæmonians:—did they wish to command the fleet, we should not oppose them; but to none besides will we concede the direction of the fleet. Strange would it be that we Athenians, to whom by far the larger portion of the navy of Greece belongs, should resign the command

of it to the Syracusans!—We, the most ancient people of Greece; we, who alone of all have never been removed from our first territory;—we, to whom belonged the man celebrated by Homer, the epic poet, as the one who, among all that came to Troy, best knew how to discipline and marshal an army.*—We must not then be reproached for speaking as we have of our country.”

Gelon replied—“Athenian friend, you are, it seems, in no want of men to exercise command, but you need men to be commanded! And as you will recede in nothing, but must hold all for yourselves, it only remains for you to return whence you came as quickly as possible, and to announce to the Greeks that—the year has been robbed of its spring.” By this last expression, he intended to intimate that, as the spring is manifestly the choicest time of the year, so were his own troops among all the Greek forces: and he likened Greece deprived of his alliance, to the year, if destitute of the spring.

After this conference with Gelon, the Grecian deputies took their departure from Sicily. And thus Gelon, fearing for the Greeks that they would not be able to repel the Barbarian, and yet reckoning it an insufferable degradation—being as he was the sovereign of Sicily—to repair to the Peloponnesus, and to be subject to the control of the Lacedæmonians, abandoned the idea of sending his forces thither, and adopted another plan. Instantly, when informed that the Persian had passed the Hellespont, he despatched three penteconters, under the command of Cadmus, son of Scythes, a native of Coos, to Delphi, with a very large treasure, and also professions of friendship: and he instructed him there to watch the event of the war—and if the Barbarian conquered, he was to offer to him the treasures, together with earth and water, on behalf of the countries governed by Gelon;

* Menestheus. Il. ii v. 552.

but if the Greeks were the victors, he was to return to Sicily. This Cadmus had formerly received from his father the sovereignty of Coos—then firmly established; and yet, though compelled by no adverse circumstances, he spontaneously, and from the pure love of justice, had remitted the power into the hands of the people. After which he went to Sicily, and established himself with the Samians at Zancle; the name of that city having since been changed to Messina. This Cadmus therefore, who in this manner settled in Sicily, and of whose integrity Gelon had made proof on other occasions, was, as I have said, sent by him to Delphi. And to all the former instances of his uprightness we must add this—as not the least, that when the vast treasure entrusted to him by Gelon was so at his disposal, that he might have made it his own, he would not; but after the Greeks had obtained a victory at sea (*Salamis*) and Xerxes had retired, he returned with the whole of it to Sicily.

It is indeed affirmed by the Sicilians, that Gelon would have afforded aid to the Greeks, and even have submitted to the command of the Lacedæmonians, if it had not been for the following circumstances. — Terillus, son of Crippus, tyrant of Himera, had been driven from that city by Theron, son of Ænesidemus, king of Agrigentum, and had brought into Sicily to oppose Theron—just at the time above-mentioned, an army of 300,000 men, consisting of Phœnicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Heli-sycians, Sardinians, and Cynians, under the command of Amilcar, son of Anno, king of Carthage. The Carthaginian king was influenced by his friendship for Terillus, and still more by the zeal of Anaxilaus, son of Cretineus, tyrant of Rhegium, who had surrendered his own children to Amilcar, as hostages, in order to incite him to invade Sicily, and avenge his father-in-law. For Anaxilaus had married Cydippa, the daughter of Terillus. Under these circumstances therefore, Gelon, not being in

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condition to aid the Greeks, sent his treasures to Delphi. The Sicilians moreover relate, that on the very day when the Greeks overthrew the Persians at Salamis, Gelon and Theron in Sicily vanquished Amilcar the Carthaginian. This prince was, they say, on the father's side, a Carthaginian; but on the mother's a Syracusan, and had obtained the throne by his personal merit. It is reported that at the time of this battle, in which his forces were defeated, he disappeared, nor could any where afterwards be discovered, either dead or alive, though a strict search was made for him by Gelon.

The account given by the Carthagenians themselves, who endeavour to explain the event on grounds of probability is this;—they say that the conflict between the Greeks and Barbarians, who fought this battle in Sicily, lasted from dawn of day till the close of evening—so long a time was the combat drawn out;—and during the whole of it, Amilcar remained in his camp, performing sacrifices, which were auspicious, and burning the bodies of the victims entire, on a vast pile. But seeing his own army give way, just as he was pouring libations on the victims, he threw himself upon the fire, and so being presently consumed, was no more seen. After his disappearance—whether in the manner affirmed by the Phœnicians, (*Carthagenians*) or in some other, as related by the Syracusans, the Carthagenians honoured him with sacrifices, and erected shrines to his memory in all the cities founded by them: the most considerable of these monuments is at Carthage itself. So much for the affairs of Sicily.

The same deputies on their return from Sicily went to Corcyra, where they delivered much the same message which they had addressed to Gelon. To the invitation of the Greeks the Corcyræans gave an answer with which their actual behaviour by no means agreed. For they immediately engaged to send forces to repel the invader,

professing that “ it was not for them to stand by and see the destruction of Greece ; for if Greece were overthrown, they could themselves expect nothing but speedy subjugation. Their part therefore was to defend it to the very utmost of their power.” Thus plausibly did they reply to the deputies. But when the time came for fulfilling their engagements, they, having other intentions, fitted out sixty ships, and after many needless delays, sent them to hover about the coasts of Peloponnesus, and cast anchor off the promontories of Pylus and Tænarus, on the Lacedæmonian territory, where they waited to observe the event of the war. For they thought the cause of the Greeks hopeless, and that the Persian, whose forces were so much superior, would bring the whole of Greece under his sway. They therefore carefully observed such a line of conduct as would allow them afterwards to say to the Persian king:—“ We, although invited by the Greeks to join them in the war, and although possessed of a force by no means inconsiderable, and able to furnish a fleet inferior only to that of the Athenians, were resolved not to oppose you, or to act in any way contrary to your wishes.” By language like this they hoped to secure better terms for themselves than would be granted to others ; and in my opinion their expectation would not have been disappointed. And then towards the Greeks they had a pretext in readiness of which, in fact, they availed themselves ; for when accused by the Greeks of not furnishing the promised aid, they said “ they actually set sail with sixty triremes, but were prevented by the etesian winds from doubling the promontory of Malea. From this cause alone, and from no ill intention it was that they did not reach Salamis, nor take part in the engagement.”

When the Cretans were invited by the deputies from Greece, to join the confederacy, they sent messengers on behalf of the community to Delphi, to ask the god, if

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it would be to their advantage to aid the Greeks; the Pythian thus replied:—"O, simpletons! (*νηπιτοι*) you complain of the sorrows sent you by Minos in his wrath, on account of the succours afforded to Menelaus, to avenge the rape of his wife from Sparta by a barbarian; although the Greeks would not aid you to avenge the death of Minos at Camicus (*and yet you would again aid them.*)"* Having received this answer, the Cretans refrained from furnishing any aid.

[It is said that Minos, when searching for Dædalus, arrived in Sicania, now called Sicily, where he met a violent death. Some time afterwards the Cretans, at the instigation of the god, all arrived—the Polichnites and Præsians only excepted—with a large armament in Sicania, and besieged Camicus during five years:—this city in our times was possessed by the Agrigentines. At length, when they could neither take the city nor remain longer before it, on account of their want of provisions, they took their departure. But as they coasted the shores of Japygia, a violent hurricane overtook them, which drove the fleet aground. Their ships being thus broken, no means whatever appeared by which they might return to Crete: they therefore forthwith established themselves, founding the city of Hyria, where they remained, and changed their name, calling themselves no longer Cretans, but Messapian Japyges, and though originally islanders, were now occupants of the main land. The founding of Hyria was followed by that of other towns, from which, a long time afterwards, the Tarentines endeavouring to expel them, suffered a severe defeat. Indeed the slaughter that ensued among the Tarentines and the Rhegians was the greatest—so far as we know, which any of the Greeks have ever suffered. The people of Rhegium, compelled by Miccythus, son of Chærus, to aid the Tarentines, sustained on this occasion the loss of three thousand men: the loss of the Tarentines is

* The sense demands this corollary to be subjoined to the paragraph.

not mentioned. Miccythus, being a servant of Anaxilaus, was left governor of Rhegium. But being expelled from that city, he settled at Tegea, in Arcadia, and dedicated those many statues at Olympia.—I give this account of affairs at Rhegium and Tarentum by way of parenthesis in my history.

Crete being stripped of its inhabitants, was occupied, as the Præsians affirm, by various races of people, but chiefly by Greeks. In the third generation after the death of Minos, happened the Trojan war, and the Cretans did not appear with disadvantage among those who avenged the cause of Menelaus. But on account of the part they took in that war, on their return from Ilium, they endured a famine; and a pestilence afflicted both man and beast, till at length the island was a second time nearly deprived of its inhabitants. The present race of Cretans are a third people, mingled with those who survived the desolations. Thus by reminding them of these calamities, the Pythian restrained them from aiding the Greeks.]

SECTION VIII.

OCCUPATION OF TEMPE, OF THERMOPYLÆ AND ARTEMISIUM. STORM AT APHETÆ.

It was from compulsion only that the Thessalians, at first, favoured the interests of the Medes, which was proved by their expressing their disgust at the machinations of the Aleuads. And immediately after it was known that the Persian had passed over into Europe, they sent messengers to the Isthmus;* for at the Isthmus were assembled the senators elected from all those cities that affected the better cause—the cause of Greece.

* The Isthmus of Corinth—frequently thus referred to in the following narrative.

The Thessalian deputies, arriving at the place of meeting, thus addressed the assembly:—"Greeks! it is necessary that the Olympic passage should be guarded, in order to put Thessaly, and indeed all Greece, in security from the war. We, for our parts, are ready to take our share in watching this entrance; but it is indispensable that you should send a strong body of men to the same point. Or if you fail to do so, know that we shall make terms with the Persian. Nor ought we, because situated so much in advance of Greece, to be left alone to perish for you. If you are indisposed to support us, you can by no means compel us to act otherwise than we propose:—no one is obliged to do more than he is able; and we shall leave no means untried for our own preservation.

The Greeks in consequence of this message held a consultation, in which it was resolved to despatch a body of infantry by sea to guard the passage. The troops destined for this service were accordingly selected, and they sailed through the Euripus: when they reached Alus of Achaia (*in Thessaly*) they disembarked, and leaving their ships, advanced into Thessaly, and arrived at Tempé, where is the pass through which lies the road along the bank of the Peneus, leading from lower Macedonia into Thessaly, between Mount Olympus and Ossa. There the combined Greeks, amounting to about ten thousand heavy armed men, encamped, attended also by a body of Thessalian horse. The Lacedæmonians were commanded by Evænetus, son of Carenus, chosen from the polemarchs, though not of the royal family. The Athenians were under Themistocles, son of Neocles. In this station they remained a few days, when messengers arrived from Alexander, son of Amyntas, the Macedonian (*king*), who advised them to depart, and by no means to wait in the pass to be trampled under foot by the invading host, the amount of which, by sea and land, he made known. The Greeks believing the Macedonian to be well affected

towards them, yielded to his suggestion, which appeared to themselves well founded. But as it seems to me, their fear was the prevailing motive; for they learned that there was another entrance into Thessaly from upper Macedonia, through the territory of the Perrhæbes, and near Gonnus, and by which the host of Xerxes actually entered Greece. The Greeks therefore going on board their ships, returned to the Isthmus. This expedition into Thessaly took place while the king was still at Abydos, preparing to pass from Asia into Europe. The Thessalians thus abandoned by their allies, devoted themselves to the interests of the Medes with zeal and unquestioned loyalty, and in fact were unrivalled in the services they rendered to the king.

The Greeks, on arriving at the Isthmus, held a consultation relative to the communication they had received from Alexander, and to determine on what plan the war should be prosecuted, and in what districts. The opinion which actually prevailed was that the pass of Thermopylæ should be maintained; for it appeared to be narrower than that of Thessaly (*at Tempé*), while at the same time it was nearer home. The mountain track, by which the Greeks afterwards assembled at Thermopylæ were circumvented, was not known to them till after their arrival at the pass, when they were informed of it by the Trachinians. It was then this pass of Thermopylæ that the Greeks determined to guard, with the hope of preventing the entrance of the Barbarian upon Greece. At the same time the fleet was ordered to sail to Artemisium, in the territory of the Histæotids, which was not far from Thermopylæ, so that the army and the fleet might readily communicate with each other.

These two spots may be thus described. To begin with Artemisium; it stands just where the Thracian bay contracts into a narrow strait, passing between the island Sciathus, and the main land of Magnesia. After that

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strait (*proceeding from the Ægean sea towards Thermopylæ*), the beach of Artemisium extends itself along the coast of Eubœa; and upon that beach stands a temple of Diana. And now, for the entrance into Greece at Trachis, where it is not, at the narrowest part, more than fifty feet wide. And yet this is not the narrowest point of the whole passage; for it is still less just before and behind Thermopylæ. Behind, at Alpenus, there is barely room for a chariot to pass, and the same may be said of the point in advance of Thermopylæ, by the river Phoenix, and near the town Anthela. The pass of Thermopylæ is bounded towards the west by an inaccessible, precipitous, and lofty mountain, which stretches out till it joins the range of Œta. Towards the east the road is shut in by the sea, and by swamps. Within the pass there are hot baths, called by the people of the country—*The Cisterns*, and close to them stands an altar, dedicated to *Hercules*. The road had been intercepted by a wall, in which, anciently, there were gates: it was constructed by the *Phocians*, in dread of the *Thessalians*, who leaving *Thesprosia*, settled on the *Æolian* territory (*Thessaly*), which they now possess. The *Phocians* therefore built this wall as a safeguard against the inroads of the *Thessalians*, who had attempted to subdue them. They had also led the water of the hot springs over the way, in order to convert the place into a quagmire; thus using all possible devices to prevent the incursions of the *Thessalians*. This anciently-built wall had, for the most part, fallen by the lapse of time, but now it was re-edified by the *Greeks*, when they resolved at this point to defend Greece against the *Barbarian*. Very near to the road there is a village named Alpenus, whence they calculated upon receiving provisions for the troops.

This spot, then, after they had inspected and maturely considered all the neighbouring country, appeared to the *Greeks* the best adapted to their purpose; for here the

barbarians could neither avail themselves of their superior numbers, nor of their cavalry: here therefore they resolved to receive the invader of Greece. No sooner did they learn that the Persian had reached Pieria, than breaking up from the Isthmus, they proceeded—the army to Thermopylæ, and the fleet to Artemisium.

While the Greeks repaired in all haste to the spots they were severally appointed to defend, the Delphians, dismayed both for themselves and for Greece at large, consulted the god, and they were admonished—"to pray to the winds, for it was they who would be the principal defenders of Greece." On receiving this response, the Delphians, in the first place, communicated it to all those Greeks who wished well to its liberties, and in doing so, won the immortal gratitude of a people who, with the extremest terror were expecting the Barbarian. In the next place—the Delphians erected an altar to the winds at Thyia, where there is an enclosure consecrated to Thyia, the daughter of Cephissus, who gave her name to the district. On that altar they offered sacrifices to the winds, and in consequence of the response then given, have continued to do so to the present day.

The navy of Xerxes advancing from Therma, sent forwards ten ships—the quickest sailers in the fleet, directly to Sciathus. Three Greek vessels were stationed at that island on the look-out; one of them from Troezen, one from Ægina, and one from Attica; but perceiving the ships of the Barbarians, they made all speed to escape. The Barbarians pursuing, presently captured the Troezenian ship, commanded by Prexinus, and selecting from the whole crew the handsomest man, brought him to the ship's prow, and there slaughtered him, regarding it as a lucky omen, that the first Greek that fell into their hands was a man of so much beauty. The name of this slaughtered person was Leon—and perhaps even his name had some share in bringing upon him this fate. The

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Æginetan trireme, commanded by Asonides, gave some trouble to the Barbarians by the valour of one of the crew—Pytheas, son of Ischenous, who displayed on that occasion uncommon valour; for after the ship was taken, he continued to maintain the combat, even until he was hacked in pieces, and fell—not indeed dead, but just breathing. The Persians who boarded the vessel, admiring his valour, earnestly endeavoured to preserve his life, and dressed his wounds with myrrh—bound them up with bandages of fine linen (*or cotton*) and on their return to their camp, exhibited him to the whole army with admiration, and treated him with the greatest regard, while the other men taken in the same ship were dealt with only as slaves.

Thus were captured two of the three ships: the third trireme, commanded by Phormus an Athenian, taking to flight, ran ashore at the mouth of the Peneus:—the Persians took the mere hulk, but none of the crew; for on the instant that they drove it aground, they jumped from it, and proceeding through Thessaly, reached Athens. The Greeks stationed at Artemisium, learning by signals from Sciathus what had happened, were filled with dismay, and leaving Artemisium, retired to Chalcis, to defend the Euripus. Yet they left scouts on the heights of Eubœa.

Of the ten barbarian vessels, three approached the rock which rises from the sea between Scyathus and Magnesia, and which is called Myrmex, and landing, the Barbarians erected a pillar of white marble which they had brought with them. Then the whole fleet—eleven days after the departure of Xerxes from Therma, left that place, and moved onwards; for the seas were now cleared of all obstacles (*by the retreat of the Greeks*). They were guided to the rock which lay in their way by a Scyrian named Pammon. An entire day they coasted the shores of Magnesia, as far as Sepias,

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and the beach between Casthanæa and the cliffs of Sepias.

Hitherto, and even till they reached Thermopylæ, the Persian armament had suffered no losses, and so far as I can calculate, its amount was as follows.—From Asia there were 1207 ships, having on board a host of all nations, amounting to 241,400 men, reckoning 200 men to a ship, and who constituted the original complement of each vessel. Then besides the crews furnished to the ships by the several nations, there were, in each, thirty men—Persians, Medes, or Saces; these will make 36,210. To these two amounts I add the crews of the penteconters, and supposing eighty in each—some more, some less, and there being, as I have before said, 3,000 of them, will make 240,000. Such then was the host on board the fleet which came from Asia; and if the several numbers are computed, they make 517,610. The land army consisted of 1,700,000 infantry, and 80,000 cavalry: add to these the Arabians, riding camels, and the Libyans in chariots, reckoned at 20,000. All which added to the numbers on board the fleet, produce 2,317,610. These were the numbers brought from Asia, without including the attendants or the crews of the transports employed in carrying provisions.

The forces collected in Europe are to be added to the above enumeration; but these I can estimate only upon conjecture. The Greek vessels furnished by the Thracians, and from the islands contiguous to Thrace, amounted to one hundred and twenty: these must have been manned by 24,000 troops. The land forces raised for the service by the Thracians, the Pæonians, the Eordians, the Bottiæans, the people of Chalcis, the Brygians, the Pierians, the Macedonians, the Perhæbians, the Enianians, the Dolopians, the Magnetians, the Achæans, and by the maritime Thracians, must, I think, be reckoned at (185)

300,000, which, added to the numbers given above, make 2,641,610 fighting men. Such being the amount of the armed force, I am of opinion that the servants following the army, the crews of the victualling transports, and those in other ships which accompanied the expedition, were not altogether fewer than the fighting men;—I think they were more: yet I will reckon them to have been equal in numbers—neither more nor fewer, but just as many myriads, and then it appears that Xerxes, son of Darius, led to Sepias and Thermopylæ 5,283,220 men.

As to the female attendants of all sorts, cooks and others, no one pretends to state the number of them. Nor of the animals attached to carriages, and other beasts of burden, nor of the Indian dogs that followed the army. There is therefore to me nothing surprising in the fact, that some rivers were insufficient to satisfy the host. Rather may we wonder how so many myriads could be supplied with provisions; for on calculation, I find that if a choenix of corn, and no more was consumed by each man, daily, then 11,340 medimns would be required for every day, without including the provision for the women, the ministers, the cattle, and the dogs. In an assemblage of so many myriads of men, there was not one who in point of height and beauty of form, might seem more fit than Xerxes to be master of such a host.

The fleet sailing onwards, reached the coast of Magnesia, and as the ships approached the flat beach between Casthanæa and the headland of Sepia, the first that came up hove ashore, while those that followed formed a line at anchor behind them; and so in eight lines they were ranged at sea;—the beach not being extensive enough to admit them all. Thus they passed the night. At dawn of day, under a clear and tranquil sky, a swell of the sea

took place,* followed by a violent gale from the east—called by the people of those shores a Hellespontin. Those of the fleet who perceived, in time, the swelling storm, and who were near the land, drew their vessels ashore, and so preventing the hurricane, saved them and their own lives. But such as were caught by it on the high seas, were driven—some upon what are called the Ovens of Mount Pelion—some upon the beach—some were wrecked about the promontory of Sepias—some at Melibœa—while some were cast ashore at Casthanæa. So irresistible was the tempest!

It has been affirmed that the Athenians, at the suggestion of an oracle, had invoked Boreas, another response having come to them in these terms:—"That they should call their son-in-law to their aid." For according to the tradition of the Greeks, Boreas married from Attica Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus. On the ground of this affinity the Athenians conjectured, when the response arrived, that Boreas was this "son-in-law." And therefore, as their fleet was off the coast of Eubœa, at Chalcis, when they perceived the rising storm—and indeed before—they offered victims, and addressed prayers to Boreas and to Orithyia, entreating their aid, and imploring them to destroy the barbarian fleet, as they had done at Athos. Whether it was in consequence of these prayers that Boreas fell upon the anchored Barbarians, I am unable to determine. But the Athenians affirm that Boreas who had aided them before, effected on this occasion what took place, and therefore, on their return, they erected a temple to him near the Ilissus.

In this stress of weather there perished—according to

* This is commonly translated "*after a clear and serene sky,*" &c. to preserve apparent consistency. But this accommodated version is unnecessary; for a sudden and violent swell of the sea, produced by a *distant* hurricane, not unfrequently falls upon the coast while the sky is open, and the wind scarcely stirring.

the lowest accounts, not fewer than four hundred ships:—innumerable lives were lost, as well as a vast treasure. In fact a certain Magnesian, named Aminocles, son of Cratinus, who possessed lands near the promontory of Sepias, derived an ample fortune from this wreck of the fleet, for some time afterwards he drew up very many vessels of gold and of silver that had been cast away. He found also coffers belonging to the Persians, and an infinity of articles of gold. Yet in other respects this man was not happy, though by these means he had become so rich; for it was his grief unwittingly to have killed his son.

The number of victualling transports destroyed in the storm has not been recorded. The commanders of the fleet dreaded lest the Thessalians, taking advantage of the misfortune, should attack them, and therefore surrounded the remaining ships (*on the beach*) with a high fence, formed of the wrecks. The gale raged during three days: at length the Mages, by making incisions,* and by performing incantations to the wind, and moreover by sacrificing to Thetis and the Nereïds, assuaged the storm on the fourth day;—or it might be that it abated of its own accord. They sacrificed to Thetis on the suggestion of the Ionians, who told them that she had been stolen from this region by Peleus, and that to her, as well as to the other Nereïds, all this Sepian coast belonged. But, as we say, the wind ceased on the fourth day.

The Grecian scouts stationed on the heights of Eubœa, hastened away on the second day after the storm commenced, and announced to the Greeks the destruction of the enemy's fleet. On receiving this information, they instantly offered their vows with libations to Neptune, the Deliverer, and then with all haste returned to Arte-

* *εντομα τε πολευντες*. See 1 Kings xviii. 28.

misium, hoping to find only some few of the enemy's ships remaining. In this station, therefore, they a second time moored their fleet. From that time to this Neptune has borne the appellation of the Deliverer. As for the Barbarians—when the wind had ceased, and the swell was subsided, they hauled their ships to sea, and proceeded along the coast. Doubling the headland of Magnesia (*Sepias*), they sailed directly into the Pagasian gulph. In this gulph (*which washes the shores*) of Magnesia, there is a spot where it is reported that Hercules was abandoned by Jason and his comrades, of the ship *Argo*, when, in quest of the fleece, they sailed to *Æa* of Colchis. Hercules had been sent ashore to obtain water. From the circumstance of the Argonauts departing from this spot, after watering, it acquired the name *Aphetæ* (*point of departure*), and it was here that the fleet of Xerxes came to anchor.

It happened that fifteen of these ships lingering some way behind the fleet when it weighed, perceived the Grecian fleet at Artemisium, and the Barbarians mistaking them for their own, fell into the very midst of the enemy. They were under the command of Sandoces, son of Thamasius, from Cyme of *Æolia*. He had formerly been one of the royal judges, and being convicted of giving an unrighteous decision for a bribe, was, by the order of Darius, affixed to a cross; but while yet suspended, the king on reflection thinking that the services he had rendered to the realm exceeded his faults, and being also conscious that in condemning him he had himself acted with more precipitation than prudence, released him. Thus he survived the death to which he had been condemned by the king; but on the present occasion he was not to gain a second escape, for when he sailed into the Grecian fleet, the Greeks seeing the fifteen ships approach, and perceiving the error in which they were, advanced and easily captured them.

In one of these ships was taken Aridolis, tyrant of the Alabandians, in Caria; in another, the Paphian general, Penthylus, son of Demonous; he had commanded twelve ships, eleven of which he lost in the storm, off Cape Sepias, and in the one which escaped he was captured while sailing to Artemisium. After learning from them whatever they wished concerning the forces of Xerxes, the Greeks sent their prisoners bound to the Corinthian Isthmus. The rest of the Barbarian fleet, excepting these fifteen, which, as I have said, were commanded by Sandoces, reached Aphetæ. Meantime Xerxes, at the head of the army, marching through Thessaly and Achaia (of *Phthiotis*), arrived, the third day, in the territory of the Maliens. While in Thessaly, he had tried his own cavalry in a combat with the Thessalian horse, which he had been informed was the best to be found in Greece; but they proved much inferior to the Persian. Of all the rivers of Thessaly, the Onochonus alone failed to satiate the thirst of the army. But of the rivers of Achaia, only the largest of them—the Epidanus, sufficed—and that very poorly.

On the way to Alos in Achaia, Xerxes was informed by his guides—who wished to tell whatever could be told—of the country-story concerning the temple of the Laphystian Jupiter. Athamas, son of Æolus, said they, had concerted with Ino the destruction of Phrixus. But in after time the Achaians, at the command of an oracle, imposed upon his descendants the following hard conditions:—they prohibited the eldest member of this race, in perpetuity, from entering the prytaneum, and themselves kept watch to prevent his approach. The Achaians call this prytaneum—the hall of the people. But should he enter, he must no otherwise go out than as a victim to be immolated. Many of those, added the guides, who thus became liable to be sacrificed, have, in fear of that fate, betaken themselves to a foreign land; but if, after the lapse of

time any one of them has returned, and has been caught entering the prytaneum, he has been sacrificed, after being led forth with pomp, thickly shrouded in garlands. The descendants of Cytissorus, son of Phixus, are liable to these inflictions because, when the Achaians were about to make an expiation for their country, at the command of the oracle, by immolating Athamas, son of Æolus, this Cytissorus, arriving from Æa of Colchis, rescued him, and in so doing drew upon his posterity the wrath of the god. Xerxes having heard this story—when he passed the sacred grove, himself avoided entering it, and forbade any of the army to enter it: he in like manner respected the house and fane of the descendants of Athamas.

SECTION IX.

PRELIMINARY CONTESTS AT THERMOPYLÆ.

These circumstances occurred in Thessaly and Achaia. Thence Xerxes advanced into Malia, by the shore of a gulph where there is daily an ebb and flow of the sea, and near the margin is a level, in one part wide—in another very narrow: lofty and inaccessible mountains enclose this Malian level; these heights are called the Trachinian rocks. The first town on the gulph, in coming from Achaia, is Anticyra, near to which the river Sperchius, flowing from Eniania, passes and meets the sea. At the distance of about twenty furlongs is another river, named the Dyras, which, as the story goes, came forth in aid of Hercules when he burned himself. Again, at the distance of twenty furlongs, is a river called the Melas, five furlongs from which stands the city Trachis, and about

this place, the level, from the foot of the hills to the sea, is wider than in any other part of the coast, for the plain measures 22,000 plethra. The mountain range which encloses the Trachinian territory, is divided by a ravine, south of Trachis, through which the river Asopus, flowing around the base of the mountain, finds its way.

South of the Asopus is a small river named the Phoenix, which, rising in the same mountains, flows into it: in the course of the Phoenix, the level is very narrow, being formed to admit only a single chariot. From hence to Thermopylæ is a distance of fifteen furlongs, and midway between the Phoenix and Thermopylæ stands a village named Anthela, near which passes the Asopus, just where it empties itself into the sea. Around Anthela the country is more spacious, and contains a temple of the Amphictyon Ceres, and the seats of the Amphictyons, and a temple dedicated to Amphictyon himself.

It was in Trachinia of Malea that Xerxes formed his camp, while the Greeks posted themselves in the passage. This place is by the Greeks in general called Thermopylæ; but the inhabitants of the vicinity call it Pylæ.* Such was the situation of the two encampments:—the one towards the north, filled the entire country as far as Trachis; while the Greeks held the tract which stretches towards the south. This body of Greeks which awaited the Persian, consisted of three hundred heavy-armed Spartans, five hundred Tegeans, and the same number of Mantineans: from Orchomenus of Arcadia, one hundred and twenty; from the rest of Arcadia, 1000: from Corinth, four hundred; from Phlius, two hundred; and from Mycenæ, eighty. These were the Peloponnesian levies present at Thermopylæ. Of the Bœotians, the Thespians sent seven hundred men, and the Thebans four hundred. Besides these, there were present, by summons, the entire forces of the Opuntian

* Thermopylæ—gates or passes of the hot (*springs*): Pylæ—the passes.

Locrians, and 1000 Phocians. The Greeks had themselves invited the attendance of these troops by a message to this effect:—"That they (*the Locrians and Phocians*) should move in advance (*being nearest to the point of attack*), while the general body of the allies was daily expected to come up. Meantime the sea was held by the Athenians, the Æginetans, and others, to whom that duty had been assigned—That nothing extraordinary was to be feared; for it was not a god who invaded Greece, but a mere man: nor has there been, nor shall there ever be, a mortal exempt, even from his birth, from mixtures of misfortune; especially are the most exalted of mankind liable to reverses. He therefore who advances against us—being a mortal—owes the disappointment of his hopes to the course of human affairs." On receiving this appeal they marched into Trachinia.

The forces of each state had their own generals; but the most distinguished among them, and he who held the supreme command, was the Lacedæmonian king, Leonidas, whose line of ancestors is reckoned thus:—Leonidas, the son of Anaxandrides—Leon—Eurycratides—Anaxander—Eurycrates—Polydorus—Alcamenes—Teleclus—Archelaus—Agesilaus—Doryssus—Leobotes—Echestratus—Agis—Eurysthenes—Aristodemus—Aristomachus—Cleodæus—Hyllus—Hercules. This Leonidas obtained the throne of Sparta contrary to expectation; for having two brothers elder than himself, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he entertained no thought of the royal dignity. But Cleomenes dying without male issue, and Dorieus being no more—for he had ended his days in Sicily, the sceptre devolved upon Leonidas, who was the eldest son of Cleombrotus, who was the youngest son of Anaxandrides; and he had also married the daughter of Cleomenes. Selecting from the army the appointed number of three hundred Spartans, whom he took care to be such as had children, he marched towards Thermopylæ, taking with

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him also the Thebans, the number of whom I have mentioned, and who were commanded by Leontiades, son of Eurymachus. Leonidas was especially careful to lead with him these Thebans, of all the Greeks, because they were strongly charged with an inclination to favour the Medes. He therefore summoned them to the war, in order to prove whether they would indeed send their forces, or openly renounce the Greek alliance. They took the former course, yet with an inimical intention.

The Spartans sent forwards this band of men under Leonidas, as an inducement to the other confederates to advance; and lest also, if they should seem to be using delays, the others should go over to the Medes. At the moment the festival of the Carneia, which was then to be celebrated, prevented the march of the entire army; but when the appointed days were expired, they proposed to move in a body, leaving only a necessary garrison at Sparta. In like manner the other allies were detained by the Olympic games, which happened at the very time of these events, and not supposing that a decisive action would so soon take place at Thermopylæ, they sent forward a detachment only. Such were the reasons of the course adopted.

Meanwhile the Greeks at Thermopylæ, when the Persian actually approached the extremity of the pass, were seized with fear, and in a consultation, proposed a retreat. The other Peloponnesians advised to retire and guard the Isthmus; but Leonidas—as the Phocians and Locrians indignantly resented this proposition, decided to remain, and also to despatch messengers to the several states, enjoining them to send aid, as themselves were too few to keep the army of the Medes in check. While thus deliberating, Xerxes sent a horseman as a scout, to observe their numbers and movements; for while yet in Thessaly he had heard that a small force was assembled at the pass, of which the Lacedæmonians were the chief,

commanded by Leonidas, the descendant of Hercules. This horseman approaching the Grecian camp, beheld, not indeed the whole of it, for those who were posted as a guard behind the wall that had been re-edified, could not be seen; but he informed himself of those who were planted in advance of it, and it happened at that time that it was the Lacedæmonians, who were without the wall: these he beheld with admiration, some performing gymnastic exercises, and some dressing their locks. After counting their numbers with exactness, he retired in silence; nor did any one pursue him, for they regarded him with extreme contempt. Returning to Xerxes, he described all that he had seen.

But Xerxes, on hearing his report, far from being able to comprehend the real fact, that these Greeks were preparing themselves to die, after dealing destruction to the utmost of their power upon the enemy—thought their behaviour was altogether ridiculous. He therefore sent for Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was then in the camp, and from whom he sought an explanation of the conduct of the Lacedæmonians. The Spartan thus replied to the inquiries of Xerxes.—“You heard me describe these same people before, when yet we were advancing against Greece, and then you treated with ridicule what I affirmed, when I anticipated what has now actually taken place. Yet it is my great endeavour to adhere to the strictest truth before you, O king;—and now hear it again.—These men are come to dispute with us the pass, and for this they are preparing themselves; for it is their custom, whenever they are about to put their life in peril, to dress their locks with care. And be assured, that if you vanquish these men, and those also who remain at Sparta, there is no other people in the world, O king, that will remain to lift a hand against you. For you are now to contend with the fairest state, and with the bravest men of all Greece.” Xerxes, to

whom these representations appeared unworthy of attention, again asked, "how it could be that the Greeks—few as they were, could combat such an army as his."—"O king," replied Demaratus, "treat me as a deceiver if what I have predicted does not happen."

Xerxes unmoved by the statements of the Spartan, suffered four days to pass in the continual hope that the Greeks would retreat. But on the fifth, as they still remained, and as he attributed their stay only to an unadvised temerity, he sent against them, in great rage, a body of Medes and Cissians, whom he enjoined "to bring the men alive into his presence." The Medes bore down upon the Greeks impetuously, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Others followed to the charge, and maintained the fight, though severely handled. It now became manifest to every one, even to the king, that though he had many men, he had few soldiers. The combat lasted through the day.

The Medes having suffered severely, retired, and were succeeded by the Persians;—those called by the king the Immortals, commanded by Hydarnes. They came up as if to achieve an easy victory; but when they actually engaged the Greeks, they effected nothing better than had been done by the body of Medes, for the narrow space within which they fought gave their superior numbers no advantage: at the same time, their spears were shorter than those of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians did indeed fight in a manner worthy of fame, and made apparent all the difference between their own skill in war, and the unskilfulness of the enemy:—thus, often, they turned the back, as if to retreat in a body; when the Barbarians, seeing them flee, followed with shouts and hubbub: but the Greeks, just as they were overtaken, faced about, and met the Barbarians, and turning them, overthrew countless multitudes, while some few only of the Spartans fell. The Persians unable, by all

their efforts in masses, or otherwise, to gain possession of the pass, at length retired.

It is reported; that the king who witnessed these onsets, three times sprang from his throne in terror for his troops. Such was this combat! Nor did the Barbarians, on the following day, fight with more advantage, although they had hoped that the Greeks, few in number as they were, and most of them wounded, would not be in condition any more to lift a hand against them. But the Greeks, marshalled in the most exact order, according to their several cities, maintained the fight in turns;—all except the Phocians, who were stationed on the mountain to guard the foot-path. The Persians perceiving that they met no better success than on the preceding day, retired.

While the king remained in doubt what course to take in the present state of affairs, he was addressed by a Malian, named Ephialtes, son of Eurydemus, who, in expectation of obtaining from him a great reward, made known the foot-path over the mountain to Thermopylæ, and thus he caused the destruction of the Greeks stationed there. This man afterwards dreading the Lacedæmonians, fled into Thessaly; but though he had retired, a price was put upon his head by the Pylagors of the Amphietyons, in an assembly at Pylæ: in the end, having gone to Anticyra, he was killed by Athenades, a Trachinian, but on a different account, as I shall mention in a subsequent part of this history.* Yet was Athenades nevertheless honoured by the Lacedæmonians. Thus did Ephialtes at length perish.

A different story is told—to this effect, that it was Onetes, son of Phanagoras—a citizen of Carystus, and Corydallus of Anticyra, who made this communication to the king, and acted as guides over the mountains to

* No such account actually occurs.

the Persians. But I give no credit to it, for in the first place — which is sufficient proof, the Pylagors, who surely had informed themselves accurately of the fact, proclaimed a reward for the capture, not of Onetes, or of Corydallus; but of Ephialtes, the Trachinian:—in the next place, we well know that for this cause Ephialtes fled his country. Not but what Onetes, though not a Malian, might, by frequently passing through the country, have become acquainted with the path.—But it was Ephialtes who actually led the Persians over the mountain by this way, and him I record as guilty of the crime.

Xerxes well pleased at hearing what Ephialtes engaged to perform, and in great glee, instantly despatched Hydarnes, with the troops under his command, to effect it. They left the camp at the hour of lighting lamps. The path was first discovered by the Malians who inhabit this region, and having found it, they conducted the Thes-salians by it against the Phocians, at the time when these had secured the pass (*of Thermopylæ*) by a wall, and were by this means sheltered from attacks.—From that time to this it seems, the Malians have made no very good use of the mountain path.

The path may be thus described:—it commences at the Asopus, where that river flows through the cleft in the mountains—both the mountain and the path over it are called—Anopæa. It extends over the ridge of the hill, and terminates near Alpenus, the first town of the Locrians, on the side of the Malians, and where stands the rock called Melampygos, and the haunts of the Cercopes, and at this point it is the most narrow. The Persians then crossing the Asopus, opposite to the commencement of the path, proceeded during the whole night, having on the right Mount Œta, and on the left the Trachinian heights. At dawn of day they attained the summit of the mountain. It was guarded, as I have already said, by one thousand heavy-armed Phocians,

who were stationed there both to defend their own country from invasion, and to secure the path, while the lower pass was held by the Greeks, of whom I have before spoken. The Phocians had freely undertaken this service, and had given their word to Leonidas to guard the path.

During their ascent, the Persians were concealed from these Phocians, for the mountain was entirely covered with oaks. But when they reached the summit, their approach was made known to the Greeks by the rustling of the leaves under the feet of the Persians, which might easily be heard, for a perfect stillness prevailed. Instantly the Phocians flew to arms, and scarcely had they done so, when the Barbarians presented themselves; these, on their part, were surprised at beholding a body of men arraying themselves for combat; for they had not expected to meet an enemy; yet they here encountered an array of battle. Hydarnes, seized with terror, under the idea that these Phocians were Lacedæmonians, immediately asked Ephialtes of what country they were, and on being exactly informed, he marshalled the Persians in order of battle. But the Phocians assailed by a thick shower of arrows, retired in haste to the ridge of the mountain—not doubting that the attack was designedly made upon themselves: they therefore prepared themselves to meet their fate;—such was their supposition. Meanwhile the Persians under Hydarnes, guided by Ephialtes, without paying any regard to the Phocians, descended (*the southern side of*) the mountain with all speed.

To the Greeks stationed at Thermopylæ, Megistias the diviner, after inspecting the victims, had already announced that death awaited them at dawn. And then some deserters arrived, even during the night, and reported that the Persians were making the circuit of the mountain. And then, at the earliest dawn, the scouts came in, who had ran from the heights. Immediately a
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council was held among the Greeks, in which opinions were divided, some advising not to abandon their post, and others the contrary. The consequence of this disagreement was, that a part of the forces actually departed, and dispersed themselves among their several cities, while a part, with Leonidas, prepared themselves to remain.

It has indeed been affirmed that Leonidas, unwilling that they should perish, himself dismissed them; while he, with the Spartans who were there, could not think it honourable to abandon the very station, to preserve which was the intention of their coming. For myself, I rather incline to the opinion that Leonidas perceiving a want of heart in his allies, and that they were indisposed to share with him the danger, commanded them to depart, though he could not himself with honour retire; while in remaining, he should at once leave a high fame for himself to after ages, and secure the permanent prosperity of Sparta. For it had been announced to the Spartans, by the Pythian, when, at the commencement of the war, they inquired concerning its issue, that “either Lacedæmon would be overthrown by the Barbarians, or their king must perish.” This response was conveyed in the following verses :—

“ Hear ye who Sparta’s wide-spread town possess !
Your far-famed city, Persian hosts distress—
Or Lacedæmon weeps a slaughtered chief;
—A son of Hercules demands her grief.
Nor force of bulls, nor lion’s force withstands
Him who the might of Jupiter commands.
Till one of Sparta’s kings for all is slain,
Arms shall oppose his onward course in vain.”

Leonidas—I say—reflecting on this oracle, and wishing also to reserve the glory to the Spartans alone, chose rather to dismiss the allies, than that they should disgracefully depart in opposition to his decision. I am

also strongly confirmed in this opinion by the fact, that Leonidas not only dismissed the allies, but would have sent away also the diviner who followed the army. This Megistias of Acarnania—said to be descended from Melampus, who on inspection of the victims predicted the approaching events, received from Leonidas leave to depart, plainly that he might not perish with the Spartans. Though thus dismissed, he would not himself abandon them, but sent away his son—an only son, who served in the army.

The allies thus dismissed by Leonidas, yielded to his commands, and took their departure, excepting the Thespians and the Thebans, who alone remained with the Lacedæmonians:—the latter indeed much against their inclination, were detained as hostages by Leonidas. But the Thespians stayed with hearty good will; for they professed their determination never to leave Leonidas and his party; but rather to remain and die with them. They were commanded by Demophilus, son of Diadromes.

SECTION X.

FATE OF LEONIDAS AND HIS SPARTANS.

As the sun arose, Xerxes poured forth libations, and waiting till about the time of full-market, set out;—thus he had been instructed by Ephialtes; for the descent from the mountain is much shorter than the circuit which must be made in ascending it. The Barbarians with Xerxes now drew on, while the Greeks with Leonidas marching as to death, advanced much further than heretofore in the passage, and until they reached the wider part of the defile. Hitherto the wall had afforded them

protection, for they had fought on the former days only in the narrowest part of the road. But now they engaged the enemy beyond the narrows, and great numbers of the Barbarians fell. Behind each rank were seen the officers with whips flogging the men, and continually goading them to move on. Multitudes of them fell into the sea, and so perished; but many more were trampled to death by their own ranks, nor was any regard paid to the dying. The Greeks, well knowing that death awaited them from the enemy who had come round the mountain, put forth their utmost vigour in attacking the Barbarians:—reckless of their own lives, they fell furiously upon the enemy. Most of their spears being broken, they dealt upon the Persians with their swords.

In this combat fell Leonidas, valiantly fighting, and with him those celebrated Spartans whose names—worthy as they are of renown, I have learned;—the names even of the whole three hundred. Many distinguished Persians also fell on this occasion. Among these were two sons of Darius—Abrocomes, and Hyperanthes. Their mother was Prataguna, daughter of Artanes, the brother of the king, and son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames. In giving his daughter to Darius, Artanes had given his all, for he had no other child.

Thus fell fighting in this place the two brothers of Xerxes. A great struggle took place between the Persians and Lacedæmonians over the body of Leonidas: at length, after four times repelling their assailants, the Greeks by their valour succeeded in withdrawing it. The combat was maintained until the Persians, led by Ephialtes, came up; when the Greeks were informed of their approach, the contest assumed another aspect, for now they retreated to the narrow part of the road, and passing the wall, they stationed themselves in close order—all except the Thebans, upon the rising ground, at the entrance of the pass, where now stands the marble

lion on the tomb of Leonidas. On this spot they continued to fight—with their swords, those who retained swords, or with their hands and teeth, until buried beneath the missiles of the Barbarians, who came up—some in front after demolishing the wall, and others on each side, who had made the circuit of the mountain.

Though all the Lacedæmonians and Thespians behaved in this valiant manner, a Spartan, named Dieneces, is mentioned as the first in bravery. It is said of him, that before the battle joined with the Medes, when a certain Trachinian affirmed in his hearing, that if the Medes discharged their arrows, such was the number of their host, the sun would be obscured by the flight of their missiles; he, not at all smitten with fear, and utterly disregarding the numbers of the Medes, replied:—"Our Trachinian friend tells us nothing but good news—if indeed the Medes darken the sky, then we shall fight in the shade, nor be exposed to the sun." This same Dieneces the Lacedæmonian, left, as a memorial of himself, many similar sayings. Next to him, the most distinguished of the Lacedæmonians were two brothers, named Alpheus and Maron, the sons of Orsiphantus. Among the Thespians, Dithyrambus, son of Armatides, has been most celebrated.

They were all buried on the spot where they fell; as also were those who died before Leonidas dismissed the allies: over them was the following inscription, which belonged in common to all:—

"In this place once fought, with three millions,
four thousand men from Peloponnesus."

The inscription peculiar to the Spartans, was in these words:—

“Stranger! go tell the Lacedæmonians we lie here in yielding obedience to their commands.”*

The inscription over the tomb of the diviner was this:—

“The monument of the illustrious Megistias, slain by the Medes, what time they passed the Sperchius. The seer, who though well he knew the impending fate, would not desert the chiefs of Sparta.”

This last inscription was composed and placed over the tomb by Simonides, son of Leoprepes, from personal friendship. The others, with the columns that bore them, were placed by the Amphictyons themselves.

Of the three hundred Spartans, it is affirmed that two—Eurytus and Aristodemus, had the option either of saving their lives by agreeing to return to Sparta—for both of them had been dismissed from the camp by Leonidas, on account of a severe disease of the eyes under which they laboured, and were lying at Alpenus; or, if they would not so return, they might have met their fate with their comrades: such was the alternative presented to both. But they were differently minded, for Eurytus, on learning that the Persians were coming round by the mountain-path, demanded his arms, and having invested himself, ordered his helot to lead him among the combatants: the man did so, and himself fled; but the Spartan, left in the midst of the affray, perished; while Aristodemus, the faint-hearted, was left at Alpenus. Now I think that if Aristodemus only had, on account of sickness, returned home, or if both of them, being of the same mind, had returned, they would not have incurred the anger

* or—their laws.

of the Spartan people. But as one of them had perished in the fight, while the other, who had only the same excuse to plead, was unwilling to die, he, of course, became the object of their extreme indignation. Thus, as some affirm, and on this pretext, did Aristodemus save himself, and return to Sparta. But there are those who say that he had been despatched as a messenger from the camp, and might have returned to take part in the combat, but would not, and by lingering on the road saved himself, while his companion actually returned, and died with the others. On his return to Lacedæmon, Aristodemus met reproach and contempt, and to such an extent was his disgrace carried, that no Spartan would either afford him fire or converse with him. The opprobrium attached to him was the being called — “Aristodemus the runaway”.* Yet afterwards, in the battle of Plataea, he fully absolved himself from this dishonour. It is said that another of the three hundred, who had been sent into Thessaly, survived also; his name was Pantites, and on his return to Sparta, finding himself disgraced, he hanged himself.

The Thebans, commanded by Leontiades, fought with the Greeks against the king only so long as they were under compulsion, and no sooner did they see the Persians gaining the advantage, and the Greeks with Leonidas receding to the mount, than they separated themselves from them, and extending their hands, approached the Barbarians saying, very truly, “that they favoured the Medes, and had been among the first to send earth and water to the king; that by compulsion only they had come to Thermopylæ, and were guiltless of the slaughter that had taken place in the king’s army.” By this profession they saved themselves; for the Thessalians vouched for the truth of their assertions. And yet

* or the quaker.

even so it was not the fortune of all to escape; for even while the Barbarians were receiving them, some were slain by them as they came up. The majority were, by the order of Xerxes, branded as the king's property, and the stigma was first affixed to their commander, Leon-tiades. At a subsequent period, Eurymachus, the son of this general, having taken Plataea at the head of four hundred Thebans, was slain by the Plataeans.

Thus fought the Greeks at Thermopylae. Xerxes calling for Demaratus, opened a conversation by thus addressing him. "Demaratus, you are an honest man: in truth I must think so, for all that you predicted has taken place. And now tell me how many of these Lacedaemonians are there left? or how many are there as valiant as these? or are they all so?" "O king," replied he, "the Lacedaemonians are numerous, and their towns many; but you shall learn what you would know. Sparta in Lacedaemon is a city containing about 8000 men, all such as those who have fought here. The other Lacedaemonians, though not like these, are yet brave." "Tell me at once," rejoined Xerxes, "by what means we may most easily subdue these men; for you who have been their king know what are their purposes and mode of procedure."

"O king," said Demaratus, "as you so earnestly ask my advice, it is right I should give you the best counsel in my power—which is, that you select three hundred ships from the fleet, and send them to the coast of Laconia: off that coast there is an island named Cythera, which Chilon, a man reputed among us on account of his eminent wisdom, affirmed had better, for the welfare of Sparta, be merged in the sea, than remain above water; for he anticipated from it continually some such mischief as I am about to mention:—not that he foresaw your armament; but he feared any such expedition. Let then your forces, issuing from that island, keep the Lacedae-

monians in alarm. For while the war is brought home to them, there will be no fear of their sending aid to the other parts of Greece that may be attacked by your army; and if the rest of Greece is vanquished, Lacedæmon, left alone, will be feeble. If you take not this course, what you have to expect is this:—the Peloponnesus has a narrow isthmus; at that spot all the Peloponnesians will combine their forces to resist you, and you may anticipate contests still more determined than those that have already taken place. But if you follow my advice, you may make yourself master, unresisted, of the isthmus, and the cities within it.”

Achæmenes, brother of Xerxes, and commander of the fleet, who happened to be present, and who feared lest the king should be prevailed on to adopt the plan proposed, thus spoke:—“ O king, I see you listening to the discourse of a man who envies your successes, or even who aims at betraying your interests. This is in fact the very character of the Greeks; they envy the prosperous, and hate him who is their superior. If in the present state of our affairs, and after losing four hundred vessels by shipwreck, you send three hundred to cruise on the shores of Peloponnesus, the enemy will become a match for you. But while the fleet keeps together, it is more than they can cope with, nor will they ever be able to contend with you: and the fleet and the army advancing together will aid each other. On the contrary, if you separate them, you will be able to afford no assistance to the fleet, nor the fleet to you. Make it your rule then to manage well your own affairs, taking no thought for those of the enemy—where they will carry the war, what they will do, or what their numbers may be, care not. They are able to mind their own matters, and we ours. If the Lacedæmonians meet the Persians again in the field, they shall not repair this one loss they have suffered.”

“ Achæmenes,” replied Xerxes, “ I approve of what

you say, and will follow your advice. Yet has Demaratus proposed what he thought best for my interests, though his opinion must cede to yours. Nor can I regard him as disaffected to my government, for his integrity is confirmed by his former statements, and the actual event. A man may indeed envy the prosperity of a fellow citizen, and cherish against him a silent hatred; nor will he, in such a case, when consulted, give him that advice which he really thinks most advantageous;—unless indeed he is one who has made great advances in virtue—and such are rare. But nothing is more agreeable to a friend than a friend's prosperity, and when consulted, he will offer his best advice. I therefore command all henceforth to abstain from uttering calumnies against my friend Demaratus."

After this conversation Xerxes passed among the slain, and Leonidas—whom he had heard to be king and general of the Lacedæmonians, he commanded to be decapitated, and the body to be affixed to a cross. Among many other proofs, this chiefly convinces me that Xerxes bore towards Leonidas while living an uncommon animosity, for otherwise he would not have violated the respect due to the dead, especially as the Persians, beyond any people I have known, are accustomed to honour military virtue. These orders were executed by the proper officers.

I now return upon the course of the narrative, to mention a fact which was omitted in its place. The Lacedæmonians were the first who had learned that the king was preparing to invade Greece, and in consequence they sent to consult the Delphic oracle, and received the response which I have just now reported. They acquired this information in a remarkable manner.—Demaratus, son of Ariston, taking refuge with the Medes, was not, I think—at least if I reason on probabilities, very well affected towards the Lacedæmonians; there is room

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therefore to question whether it was with a good intention, or rather in mockery, that he acted as he did; for being at Susa when Xerxes formed the design of invading Greece, and being informed of what was going on, he determined to send intelligence of it to the Lacedæmonians, and having no other mode of conveying the news, for there was great danger of his being detected, he devised the following means.—He took a folding tablet (*pocket book*—*δελτιον διπτυχον*) and scraping off the wax, inscribed upon the bare wood of the tablet the intention of the king: having so done, he covered the writing with wax, so that he who was to carry it might have nothing to fear from the guards upon the road. When the tablet was brought to Sparta, the Lacedæmonians were unable to guess why it had been sent, until, as I am informed, Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes, and wife of Leonidas, gave them the hint, and directed the wax to be removed, when, as she said, writing would be discovered on the wood. They did so, and found the writing, and communicated the information so obtained to the other Greeks. Such is the story told by the Spartans.

BOOK VIII.

U R A N I A.

SECTION I.

ENGAGEMENTS AT ARTEMISIUM. STORM. RETREAT OF THE GRECIAN FLEET.

THE Greeks composing the fleet were these — The Athenians, with one hundred and twenty-seven ships, manned in part by Platæans, whose courage and spirit induced them to discharge this duty, though unaccustomed to the sea service. The Corinthians furnished forty ships; the people of Megara twenty; the Chalcidians manned twenty vessels, furnished to them by the Athenians. The Æginetans had eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedæmonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Trœzenians five, the Styrians two, the people of Ceos two ships, and two penteconters; and lastly, the Opuntian Locrians came in aid with seven penteconters. These then were the Greeks forming the fleet stationed at Artemisium; and these, as I have recounted them, were the numbers severally furnished by each people. The entire number of vessels there collected, the penteconters excepted, was two hundred and seventy one. It was the Spartans who appointed Eurybiades, son of Euryclides, to the supreme command of the fleet; for the allies had declared “that unless

they were placed under a Lacedæmonian chief, or if required to follow Athenian leaders, the intended combined fleet would disperse."

From the first, and before the messengers were sent to Sicily to solicit an alliance, it had been proposed as proper to yield the command to the Athenians. But as the allies opposed this arrangement, the Athenians conceded the point, for they earnestly desired the salvation of Greece, and felt persuaded that it must fall if contestations for command should arise; and herein they thought justly:—for civil contentions are as much worse than war, carried on in concert by allies, as war is worse than peace. They, convinced of this truth, made no opposition, but rather yielded precedency so long as the urgent need of their services existed, and so long only;—as they afterwards manifested; for when the Persian was repulsed, they strove for the ascendancy, and holding forth as a pretext the arrogance of Pausanius, they took the supreme command from the Lacedæmonians. But this happened long afterwards.

To return to the time of our history.—The Greeks who arrived at Artemisium, when they saw so numerous a fleet collected at Aphetæ, and all fully manned; and when they perceived that the affairs of the Barbarians were taking a turn which they had not expected, were filled with alarm, and consulted on the expediency of retiring from Artemisium towards the inner part of Greece.* The Eubœans having knowledge of this consultation, entreated Eurybiades to remain a short time, until they had placed in security their children and domestics. Not prevailing with him, they went to the Athenian commander Themistocles, whom they induced to yield by a present of thirty talents, for which sum he engaged that

* *εσω ες την Ελλάδα* means the shores and waters of the Saronic Argolic and Corinthian gulphs, the Corinthian Isthmus being considered as the central point of Greece.

the fleet should remain off Eubœa, and there meet the enemy. Themistocles retained the Greeks by the following means:—Of the money received, he gave five talents to Eurybiades—no doubt as if from himself, and he being thus gained over, there remained only Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian general, who resisted—declaring he should sail away from Artemisium, and remain no longer. Themistocles addressed himself to him, confirming what he said with an oath—"You shall not leave us, for I will give you more than the king of the Medes would confer upon you for deserting the allies." So saying, he sent three talents of silver on board the ship of Adimantus. These commanders being swayed by the gifts, yielded to the arguments of Themistocles, and so the wishes of the Eubœans were complied with: meanwhile Themistocles, by retaining in secrecy the rest of the money, greatly enriched himself; and those who received the sums mentioned, doubted not that the money came from Athens, and was destined to be thus employed.

By this means the Greeks remained off Eubœa, and an engagement took place as shall now be related.—The Barbarians arrived at Aphetæ at the dawn of day; they had already been informed that a small number of Greek ships hovered about at Artemisium, and now seeing them, they were all eagerness to attack, and, no doubt, to take them. Yet they thought it not advisable to sail directly up to them, lest the Greeks, seeing them advance, should betake themselves to flight, and at night actually escape:—for, to use the proverbial phrase, they thought not even the torch-bearer should survive.*

To effect their object, they selected two hundred ships

* An officer bearing a torch in the army as a signal for its movements. He was deemed sacred to Mars, and therefore usually spared even in the most merciless slaughters. The total destruction of an army was proverbially expressed by saying—not even the torch-bearer survived

from the whole fleet, and sent them round, outward of Sciathus—that they might not be seen by the enemy—to make the circuit of Eubœa, by the headlands of Capharea and Geræstus, to the Euripus, and so to enclose the Greeks: for while these two hundred ships would prevent their retreat, the main fleet was to attack them in front. This plan being arranged, the vessels appointed for the service were despatched, and the Persians determined not to approach the Greeks during the day; nor indeed till, by the signal agreed, they knew that the detachment had reached its destination. While this detachment proceeded on its way, the rest of the fleet at Aphetæ was numbered.

There was in the fleet at the time when this numbering took place, a Scionian, named Scyllias, reckoned the most expert diver of his times. After the shipwreck which happened off Mount Pelion, he had recovered a great amount of precious articles for the Persians, and much he had converted to his own use. This Scyllias had long entertained the design of going over to the Greeks, but hitherto had not found opportunity to do so, nor can I positively affirm in what manner he now arrived among them, for the story commonly related seems to me—if true—most astonishing. It is said that diving into the sea at Aphetæ, he did not emerge until he reached Artemisium, a distance through the sea of about eighty furlongs! Among some things which are true, many such like fabulous accounts are current concerning this man. If I were to declare my own opinion on the point, I should say that he came to Artemisium in a small vessel. Immediately on his arrival, he made known to the Grecian chiefs the circumstances of the late shipwreck, and also the fact that a detachment had been sent round Eubœa.

The Greeks on receiving this intelligence, held a conference; and after much debate, it was resolved to

remain at their station through that day; but to depart after midnight, and to prevent the fleet that was sailing round the island. This resolution being formed, as the enemy did not advance, they, about three hours after noon, sailed towards the Barbarians, intending only to make trial of the fight, and of their practice of breaking the enemy's line. The commanders and men in the fleet of Xerxes, seeing the Greeks advance with so few ships, deemed them to be absolutely mad, and formed their own line, not doubting to make of them an easy prey. Nor were their expectations unfounded in probability, for while they beheld the few ships of the Greeks, they contemplated their own much superior numbers, and knew their own vessels to sail better than those of the enemy. Under these impressions, they formed their line so as to surround the Greeks. And now those of the Ionians who were well affected towards the Greeks, very reluctantly took part in the engagement, and with extreme sorrow beheld them thus surrounded, not thinking it possible that any could escape;—so inconsiderable did the Grecian forces appear to them. On the other hand, there were those who viewed with high satisfaction what was taking place, and contended with each other for the honour of being the first to capture a ship of Attica, and so to receive a reward from the king. The Athenians were in higher esteem than any other of the Greeks among the Barbarians.

The signal being given, the Greeks, in the first place, opposed their prows to the enemy's line, keeping their sterns inwards (*converging*). At the second signal, they commenced the attack, though pressed within a narrow space, and captured thirty ships from the Barbarians: on board of one of them was Philaon, son of Chersis, and brother of Gorgus, king of the Salaminians, a person of high repute in the army. The first ship taken from the enemy was captured by Lycomedes, son of Æschreas, an

Athenian, and he obtained the palm of valour. The advantages did not absolutely preponderate on either side in this engagement; and when night came on, the combatants parted. The Greeks returning to Artemisium, the Barbarians to Aphetæ—the issue of the contest falling far short of their expectations. The only person among the Greeks in the king's service, who deserted to the Greeks on this occasion was Antidorus, a Lemnian. The Athenians granted to him lands in Salamis as a reward for his conduct.

It was at midsummer that these events took place, and as the evening drew on, there fell torrents of rain, which continued through the night, with harsh peals of thunder from Pelion. At the same time the bodies of the dead, with the fragments of the wrecks, were borne on the waves to Aphetæ, and circling the prows of the ships, embarrassed the palms of the oars; and the men, seized with terror in hearing (*the thunder*), believed that utter destruction awaited them:—such were the ills that surrounded them! For ere they had had breathing time after the wreck and storm which happened off Pelion, a fierce engagement had met them; and now immediately after the fight, came the impetuous rain, and mighty currents of the sea, and harsh thunderings! Such was this night to the Barbarians!

The ships despatched to make the circuit of Eubœa suffered so much the more rudely from this night, as the storm fell upon them while in the open sea; and to them the issue was indeed sad; for in the midst of their course the hurricane and torrent of rain overtook them, just as they were off the recesses of Eubœa.* Borne onwards by the winds, and not knowing whither—they were cast

* A part of the eastern coast where the land recedes, and which abounds with rocks, much dreaded by the ancient mariner.—They have been erroneously marked by some moderns on the western side of the island.

on the rocks. All this happened under a divine direction, that so the Persian fleet might be brought to an equality with the Grecian; or at least that it might not be greatly superior. Thus then these vessels perished about the recesses of Eubœa.

The Barbarians at Aphetæ welcomed the appearance of day, and kept their ships at their stations, and thought themselves happy, after what they had suffered, to remain for the present in quietness. Meanwhile the Greeks had received the succour of fifty-three fresh ships from Attica. Thus reinforced, and encouraged also by the news that not one of the Barbarian fleet that was making the circuit of Eubœa had escaped destruction in the storm, the Greeks, after waiting to the same hour as before, sailed, and fell upon the ships of the Cilicians, which they destroyed, and at close of day returned to Artemisium.

On the third day the Barbarian commanders, greatly troubled at sustaining so much damage from so small a fleet, and fearing also the displeasure of Xerxes, did not again wait till the Greeks commenced the attack, but about mid-day—cheering each other, they led on. It happened the very same days in which these encounters between the fleets took place, the combats at Thermopylæ were also carried on; and as the point in dispute at sea was the passage of the Euripus, so was the preservation of the pass of Thermopylæ the object of Leonidas and his companions; and while the Greeks encouraged each other in the endeavour to prevent the Barbarians from entering Greece, the Barbarians endeavoured, by destroying the Greek forces to gain possession of the passes.

While the fleet of Xerxes was forming the line of battle, the Greeks remained unmoved at Artemisium, and the Barbarians, ranging their ships in a crescent, surrounded the Greeks as if to capture them all. Instantly

the Greeks advanced and gave battle. In this engagement the forces actually opposed were nearly equal; for in the fleet of Xerxes the number of vessels was such that they fell foul of each other, and much embarrassment took place in effecting all their movements. Yet they maintained the fight, nor gave way, for it seemed an insufferable shame to be put to flight by so small a fleet. Many of the Grecian ships were destroyed, and many of their crews; yet a still greater loss of ships and men was sustained by the Barbarians. After the combat had been thus continued, the fleets separated.

Among all the forces of Xerxes the Egyptians distinguished themselves the most in this action. Besides other remarkable achievements they captured five Grecian ships with the men on board. Among the Greeks, on this day, the Athenians behaved with the greatest valour, and of the Athenians none surpassed Clineas, son of Alcibiades, who commanded a ship of his own, carrying two hundred men, maintained at his personal expence. Both parties separated and repaired to their several stations gladly. The Greeks retired from the fight masters both of their dead and of their wrecked vessels. But they had been so roughly handled, especially the Athenians, one half of whose ships were disabled, that they determined* (*or proposed*) to retreat to the interior of Greece.

Themistocles was convinced that if the people of Ionia and Caria were detached from the Barbarian, the Greeks would be well able to overthrow the others. While therefore the Eubœans were driving their cattle down to the sea side, he convoked, at the same place, the commanders, and told them he believed he had a handle for depriving the king of the bravest of his allies: thus far only he revealed his intention; but added, that in the

* εβουλευον—or εβουλευοντο.

actual position of affairs, every one would do well to kill as many of the cattle of the Eubœans as he thought proper; for it was better they should supply their own army, than fall into the hands of the enemy. Furthermore he advised them to command their people to kindle fires; and he undertook to arrange the fittest time for their safe return to Greece.

The Eubœans had utterly disregarded as of no import, the oracle of Bacis; nor had they, as if in expectation of war, either transported their effects, or collected stores; and by these neglects they brought upon themselves the greater derangement of their affairs. The oracle of Bacis relating to them was as follows:—

“Mind him—Barbarian-tongued—who yokes the main
With bands of Byblos:—then let the Eubœan swain
Urge all his bleating goats from off the plain.”

But they, not availing themselves of these verses, either in their immediate or impending calamities, suffered of course the greatest misfortunes. While these transactions were in progress, a courier (*or scout*) arrived from Trachis. The Greeks had one also stationed at Artemisium—Polyas of Anticyra, who was provided with a swift sailing galley, in order that, in the event of an engagement (*or defeat*) he might announce it to the army at Thermopylæ; and in like manner Abronychus, son of Lysicles, an Athenian, attended upon Leonidas, having at command a trierconter, that he might convey to the fleet at Artemisium intelligence of any disaster happening to the army. This Abronychus arriving at Artemisium, related what had befallen Leonidas and his troops. On learning this news, they thought no more of delaying their departure; but retired in the order in which they were stationed—the Corinthians first, and the Athenians last.

Themistocles selecting from the Athenian fleet some fast-sailing ships, proceeded to the several watering

places, where he caused inscriptions to be engraved upon stones, which the Ionians coming up the next day to Artemisium would read; these inscriptions were to this effect—"Ionians, you do wrong in making war upon your fathers, and in aiding to reduce Greece to slavery. Rather than act thus, come over to us, or if that be impracticable, at least hold yourselves as neuter, and entreat the Carians to do the same. But if neither of these courses is open to you, and if an absolute necessity binds you not to revolt, then, when we meet in battle, use not your best endeavours against us; remembering that from us you derive your origin, and that it was on your account that we first incurred the animosity of the Barbarian." Thus wrote Themistocles, as it seems to me, with a double intention; for he thought that if the inscriptions remained unknown to the king, he might by this means induce the Ionians to change sides and join the Greeks; or if, on the contrary, the writing was communicated, and became the occasion of an accusation against the Ionians to Xerxes, it would render them suspected, so that he would dismiss them from the fleet in time of an engagement.

SECTION II.

DISCOMFITURE OF THE BARBARIANS AT DELPHI.

Immediately after Themistocles had left these inscriptions, a certain Histiaean arrived in a bark among the Barbarians, and announced the retreat of the Greeks from Artemisium. They, doubting the truth of his report, held him in custody, and despatched some swift vessels to look out. These returning with a confirmation of the fact, the whole fleet, in compact order, proceeded

at break of day to Artemisium, where they remained at anchor until mid-day, and then sailed to Histiaëa, of which, and the city, they took possession, and overran the district of Ellopia, and all the villages along the shores of the Histiaean territory. While the fleet was in this station, Xerxes having made his preparations with the bodies of the slain, sent a herald to the fleet. The preparations he had made were of this sort ;—Out of the twenty thousand of his own army that were killed at Thermopylæ, he reserved about one thousand, and interred all the others in trenches, which he caused to be dug, and over which he strewed leaves and heaped earth, so as effectually to conceal them from those who should come from the fleet. This done, the herald arriving at Histiaëa, convoyed an assembly of the whole naval army, whom he thus addressed—“Fellow soldiers ! Xerxes the king gives permission to all who please, to leave their ranks, and come, that they may see in what sort he has dealt with the senseless men who had imagined that they could overcome the royal power.”

After this proclamation had been made, nothing became more scarce than vessels of all kinds—so great was the number of those who desired to witness the spectacle ! Passing across the channel, they traversed the field of battle, and contemplated the dead, and supposed all to be either Lacedæmonians or Thespians, though many of those they saw were helots. But none were deceived by the artifice Xerxes had used in disposing of his own dead ; for it was altogether ridiculous—a thousand bodies of the Barbarians appearing on one side, and four thousand heaped together in one place on the other ! The day was occupied in this inspection of the dead ; and on the morrow, those who had come over, returned to the fleet at Histiaëa, while the army under Xerxes marched forwards.

At this time a small number of Arcadians, destitute of

the means of living, and desirous of employment, came over to the Persians. They were brought into the royal presence, and were asked by some one of the Persians what the Greeks were doing. They replied—"Celebrating the Olympic games, and witnessing the gymnastic combats, and the horse-racing." The Persian who had put the question then asked what the prize might be which was proposed as the reward of the combat; and was answered—"The prize given is a crown of olive." On hearing this, Tritantæchmes, son of Artabanus, uttered a noble sentiment, which however cost him the imputation of fear on the part of the king. For when he learned that a crown, and not money, was the prize proposed to the victors, he could no longer keep silence, but exclaimed before all—"Alas Mardonius! against what sort of men are you leading us to fight, who contend, not for money but for honour!"

During these transactions, and presently after the carnage at Thermopylæ, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, towards whom they had always borne a grudge, which was much aggravated by a recent defeat.

[For not many years before this invasion by the king, the Thessalians with their entire forces, and their allies, had invaded the Phocians, by whom they were beaten and very severely handled. The Phocians were shut in upon Mount Parnassus, having with them the diviner Tëllias of Elis, who contrived for them the following stratagem.—Six hundred of the bravest Phocians were plastered with gypsum—they and their arms, and sent to attack the Thessalians by night, with orders to put to the sword all that were not white like themselves. The Thessalian watch, who first saw them, were frightened, supposing what they beheld to be a prodigy; the others took the same alarm, so that the Phocians effected a slaughter of 4000 men, whose bucklers they took:—half of these they dedicated at Abas, and a half at Delphi, and from a

tythe of the money obtained after this encounter, they formed those large statues which stand near the tripod, in front of the temple at Delphi, and others like them at Abas.

In this manner did the Phocians treat the Thessalian infantry by whom they were surrounded; and as for the cavalry that invaded their territory, they inflicted upon them an irreparable blow.—In the defile near Hyampolis, they dug a spacious pit, in which they placed empty jars; and strewing earth over them, made the surface like that around the excavation. There they waited the attack of the Thessalians, who, fiercely charging the Phocians, fell in upon the jars, and the horses broke their legs.]

Having then these two grounds of animosity, the Thessalians sent their herald with this message:—"Phocians! better taught by proof of combat, you now find yourselves to be not a match for us. Formerly, and while we thought good to take part with the Greeks, we were always your superiors: and now we have so much influence with the king, that it is at our option to deprive you of your territory, and to sell you as slaves. Yet though all this is in our power, we will not remember past injuries, but on condition that you atone for them by giving us fifty talents of silver, we will pledge ourselves to you to avert from your country the ills that impend over it." Such was the proposition of the Thessalians. The Phocians were the only people of that region who did not take part with the Medes; and I am seriously of opinion, that the course they adopted was attributable to nothing but their enmity to the Thessalians; and had the Thessalians joined the Greeks, the Phocians would, I think, have gone over to the Medes. On this occasion, they declared they would not give the money—and said that, if so inclined they could, as easily as the Thessalians had done, take part with the Medes. But never would they willingly become the betrayers of Greece.

When this answer was brought back, it so enraged the Thessalians against the Phocians, that they became guides to the Barbarian, and led the army from Trachinia into Doris. The narrow neck (*foot*) of territory belonging to Doris extends itself here to the width of about thirty furlongs, between the Malian and Phocian lands; it was formerly called Dryopis. This region is the mother country of the Dorians of Peloponnesus. In passing through it the Barbarians, at the suggestion of the Thessalians, abstained from pillage; indeed the inhabitants had declared for the Medes.

When on leaving Doris they entered Phocis, they found no inhabitants to become their captives; for some had gone up to the heights of Parnassus, the summit of which, called Tithorea, near the city Neon, is capable of receiving commodiously a large assemblage of persons; hither therefore a portion of the Phocians had ascended, carrying with them their effects. But the greater number of them had gone to Amphissa, a city of the Ozolian Locrians, which is situated above the plain of Crisæus. The Barbarians however overran the whole Phocian territory, into which the Thessalians led them, carrying fire wherever they went, and cutting down the trees. They burned also the cities and the temples. Pursuing the course of the Cephissus, they pillaged the whole country, and burned, on the one side, Drymus, on the other Caradra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon, Pediea, Tritea, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamium, and Abas, at which last city there was a temple of Apollo, very rich in treasures, and replete with a multitude of dedicated articles. There was then, as at present, an oracle at the temple. This temple they pillaged and burned, and having pursued some of the Phocians, made them prisoners near the mountains: some women also fell into their hands, who perished from the treatment they received.

The Barbarians, after passing by the Parapotamians, came to Panopea, where the army separated into two divisions, of which the most numerous and efficient, under Xerxes himself, proceeded towards Athens, and on its way entered Bœotia, by the territory of the Orchomenians. The general body of the Bœotians had surrendered to the Medes, and their cities were saved by means of Macedonians stationed in them by Alexander. In this way it was certified to Xerxes that the Bœotians truly affected the Median interests. This was the road taken by the principal division of the Barbarians.

The other division, under the conduct of guides, proceeded towards the temple of Delphi: they kept Mount Parnassus on their right, and whatever fell in their way they pillaged. The city of the Panopians they burned, as well as those of the Daulians and Æolians. The intention of this detachment of the army was the plundering of the temple of Delphi, that its treasures might be presented to Xerxes, who, as I have been told, had a better knowledge of what this temple contained most remarkable, than of what he had left behind him at home. For there were many about him who continually described them—and particularly the offerings of Croesus, son of Alyattes.

The Delphians on being informed of the approach of the enemy, were greatly dismayed, and with extreme alarm inquired at the oracle concerning the sacred treasures—whether they should hide them in the earth, or transport them to some other country. But the god would not suffer them to be moved, saying, “that he was able to defend his own.” On hearing this answer, the Delphians thought only of their own affairs. Their children and their wives they sent across to Achaia, and themselves, for the most part, ascended the summit of Parnassus, and carried their effects to the cavern of Corycium. Some of them slipped away to Amphissa in Locris. Thus

all the Delphians left the city, except sixty men and the prophet.

While the Barbarians were approaching, and were even so near as to be within sight of the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, beheld the arms laid in front of the fane, having been conveyed from the interior of the sacred edifice. These arms it was unlawful for any mortal even to touch. He went and announced this prodigy to the Delphians that were at hand. But when the Barbarians hastening their march came near the temple of the Pronæan Minerva, prodigies still greater than this happened to them. It was indeed wonderful in the extreme that the martial furniture should—self-moved—appear lying without the temple; but to this, other prodigies succeeded—and such as, beyond any other supernatural occurrences, are worthy of admiration. For at the moment when the Barbarians reached the temple of Minerva Pronæa, thunder-bolts fell upon them from heaven; and from Parnassus two towering masses of rock burst away, and with a loud crash bearing down upon them, killed great numbers, while from the interior of the temple was heard a voice and the shout of war.

These commingled alarms smote the Barbarians with terror, and the Delphians, learning that they fled, followed and put great numbers to the sword. Those that survived retreated directly into Boeotia. It was asserted, as I am informed, by those of them who returned, that besides the prodigies already mentioned, they beheld other appearances; for two personages in complete armour, and of stature surpassing the height of man, followed and slaughtered them. The Delphians say that these were the tutelary heroes—Phylacus and Autonus, to whom are consecrated the sacred enclosures near the temple—that of Phylacus, by the road side, above the temple of Minerva:—that of Autonus, near the Castalian fountain, beneath the summit called Hyampia. The rocks

which fell from Parnassus were even in my time preserved in the enclosure of the temple of Minerva, where they rested after passing through the Barbarian ranks. Such were the circumstances under which this detachment was repulsed from the temple.

SECTION III.

ALTERCATIONS OF THE GRECIAN CHIEFS AT SALAMIS.

The Grecian fleet after leaving Artemisium, took up its station, at the request of the Athenians, near Salamis. The reason of the request on the part of the Athenians was this, that they might transport their children and wives from Attica, and also that a consultation might be held among them on the course that ought to be pursued; for being deceived in their expectations, it was necessary that the existing state of things should be met by new counsels. They had indeed hoped to find the Peloponnesians in full force in Boeotia, prepared to oppose the Barbarian; but in fact nothing of this kind was to be seen, and they were informed that the Peloponnesians, regardless of all the rest of Greece, and mindful only of the safety of Peloponnesus, were occupied in constructing a wall across the Isthmus. It was then, on receiving this information, that the Athenians entreated the allies to remain near Salamis.

The others therefore anchored off the island, while the Athenians went home, and immediately after their arrival made proclamation to this effect:—"That whoever of the Athenians was able to do so, should save his children and

domestics in what manner he pleased." Presently the greater part sent their families to Trœzen; while some sent theirs to Ægina, and some to Salamis. This evacuation was accomplished with the more diligence, from the wish to obey the oracle (p. 533) nor was it a little promoted by the following circumstance. The Athenians affirm that an enormous serpent dwells in the temple (*of Minerva*) as guardian of the Acropolis;—so they assert; and as if it were actually there, they place for it monthly offerings, which consist of honey cakes. These honey cakes had always hitherto been consumed; but were now untouched. The priestess having made known the fact, the Athenians with so much the more readiness abandoned the city; since the divinity had deserted the Acropolis. When they had placed all their property in safety, they proceeded to join the fleet.

After the fleet from Artemisium was known to have taken its station at Salamis, the other ships of the Greeks joined it from Trœzen: for at Pogon, on the Trœzenian coasts, they had been appointed to assemble. And now a much larger number of ships was collected together than had taken part in the engagement at Artemisium;—and they came also from more states. The combined fleet was still, as at Artemisium, under the command of Eurybiades, son of Euryclides, a Spartan, yet not of the royal family. The Athenians had now also many more and better sailing ships.

The fleet was thus composed. From Peloponnesus came the Lacedæmonians, with sixteen ships. The Corinthians with the same number as at Artemisium. The Sicyonians with fifteen, and the Epidaurians with ten. The Trœzenians five. The Hermionians three. All these, excepting the last, were of Doric and Macednic extraction, and proceeded from Erineum, and Pindus, and latterly from Dryopis. But the Hermionians are Dryopians, who were driven from the country now called

Doris by Hercules and the Malians. Such were the forces of the Peloponnesians in the fleet. Those from the exterior continent of Greece were—the Athenians, whose ships amounted to one hundred and eighty, a number equal to that of all the other Greeks together. At Salamis they were unaccompanied by the Platæans—for this reason;—as the Greeks were retiring from Artemisium, and came off Chalcis, the Platæans went ashore on the opposite side in Bœotia, in order to put in safety their families. While occupied in securing them, they were themselves left by the fleet. The Athenians, when the country now called Greece was possessed by the Pelasgians, were also Pelasgians, and bore the name Cranaans; but under their king, Cecrops, they were called Cecropians, and when Erectheus assumed the supreme power, they changed that name for the appellation, Athenians. Afterwards Ion, son of Xuthus, being their general, the Athenians were from him called Ionians.

The Megarians had the same force as at Artemisium. The Ampraciots afforded their aid with seven ships; the Leucadians with three—these were a Doric tribe from Corinth. Of the islanders, the Æginetans furnished thirty ships: they had others fully equipped, but retained them for the guard of their island. These thirty (*or forty-two*) ships which fought at Salamis, were the best sailers. The people of Ægina are Dorians from Epidaurus; the island was formerly called Cœnona. Next to the Æginetans came the Chalcidians, with the twenty ships they had had at Artemisium; and the Eretrians with their seven—these are Ionians. Then came the Ceians, with the same as before;—they are of the Ionic race, and from Athens. The Naxians had four ships; these had been sent by the people to join the Medes, like the other islanders; but disregarding their orders, they joined the Greeks: this was effected by the management of Democritus, a distinguished citizen of Naxos,

and who was then a trierarch. The Naxians are Ionians, sprung from the Athenians. The Styrians had now the same ships as at Artemisium. The Cythnians one, and a penteconter :—both these people are Dryopians. The Seriphians, the Siphnians, and the Malians, also served in the fleet, and these alone of the islanders had not sent earth and water to the Barbarian.

The forces of these people, all of them inhabiting the parts of Greece within (*south of*) Thesprotia and the Acheron, were now present. It is the Thesprotians who border upon the Ampraciot, and the Leucadians, and these were the most remote of those that took part in the war ; for of all who dwell beyond these, none gave aid to Greece in her time of peril, except the Crotonians, with a single ship. This vessel was commanded by Phayllus, a man who had three times been victor in the Pythian games. The Crotonians derive their origin from Achaia. All furnished triremes except the Malians, the Siphnians, and the Seriphians, who brought penteconters. The Malians, a branch of the Lacedæmonians, had two. The Siphnians and Seriphians, both Ionians from Athens, had each one. The entire numbers of the fleet, exclusive of the penteconters, was three hundred and seventy eight.

When the commanders from the several states above-mentioned were assembled at Salamis, a council was held on the proposition of Eurybiades, in which every one was to declare his opinion and wishes on the question—which among all the places still in their power, was the most advantageous for a naval engagement. For Attica was already lost :—the question could therefore relate only to what was left to them. Among the opinions advanced, that which obtained the greater number of suffrages was—That they should proceed to the Isthmus, and engage the enemy in advance of Peloponnesus ; and this proposition was thus defended—“that if they should be defeated while at Salamis, they must be besieged in

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the island, where no succour could reach them; but if at the Isthmus, they might severally repair to their homes."

While the Peloponnesian commanders were advancing this opinion, an Athenian arrived, bringing the news that the Barbarian had actually entered Attica, and was devastating all with fire. For the main army under Xerxes, taking its course through Bœotia, had burned Thespia, the inhabitants of which city had retired into Peloponnesus; and in like manner Plataea, and advanced upon the territory of Athens, pillaging all. Thespia and Plataea they had burned on the information of the Thebans, who said that those cities were opposed to the Medes.

The Barbarians, including the time occupied in crossing the Hellespont into Europe, remained one month in that neighbourhood, and in three months more reached Attica, where they arrived during the archonship of Calliades. They took possession of the city, deserted of its inhabitants, except that they found some few Athenians in the temple (*of Minerva*) such as the stewards of the temple, and certain indigent persons who had fortified the entrances to the Acropolis against the invaders, with stakes. Not only had their poverty prevented their transporting themselves to Salamis, but they thought themselves to have divined the true meaning of the oracle, when the Pythian declared that "the wooden fort should be impregnable." And this, not the fleet, they believed to be the asylum intended by the oracle.

The Persians posting themselves on the mound, called by the Athenians Mars' hill, opposite to the Acropolis, besieged it in this manner:—They discharged arrows against the defences to which lighted tow was fastened. The besieged Athenians continued to defend themselves, though reduced to the most extreme misery, and though

deceived in their barricado; nor would they admit the propositions offered them by the Pisistratids for an accommodation. Still they resisted, and among other means of defence which they devised was this—that, as often as the Barbarians approached the gates, they dismissed enormous stones upon them, so that Xerxes, after much time had been spent, felt himself still embarrassed for want of means to reduce the place.

At length, in the midst of these perplexities, a way of access was made known to the Barbarians—for it was inevitable, according to the prediction of the oracle, that all the Attic possessions on the main land should be reduced by the Persians. In front of the Acropolis, and behind the gates and the entrance, and where no guard was placed—for it was not thought possible that any human being could in that place ascend;—there, some of the Barbarians actually climbed up, though it was an impending precipice:—the spot is near the shrine of Aglauros, daughter of Cecrops. When the Athenians beheld the enemy ascending into the Acropolis, some of them threw themselves down from the defences, and so perished; while others fled for refuge to the temple. The Persians who had gained the summit first of all turned towards the gates (*of the temple*) which they opened; then they put the suppliants to the sword: and after these were all slain, they pillaged the temple, and set fire to all the buildings of the Acropolis.

No sooner had Xerxes made himself completely master of Athens, than he despatched a horseman with the intelligence to Susa, to announce to Artabanus his present good success. On the second day after the departure of the courier, he called together those exiled Athenians who attended him, and commanded them to ascend the Acropolis, and there to offer the accustomed sacrifices in their own manner. These commands resulted perhaps from some vision he might have had,

or perhaps he was seized with compunction for having burned the temple. The exiles fulfilled the part assigned to them. The reason of my recording the circumstance is this:—There is in the Athenian Acropolis a fane dedicated to Erechtheus, commonly called the Earth-born (*aboriginal*), and in this fane there is an olive tree, and a pool (*Θαλασσα*) placed there, as the Athenians affirm, by Neptune and Minerva, as testimonials when they wrangled for the possession of the country. This olive was burned, together with the temple, by the Barbarians; but the next day after the conflagration, when the Athenians, at the command of the king, went up to the temple to sacrifice, they beheld a shoot from the stump, sprung up to the height of a cubit.—So they affirmed.

When the Greeks at Salamis were informed that the Athenian Acropolis was actually in possession of the enemy, they were thrown into such consternation, that some of the commanders, without waiting till the affairs before the council were arranged, hastened on board their ships, and hoisted sail to depart. Meanwhile those who remained came to the determination to engage the enemy off the Isthmus. Night was now arrived, and the commanders breaking up from the council, went on board their ships.

When Themistocles reached his ship he was asked by Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, what had been resolved in the council, and when answered that it was determined to conduct the fleet to the Isthmus, and to engage the enemy in advance of Peloponnesus, he thus spoke—"If they weigh and remove the fleet from Salamis, there will be no engagement at all in defence of any one's country; for every one will make off towards his home. Nor will Eurybiades, nor any other person have power to retain them, or to prevent the dispersion of the fleet. Thus will Greece be lost by mere imprudence. But now, if by

any means it may be done, instantly make the attempt to annul the decision of the council, and endeavour, if possible, to induce Eurybiades to alter his determination, and remain in this position." Themistocles heartily approved of this advice, and without waiting to give any answer, repaired to the ship of Eurybiades, where, when he arrived along side, he said he wished to confer with him on a matter belonging to the common interests. Eurybiades directed him to come on board, and say what he wished. Themistocles seating himself by him, repeated, as his own opinion, what he had heard from Mnesiphilus; to which he added much more to the same effect: and at length prevailed with him, by his entreaties, to leave his ship, and summon the commanders to meet in council.

When they were assembled, and before Eurybiades had laid before them the business on account of which he had convoked them, Themistocles discoursed largely in support of his advice. While he was thus speaking, Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian general, said—"Themistocles—in the games, those who start before others are beaten." To which, in excuse, he replied—"But those who remain behind are not crowned." Thus mildly did he answer the Corinthian. But in addressing Eurybiades, he said not a word of what he had before mentioned, relative to the dispersion of the fleet in case of its leaving Salamis. For it seemed not seemly, in the presence of the confederates, to cast an imputation upon any one:—he had in readiness another argument, and thus spoke—"With you it is now to save Greece. This you will effect if, yielding to my advice, you remain here and engage the enemy, nor listen to those who would have you break up and remove the fleet to the Isthmus. Hear and weigh the reasons on both sides. In fighting at the Isthmus you engage in an open sea, which is especially disadvantageous to us whose

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ships are heavier and fewer in number than those of the enemy. Besides, you then abandon to destruction Salamis, and Megara, and Ægina, even though we should be otherwise successful: for the enemy's army will follow the advance of the fleet, and thus, while you yourself lead the war towards Peloponnesus, you expose the whole of Greece to danger. But if you adopt the course I recommend, you will find these following advantages.—In the first place you will, with a small fleet, contend with a large one in a narrow space, which, if the ordinary course of things in war takes place, will give us a decided advantage; for to fight in a narrow space is as much our interest as to fight in a wide space is theirs. Again;—Salamis will be preserved, where we have placed our children and our wives. Moreover, in what I recommend there is this advantage, for which indeed you are especially solicitous—That in remaining here you defend Peloponnesus as effectually as if you retired to the Isthmus. If then you are wise, you will not conduct the fleet to Peloponnesus. But now if, as I hope, we obtain a victory at sea, the Barbarians will neither advance to the Isthmus against you, nor penetrate further into Attica, but will retire in disorder; meanwhile we secure the benefit of preserving Megara, and Ægina, and Salamis, where, according to the prediction, we are to vanquish the enemy. When men adopt measures that are in conformity with the ordinary course of affairs, they most often meet with the wished-for success. But if their counsels are opposed to common probability, they will find that God is not wont to conform himself to human designs.”

Thus spoke Themistocles, and again Adimantus the Corinthian attacked him, and enjoined silence upon one who, as he said, “had no country;” and he forbade Eurybiades to put to the vote the proposition of “a cityless man;” and said he would then require the

opinion of Themistocles, when he could show that he had a city. This reproach he uttered in reference to the capture and possession of Athens by the enemy. Themistocles now spoke with severity of Adimantus and the Corinthians, and proved manifestly that he had both a city and a country, more considerable than theirs, while Athens possessed two hundred ships, fully manned with her citizens; nor were there any of the Greeks who could resist them. Then addressing himself to Eurybiades with still more intentness, he said,—“ You, if you remain here, will act the part of a brave man; but if not, you ruin Greece. Our ships are every thing to us in this war.—Now therefore yield to my advice. Yet should you refuse to do so we, just as we are, will take our families on board, and will remove to Siris in Italy, an ancient possession of ours, and which, according to predictions, is destined to be occupied by us. Then you, deserted by such allies, will find occasion to remember my words.”

Eurybiades changed his opinion on hearing this speech, or, as it seems to me, he changed in terror, lest the Athenians should leave the confederacy if he moved the fleet to the Isthmus. And he knew that, deprived of the Athenians, the others would be unable to meet the enemy. He therefore adopted the advice of Themistocles, and it was decided to engage the enemy at Salamis.

Such were the altercations that took place among the chiefs at Salamis; but when Eurybiades had actually decided, they made preparations for the engagement at that station. The next day, at sun rise, a trembling took place on land and at sea, and it was thought proper to pray to the gods, and to invoke the succour of the *Æacids*. This was accordingly done; and after all the gods had been addressed with vows, they, from Salamis, called upon Ajax and Telamon, and even despatched a ship to *Ægina* for the aid of *Æacus* and the other *Æacids*.

[Dicæus, son of Theocydes, an Athenian, and an exile with the Medes, and who, at that time, was high in esteem among them, gave the following account :—“ When Attica was devastated by the army of Xerxes, and deserted by the Athenians, he happened to be with Demaratus the Lacedæmonian, in the Thriasian plain, and saw a cloud of dust advancing from Eleusis, as if occasioned by the march of about thirty thousand men. They were amazed at seeing the dust, and while wondering by whom it could be raised, suddenly heard a voice which seemed to him to repeat (*the hymn called*) the mystic Iacchus.* But Demaratus being uninitiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, inquired of him what it might be that was uttered; to which he replied—“ Demaratus, it cannot be but what some great calamity awaits the king’s army, for it is manifest that Attica, being destitute of men, the words uttered are from the divinity, who advancing from Eleusis, comes to aid the Athenians and the confederates. And now if it turns towards Peloponnesus, there shall be peril to the king himself and the army on land; but if towards the fleet at Salamis, then the king is in danger of losing the fleet. The Athenians are accustomed every year to celebrate this festival to the Mother and the Damsel (*Ceres and Proserpine*). And whoever pleases—of them, or of the other Greeks, is then initiated in the mysteries, and the words you have heard are the very same that are shouted in that very festival.” “ Hold, silence,” replied Demaratus, “ nor repeat this matter to any one; for should what you have said be reported to the king, you would lose your head; nor would it be in my power, or that of any other to deliver you. Be therefore quiet, and the gods will take care of the army.” Such was the advice given to him by Demaratus. After the dust and the voice, there appeared a cloud, which soaring aloft, bore away towards Salamis, and towards the camp of the Greeks. From which they concluded that the fleet of Xerxes was about to be destroyed. This is the account given by Dicæus, son of Theocydes, confirmed by Demaratus and others.]

* A hymn sung in honour of Bacchus.

SECTION IV.

ADVANCE OF THE PERSIAN FLEET. WALL AT THE
ISTHMUS. STRATAGEM OF THEMISTOCLES.

After those belonging to the fleet of Xerxes had contemplated the slaughter that had been made of the Lacedæmonians, they passed over from Trachis to Histiaæa, where they remained three days; and then sailing through the Euripus, in three days more arrived off Phalerum. Nor were they, I think, fewer in number, either by land or sea, when they reached Attica, than when they arrived at Sepias and Thermopylæ. For in place of those that perished in the tempest, and at Thermopylæ, and in the engagements at Artemisium, I reckon those who did not till afterwards join the king's army; as the Malians, and Dorians, and Locrians, and Bœotians, who followed Xerxes in a body, excepting only the Thespians and Plataeans. Besides, there came, in full force, the Carystians, the Andrians, the Tenians, and all the other islanders, excepting the five whose names I have before mentioned. For the further the Persian penetrated into Greece, the greater was the number of the people that he led in his train.

All these then arrived at Athens (*and Phalerum*), excepting the Parians, who remained at Cythnus, awaiting the event of the war. When, with this exception, all reached Phalerum, Xerxes himself repaired to the fleet, in order to converse with the naval commanders, and to learn their opinions. On his arrival he seated himself as president of the council, at which were present, on his summons, the tyrants of the several nations, and the commanders of the fleet, each seated according to the rank

he held in the king's service. First in honour was the Sidonian king, next the Tyrian, and so the others; and when all were seated in their order, Xerxes sent Mardonius to sound the dispositions of each, on the question of meeting the enemy at sea. Mardonius passing round, asked the opinion of each, beginning with the king of Sidon: all professed the same opinion, and advised that battle should be given—all, except Artemisia, who thus spoke:—

“ Tell the king, Mardonius, that I thus speak—My lord, as I behaved in no cowardly manner in the engagements off Eubœa, and achieved actions not inferior to those of others, I may fairly now offer my opinion, and declare what I think the best course for you to pursue. I say then to you—be sparing of your ships, nor engage the enemy at sea. For at sea the Greeks are as much superior to your people, as men are to women. And what need have you at all to hazard an engagement? Do you not hold Athens, to possess yourself of which was the very intention of the expedition? And is not the rest of Greece yours? For none oppose an obstacle to your progress: or those who resisted, have they not met the fate they merited? I will now declare what, in my opinion, will be the course of events with the enemy. If, instead of hastily engaging them at sea, you retain the fleet here in shore, or even gradually advance towards Peloponnesus, nothing will be more easy for you, my lord, than to attain the object you have in view. For the Greeks are not in condition to maintain a long resistance; but you may disperse them, and they will severally retreat towards their cities. As I am informed, they have no great store of provisions in this island (*Salamis*). Nor is it probable that, if you march the army towards Peloponnesus, those of them who come from thence, will remain unmoved here; nor will they care to fight for the Athenians. But on the contrary, should you urge an engagement, I greatly

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fear that a defeat of the fleet would bring ruin upon the army. Furthermore, O king, consider this, that ordinarily the best masters have the worst servants, and the worst masters the best servants; and thus it is with you, who though the very best of men, have among those who are reckoned as your allies, some bad servants;—such are those worthless Egyptians, and Cyprians, and Cilicians.”

Thus did Artemisia address Mardonius, and all who wished her well greatly feared that her speech would bring some punishment upon her from the king, whom she thus dissuaded from engaging the enemy: while, on the other hand, those who entertained any grudge or envy against her, on account of the peculiar regard with which she was treated, were delighted with her answer, thinking it must effect her ruin. But when the several opinions were reported to Xerxes, he was exceedingly pleased with that of Artemisia; and though hitherto he had deemed her a person of great ability, he now extolled her in still higher terms. Nevertheless he decided to follow the advice of the greater number, and imagining that his people had behaved remissly at Euboea, because he was not present, he now made arrangements for being himself a witness of the combat.

The order for sailing being given, the fleet moved towards Salamis, and at leisure the ships formed in order of battle; but the day was now too far spent for them to commence the engagement, and night coming on, they held themselves in readiness to fight on the following morning. Meanwhile fear and dismay took possession of the Greeks; nor least of the Peloponnesians, who thought themselves detained at Salamis merely to fight in defence of the territory of the Athenians; and they feared that if defeated, they should be surrounded and besieged on the island, while their own country would be left defenceless.

During the same night the Barbarian army advanced towards Peloponnesus; but every possible means had been used to prevent their penetrating into it by land. For instantly after the news of the death of Leonidas and his companions at Thermopylæ had arrived, the Peloponnesians flocked together from all their cities to the Isthmus, under the command of Cleombrotus, son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas. Fixing their station in the Isthmus, they first raised a rampart of earth on the Scironian road, and then, in conformity with their previous resolution, began to construct a wall across the Isthmus. And the work advanced rapidly; for not a man among so many thousands was unemployed, but all laboured in aid of the undertaking, by bringing stones, and bricks, and timber, and hods of sand; nor did they cease day or night.

The Greeks who assembled at the Isthmus in a body to construct the wall, were these.—The whole of the Lacedæmonians and Arcadians; the Elians, the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, the Epidaurians, the Phliasians, the Trœzenians, and the Hermionians: it was these who, fearing for the fate of Greece in its present peril, gave their aid on this occasion; while the other people of Peloponnesus heeded not the danger, though the Olympic and Carneian festivals were now gone by.*

[Seven nations inhabit Peloponnesus, two of which are aboriginal, and still occupy their ancient territory: these are the Arcadians and the Cynurians. One of these races—the Achaian, has not removed from Peloponnesus, but has only passed from its first territory to another. The other four of the seven are intruders on the soil, namely, the Dorians, the Ætolians, the Dryopians, and the Lemnians. The Dorians

* These festivals had hitherto furnished a pretext for the backwardness of the Peloponnesians.

possess many celebrated cities; the Ætolians have Elis only; the Dryopians have Hermione, and Asina, near Cardamyla of Laconia. The Lemnians have all the Paroreates. The Cynurians, though aborigines, seem to some to be Ionians.—They have become Doric by living under the domination of the Argives, and by the lapse of time, in like manner as* the Orneates, and their neighbours. All the cities of these seven nations, excepting those mentioned above, held to a neutrality; or, if permitted to speak freely, I should say they held to a neutrality which was in fact a taking part with the Medes.]

The Peloponnesians assembled at the Isthmus laboured with so much earnestness, as considering that their only hope depended upon the completion of the work, and as despairing of any brilliant achievement on the part of the fleet; while those (*of the Peloponnesians*) who were at Salamis, when informed of what was taking place, feared not so much for themselves as for their country. For some time they did but whisper, one to another, their amazement at the imprudence of Eurybiades. But at length their discontent broke forth; a conference was held, and much was said to the same purport as before; and while one party declared it to be necessary to sail to Peloponnesus, and rather to risk a battle in defence of that, than to remain and fight for a country already in the enemy's power, the Athenians, the Æginetans, and the Megarians, were for remaining to defend the position they then occupied.

When Themistocles understood that the counsels of the Peloponnesians were gaining the ascendancy, he withdrew unperceived from the assembly, and going out, he despatched a messenger to the camp of the Medes, in a small vessel, with instructions. The person sent on this

* ως τε read for εοντες, as the sense demands.

business was named Sicinnus—a slave of Themistocles, and the preceptor of his sons,* and who, at a later period, received from Themistocles a competent fortune, and who, by his influence, was enrolled among the citizens of Thespia, when the people of that city were augmenting their numbers. When Sicinnus arrived among the Barbarians, he thus addressed the generals. “I am sent without the knowledge of the other Greeks, by the Athenian general, who in fact affects the king’s interests, and had rather that you than the Greeks should succeed : and I am instructed to inform you that the Greeks, in consternation, are at this time resolving upon a retreat. Now therefore the opportunity is offered you of achieving the most splendid success, and to this end you have only to prevent their escape. They are far from accordant among themselves ; nor can they again withstand you, and you will behold the two parties—those inclined to favour you, and those otherwise minded, attacking each other.” After making this communication, Sicinnus immediately retired.

The Barbarians confiding in the sincerity of this message, in the first place landed a large body of Persians on the islet named Psyttalia, which lies between Salamis and the main land ;—then at midnight, they brought the western wing of the fleet round towards Salamis ; while those stationed about Ceos and Cynosura came on so as to occupy the whole passage as far as Munychia. This they did with the design of cutting off all escape from the Greeks, and of investing them upon Salamis, where vengeance might be wreaked upon them for the engagements at Artemisium. The Persians who were landed upon Psyttalia, were placed there because this islet, lying in the very passage where the engagement was about to take place, it would naturally become, during the action,

* Tutors in opulent families were commonly purchased slaves.

a place of refuge, both to men and to disabled ships, in which case these Persians might protect their own people, and destroy the enemy who should resort to it. These arrangements were made in the silence of night, that the enemy might know nothing of what was doing, and the movements occupied the whole night, to the exclusion of any time of repose.

When I consider these events, I am not prepared to deny the truth of oracles, nor shall attempt to controvert those which are so explicit as the following:—

“ But when they shall have extended their line of ships on the sacred shore of the golden-quivered Artemis (*Diana*), and of the sea-girt Cynosura, and when, mad with hope, he shall have pillaged the spruce Athens; then the Divine Vengeance (*by prosopopœia*) shall repress (*put out*) the mighty Wanton—the son of Arrogance, who, with a dire ambition, shall think to sway the universe. Brass shall meet with brass (*the beaks of the ships*), and Mars shall empurple the deep. Then shall the farsighted Saturn, and the benign Victory, bring a day of deliverance for Greece.”*

Bacis thus speaking, and so explicitly—I can neither myself venture to say any thing against oracles, nor admit what is advanced by others.

SECTION V.

ARRIVAL OF ARISTIDES. ENGAGEMENT AT SALAMIS.

The contention among the generals at Salamis was still maintained, nor did they then know that the Bar-

* I have thought in this, as in former instances, that a literal prose translation was preferable to one less exact—as it must be—in verse.

barians had surrounded them with their fleet; but supposed them to be in the same place where they had seen them during the day. In the midst of this altercation of the generals, there arrived from Ægina Aristides, son of Lysimachus, an Athenian whom the commonalty had exiled by ostracism; but whom, after all I have learned of his manners, I deem to have been one of the best and the most upright of all the Athenians. This person, presenting himself at the (*door of the*) council-room, called for Themistocles, who far from being his friend, was in fact peculiarly his enemy. But the magnitude of the ills impending over Greece, induced him to forget their animosities. He therefore called him to a conference, and he had already heard of the eagerness of the Peloponnesians to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus. When Themistocles came forth he was thus addressed by Aristides:—"We must remit our contentions to another season, and now only strive which of us shall best serve our country. I tell you it matters not whether the Peloponnesians say much or little in favour of the departure of the fleet:—I relate to you what I have myself seen—and inform you that now, neither the Corinthians, nor Eurybiades himself, have the power to depart;—we are encircled by the enemy. Return to the council, and signify to them what I have reported." Themistocles replied:—"Very good are your communications, and good is the news you bring. That which I desired to happen, you come as an eye-witness to declare has taken place. Know then that I am the instigator of the movements which the Medes have effected; for it was necessary, as the Greeks would not of their own will give battle, that they should be forced to it unwillingly. But now, as you come a messenger of good tidings, announce them yourself; for if I should repeat them, they will think I have invented a story, nor shall I persuade them, any more than as if the Barbarians had not taken this

course. But come, and yourself make known the fact, and when you have so done, if they shall be persuaded—well; but if they give you no credit, the event will be the same; for if, as you affirm, we are surrounded on all sides, they cannot make their escape.”

Aristides then entered, and declared that he came from Ægina, and had with difficulty passed unperceived through the fleet of Xerxes, which completely invested that of the Greeks: and he advised them to prepare for their defence—having so said he retired. Again an altercation ensued: for the greater part of the commanders did not believe what they had heard. While these were maintaining their doubts, there arrived in the fleet a trireme that had come over from the enemy; it was manned by Tenians, under the command of Panætius, son of Socimenes. From the crew of this vessel they learned all the truth. On account of this action, the name of the Tenians is inscribed on the tripod at Delphi, among those who defeated the Barbarian. This vessel, which came over to the Greeks at Salamis, together with one from Lemnos that had before joined the fleet at Artemisium, completed the number of three hundred and eighty ships, composing the fleet which before had wanted two of that amount.

The Greeks receiving as certain the report of the Tenians, prepared themselves for the engagement. At dawn of day, after the muster of the crews had been made, the chiefs harangued their men, in doing which Themistocles was eminently eloquent: the purport of his speech was to compare the better in action with the worse, and he exhorted the Athenians to choose whatever, within the range of human nature, and their actual circumstances, was best. Having wound up his discourse, he commanded the men to go on board their ships. While they were embarking, the trireme arrived from Ægina,

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which had been despatched for the Æacids. Immediately the whole Greek fleet put out to sea.

As the Greeks moved on, the Barbarians instantly advanced upon them:—when the former rowed backwards towards shore; but an Athenian, named Aminias, of Pal-lené, advancing, attacked a ship, and getting entangled with it, so that he could not disengage his own, the others came up to support him, and thus the combat commenced: this is the account given by the Athenians; but the Æginetans affirm, that the ship sent to Ægina for the Æacids was the first to begin. It is also said, that a phantom, in the form of a woman, appeared to the Greeks, and in a voice that was heard by the whole fleet, encouraged them to the fight, after first reproaching them in these words;—“ Infatuated men! how long will you continue to move stern-first” (*to retreat*).

To the Athenians were opposed the Phœnicians, on the western wing, towards Eleusis; and to the Lacedæmonians, the Ionians: for these were stationed towards the east, and Piræus. A few of the Ionians, in compliance with the injunctions of Themistocles, behaved remissly with design; but not so the greater number; and I am in possession of the names of many Ionian captains who captured Grecian vessels. I will mention only Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, son of Histæus—both of them Samians; the reason why I make mention of these in preference to others, is that, in reward for his services on this occasion, Theomestor was constituted by the Persians tyrant of Samos; and Phylacus was enrolled among those who had rendered service to the king; and he received also a grant of a large tract of land. Those who have rendered service to the king, are in the Persian language called Orosanges.

The greater number of the enemy's ships were broken

in this battle at Salamis—either by the Athenians or the Æginetans. For as the Greeks kept their line of battle with precision, and as, on the contrary, the Barbarians neither observed order, nor regulated their movements with any intelligence, no other event than that which happened could well take place. And yet the conduct of the Barbarians on this day greatly surpassed their behaviour in the engagements off Eubœa; for in fear of Xerxes, every one displayed his utmost zeal, and each believed himself to be under the eye of the king.

I cannot with certainty affirm what might be the behaviour of particular combatants among either the Barbarians or the Greeks. Yet I may relate an exploit of Artemisia, which obtained to her still greater credit with the king. At the time when an utter confusion had taken place in the royal fleet, the ship of Artemisia was pursued by an Athenian ship, and she, having no way of escape left open to her—for before her were many ships of the king's fleet, and hers was the nearest to the enemy, she decided what to do, and succeeded in the attempt; for being still pursued by the Athenian, she bore down upon a ship of her own party;—it was one of the Calyndian vessels, and commanded by Damasithymus, the king of that people. Whether she bore him a grudge on account of any disagreement happening while the fleet was at the Hellespont, or indeed whether there was any premeditation in what she did, I cannot affirm; or whether it was merely that the Calyndian ship, happening to be opposed to hers, she thus encountered it. But so it was that in bearing down upon it, it went down, and she derived from the chance a double advantage; for the captain of the Attic trireme, seeing the vessel he pursued attack one of the Barbarians, he imagined that the ship of Artemisia was either one of the Greek fleet, or that it had come over from the Barbarians, and was fighting for the Greeks; he therefore turned away to attack

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others. By this good fortune, therefore, she not only escaped destruction, but also, though she had in fact injured the king, she actually obtained a higher place in his esteem. For it is affirmed, that as Xerxes beheld the contest, he took notice of the ship of Artemisia, as it bore down upon the Calyndian, and some one near him said:—"My lord! observe you Artemisia—how bravely she fights, and how she has sunk an enemy's ship?" and when he inquired if indeed it was Artemisia who had achieved the exploit, they declared that they perfectly recognized the ship's symbol. The ship that perished they took to be one of the enemy. Besides the other respects in which, on this occasion, she was so fortunate, there was this, that not an individual from the Calyndian vessel survived to accuse her. Xerxes is said to have added:—"My men have behaved like women, and the women like men."

In this combat perished the commander-in-chief—Ariabignes, son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes, besides a great number of distinguished Persians and Medes, and their allies. A few only of the Greeks lost their lives; for as they were skilled in swimming—if they escaped the sword of the enemy, when their ships foundered, they swam ashore on the island. But the Barbarians, being unable to swim, for the most part perished in the sea on the like occasions. It happened also that when the ships in the first line of the Persian fleet retreated, many were destroyed, for those in the second rank attempting to make their way to the front, in order to give proof of their zeal before the king, fell foul of those of their own party that were retreating.

During the confusion, some Phoenicians whose ships had perished, came before the king, and accused the Ionians of treachery, and of having occasioned the loss of their ships. Yet so it happened, that while the Ionian commanders escaped destruction, the Phoenicians who

calumniated them received a merited punishment. For at the moment while they were speaking, a Samothracian ship bore down upon an Attic vessel, and sunk it. Then an Æginetan coming up, sunk the Samothracian; but the Samothracians, being adroit in the use of the javelin, threw their missiles upon the crew of the vessel that had run them down, and driving them back, boarded their ship, and captured it. This action redeemed the Ionians; for Xerxes observing the very gallant achievement, turned towards the Phœnicians, and being then in deep dejection, and disposed to blame every one, he gave orders that they should lose their heads, that they who were but cowards, might no more accuse men more brave than themselves. During the combat, Xerxes was seated at the foot of Mount Ægaleos, opposite to Salamis, and whenever he saw any of his own people displaying peculiar valour in the fight, he inquired the name of the individual, and his secretaries made a note of the family and city of the captain who had achieved the deed. The fate of the Phœnicians was attributable also to the interference of Ariaramnes, a Persian, and the friend (*of the Ionians*) who happened to be present.

The Barbarians being put to flight, steered towards Phalerum, but the Æginetans placing themselves in the strait, behaved in a manner worthy of renown; for while the Athenians took advantage of the enemy's disorder, and crushed the vessels which either maintained the fight or fled, the Æginetans destroyed those that were making off; so that if any escaped the Athenians, they did but fall in with the Æginetans.

In the midst of these encounters, as Themistocles was in pursuit of an enemy, he met with a vessel commanded by Policritus, son of Crius, of Ægina, who was attacking a Sidonian. This Sidonian ship happened to be the same that had captured the Æginetan ship stationed at Sciathus to watch the enemy, and on board of which was

Pytheas, son of Ischenous, whom the Persians, in admiration of his bravery, had preserved in their ship after he had been almost hacked in pieces. This Sidonian ship being now captured, with the Persians on board, Pytheas regained his liberty, and lived to return to Salamis. Polycritus observing the Attic ship, and knowing by the symbol that it belonged to the Athenian commander, called aloud upon Themistocles, and sarcastically referred to the reproach that had been cast upon the Æginetans, of favouring the Medes, and even while thus taunting Themistocles, he bore down upon the (*Sidonian*) ship. Such of the Barbarians as escaped with their ships, retreated to Phalerum, where they remained under protection of the army.

In this engagement the Æginetans, among all the Greeks, obtained the most renown: next to them the Athenians. Of individuals, the most distinguished were — Polycritus, of Ægina; and among the Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyris, and Aminias of Pallené, who pursued Artemisia, and who, if he had known that she was on board, would not have abandoned the pursuit until either he had captured it, or was himself captured; for such had been the order given to the Athenian captains. And moreover a reward of ten thousand drachms was offered to whoever should take her alive; for it was felt as a grievous indignity, that a woman should appear in arms against Athens. But she, as we have said, escaped, as did others who reached Phalerum, with their ships unhurt.

[The Athenians affirm that Adimantus, the Corinthian commander, at the very commencement of the action, and at the moment when the ships encountered, being smitten with dismay, hoisted sail, and steered off, and that the other Corinthians observing the retreat of their commander, retired in like manner; and that, on their retreat, arriving opposite to the

temple of Minerva Sciras, on the shore of Salamis, they fell in with a swift and divinely commissioned bark—sent by—no one knows whom, and which nevertheless announced to the Corinthians the event of the battle, which they were then ignorant of. That it was supernatural is conjectured, because when the bark approached the Corinthian ships, those on board it uttered these words—“Adimantus, in withdrawing your ships, and hastening your flight, you are a traitor to the Greeks. But they, notwithstanding, are victorious, and shall obtain all the advantage they desired over their enemies.” Adimantus, say they, not giving credit to this news, the persons on board the bark again spoke, and said that they would become hostages to die if it did not appear that the Greeks were victorious. Upon this, he, with the other ships, returned to the fleet, and arrived as the victory was achieved. Such is the report concerning the Corinthians which is received among the Athenians. But the Corinthians, far from assenting to it, affirm themselves to have been foremost in this engagement, and the rest of Greece gives them testimony to the same effect.]

Aristides, son of Lysimachus, the Athenian, of whom I have lately made mention, as a man of great virtue, during the confusion which ensued in the engagement at Salamis, assembled a large body of heavy-armed Athenians, who had been posted along the coast of Salamis, and landing with them on Psyttalia, put to the sword all the Persians who were on the islet.

No sooner was the contest finished, than the Greeks hauled on shore at Salamis, all the wrecks that still floated near the island, and then held themselves ready for another engagement, supposing that the king would avail himself of such ships as remained to him. A westerly wind arising stranded many of the wrecks upon the coast of Attica, at the part called Colias. So were fulfilled the various predictions of Bacis and Musæus concerning this engagement, and also that one concerning the wrecks

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on this coast, uttered many years before these events, by Lysistratus the Athenian diviner, and of which none of the Greeks had perceived the meaning; the words were these:—

“The women of Colias shall tremble at (*bake their bread with*) oars.” *

But this was to happen after the departure of the king.

SECTION VI.

ALARMS OF XERXES. MEASURES OF THE GREEKS.

When Xerxes became acquainted with the extent of the loss he had sustained, he conceived the fear lest the Greeks, at their own motion, or at the suggestion of some Ionian should sail to the Hellespont, and by breaking up the bridges, detain him in Europe, and so put him in danger of perishing. He therefore meditated a retreat. But unwilling that this intention should become apparent, either to the Greeks or to his own army, he began to construct a causeway across the passage to Salamis, and for this purpose he joined together the Phœnician transports, to serve instead of a raft and walls. He also made preparations as if about to give battle again at sea. In seeing him thus occupied, all others felt assured that he was fully resolved to remain, and that he meant, in making these preparations, to continue the war. But none of these movements deceived Mardonius, who well understood his real intentions.

* This line has perplexed translators—a corruption of the text is supposed, which has been variously reformed.

At the same time that he thus employed himself, Xerxes sent a messenger into Persia, to make known the present disaster. Nothing among mortals is more rapid than the movement of these Persian messengers.—The plan we are told is this—The entire route being divided into journeys of a day each, as many horses and men are employed as there are days—one horse and man to each; and neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor night, hinders these messengers from despatching their destined journey with the utmost celerity.) He who first receives despatches, performs his course and delivers them to the second, and he to the third, and so on throughout;—much in the same way as in Greece is done by the torch-bearers, in the feast of Vulcan. This horse-post is called by the Persians—The Relay.

When the first news arrived at Susa—that Xerxes was master of Athens, such of the Persians as remained there were so delighted, that they strewed all the streets with myrtle, and burned incense, and gave themselves up to feasting and jollity. But the intelligence brought by the second who followed soon upon the first, filled them with such consternation that they all rent their mantles, and uttered loud and unbounded lamentations, and charged Mardonius with the blame. This grief of the Persians was not so much occasioned by the destruction of the fleet, as by the fears they entertained for the safety of Xerxes; and the same lamentations were kept up throughout Persia during the whole interval of time, until the king himself put an end to them by his return.

Mardonius perceiving the extreme grief of Xerxes on account of his defeat at sea, and suspecting that he meditated a retreat from Attica, and reflecting also that himself should be punished for having urged the king to invade Greece, concluded that it would be better for himself to incur new hazards, and either to vanquish
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Greece, or nobly to end his life in confidently attempting great things. And now more than ever filled with the desire of accomplishing the conquest of Greece, he formed his resolution, and thus addressed the king :—" My lord, grieve not, nor deem what has happened a great misfortune; for truly the issue of the combat depends not so entirely upon our timber (*ships*), but rather upon our men, and upon our horses. Of these Greeks who imagine that the contest is already finished, none will leave their ships to attempt opposing you; nor will the Greeks on land attempt it. Those who did meet us in the field, paid the forfeit of their temerity. If therefore it seems good to you, let us instantly attempt Peloponnesus. Or if you think fit to hold back, you have the power to do so; but yield not to despondency.—There is no way of escape open to the Greeks by which they may avoid rendering recompense for what they have done heretofore, and now, or which can save them from becoming your slaves. And the course I have mentioned should by all means be adopted. But if you have determined to retire, and to lead back the army, then I have another advice, on that supposition, to give.—And, O king, suffer not the Persians to become objects of ridicule to the Greeks! It is not through the fault of the Persians that your affairs have suffered damage; nor shall you say that on any occasion we have acted the part of cowards. But if the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians, and the Cyprians, and the Cilicians, have been such, this misfortune is no fault of the Persians. Now therefore, since the Persians are blameless in their duty to you, yield to my advice, and if you had resolved not to remain in Greece, depart for your realm, and lead with you the mass of the army, and let it be my part to bring Greece under your sway with three hundred thousand men, chosen by me from the whole."

Xerxes on hearing this speech, felt the joy and the

delight of one who is relieved from miseries, and told Mardonius that after deliberation, he would inform him which of the two propositions he should adopt. When he conferred on the subject with the Persians, whom he convoked for the purpose, he thought fit also to summon Artemisia to the council, for she alone appeared, on the former occasion, to have perceived what ought to have been done. On her arrival, he commanded the other Persians of the council, and the attendants, to withdraw, and thus spoke—"Mardonius advises me to remain in Greece, and to attempt Peloponnesus; and he alleges that the Persians and the army in general are not chargeable with the loss we have suffered; and he affirms that they would fain give proof to this effect. He recommends then, either that I should take this course, or otherwise he would take three hundred thousand chosen men, and with them he engages to subjugate Greece, and in this case he wishes me to return home with the rest of the army. You therefore, who so well advised me not to engage the Greeks at sea, now tell me which of these courses it will be best for me to adopt."

"Sire," replied Artemisia, "it is no easy matter for me to give to him who consults me the best advice. Yet in the present posture of affairs it seems to me that you should yourself return home. And as to Mardonius, if he wishes it, and if he promises to effect what he speaks of, let him be left with the troops he asks for. And thus, should he make the conquest he desires, and obtain all the success he thinks of, the achievement, my lord, will be yours; for it will have been accomplished by your slaves. Or if, on the other hand, the event should be altogether contrary to the expectation of Mardonius, it will be no great calamity, while you are preserved, and while your realm (*house*) is in safety. And no doubt so long as you survive, and your realm prospers, the Greeks will encounter many a contest for their country. And

what if Mardonius should perish? little will be thought of his fate! nor will the Greeks have gained any great advantage in accomplishing the destruction of a slave of yours. And as for yourself, you will depart from Greece after having achieved the very object of the expedition—the burning of Athens.

Xerxes was well pleased with this advice, for Artemisia had recommended the very plan he had himself formed. But if all the men and women in the world had advised him to remain in Greece, he would, ^{not} as I think, have stayed;—so thoroughly was he frightened! After commending Artemisia, he dismissed her, and committed to her care some of his natural sons, who had attended him, and whom she was to conduct to Ephesus.

[With them he sent, as their guardian, Hermotimus of Pedasus, and the principal of the king's eunuchs (. *). This Hermotimus was, we say, a Pedasian, and in a manner altogether unexampled among men, so far as we know, revenged himself for an injury he had sustained. Having been made prisoner in war, he was sold as a slave, and purchased by Panionius, a Chian, who obtained a living by the most wicked means; for it was his practice to buy beautiful children in great numbers, and then to sell them at Ephesus and Sardis as eunuchs, and from this trade he derived great wealth; for these injured slaves are in high esteem among the Barbarians. Among the many youths whom Panionius thus cruelly injured for gain, was this Hermotimus, who nevertheless was not altogether unfortunate; for he passed with other offerings from Sardis to the king, and in process of time attained the chief place of honour among the eunuchs of Xerxes. At the time when the king led the Persian army against Athens, and while he was at Sardis, Hermotimus took occasion of

* A paragraph here follows which has been borrowed almost word for word from B. I. c. 175, page 83. Its genuineness is questioned.

some business to go down into that part of Mysia which is called Atarneus, and which is occupied by the Chians. There he found Panionius, and recognizing him, addressed him in the most friendly manner. First he related the good fortune he had met with, and of which Panionius was the author; and then he promised, by way of recompense, to do I know not how many great things for him, if he would come with all his household and reside with him. The man gladly accepting these assurances, brought his children and his wife. But when Hermotimus had thus got the entire family in his power, he thus addressed Panionius:—"O most wicked of men, getting thy gains by the most wicked of means! What injury had I, or any of mine done to thee, or to any of thine, that thou shouldst reduce me to a condition of utter insignificance. Didst thou think that the gods were ignorant of the crime then perpetrated by thee? They were not ignorant, and in their justice they have beguiled thee—criminal as thou art, to fall into my hands, that thou mayest have no room to murmur at the vengeance to be inflicted on thee by my hands." When he had uttered these reproaches, he brought the four sons of Panionius before him, and compelled the father to mutilate them, who under this compulsion did so, and then he obliged the sons to perpetrate the same outrage on their father. Thus did Hermotimus avenge himself on Panionius.]

Xerxes having given his sons in charge to Artemisia, to conduct them to Ephesus, called for Mardonius, and instructed him to make a selection from the army—taking what troops he pleased, and commanded him to endeavour that his performances might be equal to his professions. Such were the transactions of this day, and at night, by the order of the king, the commanders of the fleet weighed from Phalerum, and sailed towards the Hellespont, each with all the speed in his power, in order to guard the rafts by which the king was to pass over. When the Barbarians, in the course of their voyage,

arrived off Zoster, and were coasting along not far from the broken cliffs of that shore, they imagined the small headlands to be ships, and stood out to sea in alarm; but at length, learning that they were headlands, not ships, they re-assembled the fleet, and proceeded on their way.

At dawn of day the Greeks, seeing the army still occupying its station on the coast, supposed that the fleet was in port at Phalerum, and in expectation of an engagement, prepared themselves for defence. But when informed of the departure of the enemy's fleet, they instantly formed the resolution of pursuing. Yet following the fleet of Xerxes as far as Andros without gaining sight of it, they conferred together. The opinion expressed by Themistocles was that—"taking their course through the islands,* and following close upon the enemy's fleet, they should proceed direct to the Hellespont, and break up the bridges." But Eurybiades advanced an opposite opinion, saying that—"if they were to destroy the rafts (*bridges*) they would bring upon Greece the greatest possible evils. For the Persian, if thus cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, would assuredly not remain quiet, as in continuing inactive, he could neither hope to prosecute his conquests, nor obtain a way of retreat, but must suffer the destruction of the army by famine. On the contrary, should he assume offensive operations, and act vigorously, all the cities and states of Europe would join him, either after subjugation, or by previous treaty. Meanwhile, the continual produce of Greece would afford sustenance to his troops. But he believed that the Persian, after the defeat he had sustained at sea, would not remain in Europe:—he should therefore be permitted to escape, and when he had actually reached his own dominions,

* Across the Ægæan sea, by Andros, Scyros, Lemnos, Imbros.

then the contest might be renewed with him, and this he (*Eurybiades*) would then recommend." This opinion was acceded to by the other Peloponnesian commanders.

When Themistocles perceived that he should not prevail with the majority to sail to the Hellespont, he adopted another course, and addressed the Athenians—for they especially were indignant that the enemy should be suffered to escape, and were eager—even if the other Greeks would not—to proceed themselves to the Hellespont.—The speech of Themistocles was as follows—"I have ere now myself witnessed many such occasions, and have heard of many more, in which men shut in by necessities, and after they had suffered defeat, have renewed the combat, and have redeemed their first reverses. We therefore, having met with this unexpected success, and having repelled from us and from Greece so great a cloud of men, let us not pursue the fugitives. For it is not we who have wrought this deliverance, but the gods and the heroes, who were jealous that one man should reign over both Asia and Europe—and a man so unholy and so presumptuous, who makes no distinction between things sacred and common—burning and overthrowing the statues of the gods;—a man who inflicted stripes on the deep, and gave it fetters. But now, as things are for the present well with us, let us remain in Greece, and attend to ourselves and our families. Let each rebuild his house, and diligently sow his lands after the Barbarian is altogether expelled. And in the ensuing spring let us proceed to the Hellespont, and to Ionia." In thus speaking Themistocles proposed to himself to have a claim on the favour of the Persian, and that if he should incur ill-treatment from the Athenians he might have an asylum; and thus it actually happened.

The Athenians yielded to this deceptive address:

indeed the reputation he had before enjoyed for wisdom, and the proofs he had given recently of his sagacity and prudence, inclined them to yield implicitly to his advice. When they were thus gained over to his purpose, he instantly despatched some persons in a small vessel, in whom he could confide, and who could maintain silence, even under the extremest tortures, nor reveal what he had commissioned them to say to the king. The same Sicinnus, was one of these; and when they reached the shore of Attica, all remained in the skiff except Sicinnus, who going ashore, appeared before Xerxes and thus spoke—"I am sent by Themistocles, son of Neocles, the Athenian general, and the most valiant and wise of all the confederated Greeks, and I am instructed to say that this Themistocles, the Athenian, wishing to serve you, has withheld the Greeks who would have pursued the fleet, and have broken up the bridges at the Hellespont. Now, therefore, you may retire in perfect quietness." After making this communication, he retired and sailed away.

The Greeks having resolved that they would not either pursue the Barbarian fleet any further, nor proceed to the Hellespont to break up the bridge, invested Andros with the intention of taking possession of it; for the Andrians, first of all the islanders, had refused to afford the money which Themistocles had demanded. He had addressed them in this manner.—"The Athenians," said he, "come, having with them the two potent divinities—Persuasion and Compulsion: wherefore the money must by all means be given." To this they replied that—"The Athenians might well be great and prosperous, having the company of such serviceable deities. But as for the Andrians, they were poor in territory, and indigent; nor were ever free from the attendance of two unprofitable divinities who loved their soil, namely—Poverty and Perplexity; and being in the keeping of

these divinities, the Andrians could not render the money; nor could ever the power of the Athenians be greater than the impossibility of the Andrians." Having given this reply, and refused the money, they were besieged.

The cupidity of Themistocles being unappeased, he sent to the other islands threatening messages, demanding money by the same heralds, who used the same language which had been addressed to the people of Andros, saying, "That unless they gave what was demanded, he would lead against them the forces of Greece—besiege and remove them from the island." By these threats he obtained large sums from the Carystians and the Parians, who learning that the Andrians were besieged on account of their favouring the Medes, and knowing that Themistocles enjoyed the highest reputation among the generals, yielded to their fears, and sent the money. Whether any other of the islanders did the same I cannot say, yet I am of opinion that some complied besides those I have mentioned. Notwithstanding their grant of money, the Carystians did not obtain a delay of calamity. But the Parians propitiated Themistocles by their money, and they escaped a visit from the army. Thus it was that Themistocles, commencing with the Andrians, obtained money from the islanders without the knowledge of the other generals.

SECTION VII.

RETREAT OF THE BARBARIANS. HONOURS OF
THEMISTOCLES. SIEGE OF POTIDÆA.

The army under Xerxes remained in its station a few days after the engagement, and then marched off towards
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Bœotia by the same road on which it had entered Attica; and Mardonius thought proper to accompany the king, as the season was now too far advanced to allow of carrying on military operations. And it was deemed better to winter in Thessaly, and on the return of spring to attempt Peloponnesus. On his arrival in Thessaly Mardonius selected from the army, first of all, that body of Persians called the Immortals, excepting only their commander Hydarnes, who declared that he would not quit the king. Then he took the Persian cuirassiers, and the body of a thousand horse, together with the Medes, the Saces, the Bactrians, and the Indians, both infantry and cavalry: the forces of these nations he took entire, while from all the other allies he picked out only a few of such as were recommended by their figure, and those whom he knew to have achieved some feat of valour. In fact, he chose the greater part of the Persians, who wore necklaces and bracelets, and also of the Medes, who were not fewer in number, though inferior in muscular vigour. These selections were made to amount, including the cavalry, to 300,000 men.

At this time, while Mardonius was making his choice from the army, and while Xerxes was yet in Thessaly, an oracle came from Delphi to the Lacedæmonians, enjoining them to demand satisfaction of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to receive from him (*as oracular*) such reply as he should make. The Spartans sent a herald therefore instantly, who overtook the army while it was yet undivided in Thessaly, and coming before Xerxes, thus spoke—"King of the Medes! the Lacedæmonians and the Heraclids of Sparta demand of you satisfaction on account of the slain; for you killed their king while defending Greece." At this speech Xerxes only laughed, nor did he for some time give any answer; at length pointing to Mardonius, who happened to be

present, he said—"This Mardonius, here, will render them such satisfaction as is fitting." The herald receiving this answer, went his way.

Leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, Xerxes now proceeded with all haste towards the Hellespont, and reached the passage in five and forty days, leading with him, as one might say, scarcely a fragment of his army. On their march, wherever, and among whomsoever they came, they seized for their own sustenance all the provisions they found; or if they found no provisions, they gathered the grass of the fields, and plucked the leaves from the trees, which they devoured—as well the cultivated as the forest trees;—nothing was left by them, so greatly were they pressed by famine. The pestilence and dysentery which attacked the army on the march, also destroyed great numbers. As he proceeded, Xerxes left the sick in every city, charging the people to nourish and take care of them. Some of these were left in Thessaly, and at Siris of Pæonia, and some in Macedonia; (where also he had left, when he advanced against Greece, the sacred chariot of Jupiter, and which he found not on his return: for the Pæonians had given it to the Thracians, and when it was demanded of them by Xerxes, they affirmed that the mares had been carried off from the pastures by the people of Upper Thrace, who dwelt about the sources of the Strymon.

It was on this occasion that the king of the Bisaltians and Crestonians—a Thracian, perpetrated a most unnatural atrocity. He had professed that he would never voluntarily submit to the yoke of Xerxes, and had himself retired to the heights of Mount Rhodopé, straitly enjoining his sons not to join the expedition against Greece. But they, disregarding the prohibition, or at least impelled by the desire to see the war, followed the Persian; yet when they returned home in safety—six of them, their father thrust out their eyes for their

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disobedience; — such was the recompense they received!

When the Persians, after marching through Thrace, reached the passage, they, with the most urgent haste, passed over to Abydos in their ships; for they found the rafts no longer subsisting—having been broken up by a storm. Arriving (*in Asia*) and making some stay, they obtained a much larger supply of food than on the march, and by gorging to excess, and also by changing their water, a large number of the army that had hitherto survived died. The residue, with Xerxes, reached Sardis.

[A different account of these transactions has been given, for it has been affirmed that when Xerxes, on his retreat from Athens, arrived at Eion, on the Strymon, he no longer continued his journey by land, but committing the conduct of the army towards the Hellespont, to Hydarnes, himself went on board a Phœnician ship, and so reached the coast of Asia. And it is said, that while at sea, the vessel was overtaken by a stiff gale from the Strymon, with a heavy sea; and as the storm increased, the waves swept the deck, for the vessel was overloaded with the crowd of Persians that had gone on board with Xerxes. Then the king, in great alarm, loudly called upon the steersman to know if there was any hope of their being saved, who replied—“None, my lord, none at all, unless we get rid of a part of those who are on board.” On hearing this, Xerxes, as it is said, exclaimed—“Persians, who of you will now exhibit your solicitude for your king; for it seems that my preservation rests with you.” As he thus spoke they worshipped him, and then jumped into the sea. The vessel, thus lightened, reached in safety the Asiatic shore. Immediately upon his setting foot on land, Xerxes, because the steersman had saved the king’s life, granted to him a crown of gold; and then, because he had occasioned the loss of many Persians, he caused him to lose his head. Such is this other account of the return of Xerxes; but to me it

seems unworthy of credit, as well in other particulars, as in what relates to the fate of the Persians; for if in truth the steersman did thus reply to Xerxes, I shall not meet one person in ten thousand, who will affirm that the king acted in this manner, or who will say that he would not rather have sent the Persians—and the Persian chiefs who were on deck down into the hold of the vessel, and have cast into the sea a like number of the rowers who were Phœnicians. But in fact Xerxes, as I have already mentioned, proceeded with the army by land, and so returned to Asia.

A convincing proof of this, is the fact, that Xerxes, on his return, arriving at Abdera, formed an alliance of friendship with the people of that city, and bestowed upon them a golden scymetar, and a tiara wrought with gold. The Abderites indeed affirm, though I cannot herein give them credit, that Xerxes loosed his girdle first at Abdera, after his flight from Athens, as being then first free from fear. (*Be this as it may*) Abdera is situated nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eïon, whence, as they say, Xerxes embarked.]

The Greeks not being able to make a conquest of Andros, turned towards Carystus, and after pillaging the lands of the Carystians, returned to Salamis. Their first step was to set apart the prime of the spoils to the gods; and among other things, they dedicated three Phœnician triremes, of which the first was placed at the Isthmus, where it remained even in my time; the next at Sunium; and the last, devoted to Ajax, at Salamis. This done, they parted the spoils, and of this booty sent the prime to Delphi, and from the value of the dedicated part was formed a statue twelve cubits high, holding in the hand the poop of a ship; it stands in the compartment with the golden statue of Alexander, king of Macedonia. When the Greeks sent these offerings to Delphi, they, with common consent, inquired of the god whether the offerings he had received were sufficient and acceptable to him; he replied—"From the other Greeks they were so;

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but not from the Æginetans, of whom he demanded an offering on account of their superior valour in the engagement at Salamis. When the Æginetans were informed of this demand, they dedicated three golden stars, placed on a brazen mast, at the corner very near the cistern of Croesus. (p. 21.)

After dividing the spoil, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, to confer the palm of valour upon him among all the Greeks who should be deemed to have been the most deserving in the late war. When the generals came and distributed the ballots among themselves at the altar of Neptune, in order to designate the first and the second in honour, every one of them voted for himself, as deeming himself the most valiant of all; but most of them concurred in adjudging their second vote to Themistocles. They therefore had severally only single votes; but Themistocles, by far the majority of votes for the second honour. The Greeks, influenced by jealousy, could not come to a decision; but leaving the matter undetermined, departed severally to their homes. Yet nevertheless Themistocles was loudly talked of and applauded as by far the most sagacious man in all Greece. And because he was not honoured by those with whom he had fought at Salamis, although victor by the votes, he immediately went to Lacedæmon in order to be honoured there; and the Lacedæmonians did indeed receive him handsomely, and with the highest regard. To Eurybiades they had given the crown of olive, as the reward of valour; but to Themistocles also they granted an olive crown, for wisdom and ability (*or address*): they adjudged to him moreover the most sumptuous chariot that was to be found at Sparta; and after bestowing upon him many commendations, sent him forward on his return, accompanied by a chosen band of three hundred Spartans—those called the knights, who went with him as far as the Tegean boundary. Themistocles is the only man,

so far as we know, whom the Spartans have ever thus sent forth.

But as soon as Themistocles returned to Athens from Lacedæmon, Timodemus of Alphidna, one of the faction opposed to Themistocles, but otherwise a man of no importance, being mad with envy, attacked him on the score of his journey to Lacedæmon, and affirmed that the honours he had received from the Lacedæmonians were rendered to him, not for his own sake, but in regard to Athens. At length, as Timodemus persisted in repeating this assertion, Themistocles said:—"So it is with thee; neither should I have been so honoured by the Spartans had I been a Belbinite, nor you—man! even if an Athenian." *

Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, a man long had in high repute among the Persians, and still more so after the battle of Plataea, having under his command 60,000 of the army chosen by Mardonius, attended Xerxes as far as the passage; and when the king had gone over into Asia, he returned, and marched into the neighbourhood of Pallené. Mardonius had by this time taken up his winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia, and did not constrain Artabazus to form a junction with the main army. He therefore, finding himself near the Potidæans, who had revolted, thought he could do no less than reduce them to subjection. These Potidæans had openly declared their revolt from the Barbarian, at the moment when the king had passed by them on his return, and when the Persian fleet made its escape after the engagement at Salamis. The example of the Potidæans was followed by the other inhabitants of Pallené. Artabazus therefore besieged Potidæa; and entertaining a suspicion that the people of Olynthia intended to re-

* Timodemus, though enrolled as of Aphida, was probably by birth of Belbina.

nounce the authority of the king, he laid siege to that city also, which was then held by the Bottiæans, who had been expelled from the shores of the Thermaic gulph by the Macedonians. Having taken this city, he led the inhabitants to a marsh, where he slaughtered them. The city he delivered into the hands of Critobulus of Toroné, after bringing into it some Chalcidians. Thus it was that Olynthus came to be occupied by the people of Chalcis.

After the capture of Olynthus, Artabazus urged the siege of Potidæa with great intentness, and while investing it, an offer was made him to betray the place by Timoxenus, general (*or magistrate*) of the Scionæans. By what means the correspondence was commenced I am unable to say, for it has not been related; but in the course of it the following plan was adopted:—as often as Timoxenus wished to convey a message to Artabazus, or Artabazus to him, a letter was written which was wound about a missile, near the notch, so as to form the fledging of the arrow; and this was discharged towards a spot agreed upon. But the treason of Timoxenus was discovered, for Artabazus in discharging his arrow towards the destined place, missed his aim, and the arrow struck a citizen of Potidæa in the shoulder:—as is usual on such occasions, a crowd gathered round the wounded man, and these persons immediately taking up the arrow, perceived the letter, which they carried to the generals, and there were present the chiefs of the other confederated Pallenians. These generals having read the letter, and learned the author of the treason, nevertheless thought proper not to accuse Timoxenus of the crime, in regard to the Scionian community, lest ever after, the Scionians should be reputed traitors. Such however was the manner in which the transaction became known.

Artabazus had carried on the siege of Potidæa three months, when there happened an extraordinary ebbing of

the sea, which continued a long time. The Barbarians (*on the main land*) seeing the bottom only partially covered with water, set forwards to pass over to Pallené; but when they had accomplished two fifths of the way, and there remained three to bring them upon the Pallenian shore, there happened a reflux of the sea, greater, as the people of the country affirm, than was ever before known—though such floods are frequent. Those of the Barbarians who could not swim, perished; those who could were, for the most part, killed by the Potidæans, who pursued them in boats. The cause of this flux and inundation, and of the loss sustained by the Persian forces, is thus stated by the people of Potidæa. They say that these Persians had profaned the temple and statue of Neptune, in the suburbs, and therefore it was that they perished in the sea; and in attributing it to this cause I think they are right. Artabazus led the survivors into Thessaly, where they joined the army under Mardonius. Such was the fate of the troops that had attended Xerxes on his retreat.

The remainder of the fleet of Xerxes that had escaped from Salamis, and attained the shores of Asia, after transporting the king and the army from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cymé. But at the first appearance of spring, they hastened to assemble at Samos, where some of the ships had passed the winter. The troops on board were chiefly Persians and Medes; and Mardontes, son of Bagæus, and Artayntes, son of Artachæus, had arrived to take the command of the fleet. The latter had associated with himself in the command his nephew, Ithamitres. After the great blow they had received, the Persians did not move out towards the west, nor were they required to do so; but holding themselves at Samos, they kept a watch upon Ionia, lest it should revolt. The fleet, including the Ionian ships, amounted to three hundred sail. Nor did they apprehend that the Greeks

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would advance towards Ionia; but rather supposed it would suffice them to guard their own country; and they were confirmed in this belief by the fact that the Greeks, instead of pursuing them when they fled from Salamis, had willingly withdrawn. Though in their own opinion effectually beaten at sea, they expected that Mardonius would carry all before him on land; and while they were consulting at Samos by what means they might injure the enemy, they listened with eager expectation for news of the movements of Mardonius.

SECTION VIII.

MISSION OF ALEXANDER TO ATHENS.

The approach of spring, and the presence of Mardonius in Thessaly aroused the Greeks. The land forces were not yet assembled; but the fleet, numbering one hundred and ten sail, had reached Ægina under the command of the admiral, Leotychides. The ancestors of Leotychides were—Menares, Agesilaus, Hippocratides, Leotychides, Anaxilaus, Archidamus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicander, Charillus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanes, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus—Hercules. He was therefore of the second branch of the royal family. All whom I have named, excepting the two (*or the seven*) next preceding Leotychides, were kings of Sparta. The Athenian fleet was commanded by Xantippus, son of Aripbron.

When the entire fleet had assembled at Ægina, there arrived at the (*naval*) camp of the Greeks, messengers from Ionia—the same who a short time before had come

to Sparta, to entreat the Lacedæmonians to liberate Ionia. Among them was Herodotus, son of Basilides. They, originally seven in number, had formed a conspiracy for putting to death Strattis, tyrant of Chios; but their intentions were betrayed by one of themselves, upon which the six withdrew from Chios, and came to Sparta, and afterwards to Ægina, praying the Greeks to pass over to Ionia. But it was with difficulty that they induced them to proceed, even as far as Delos; for all beyond that island was formidable to the Greeks, both because they were little acquainted with those seas; and because they supposed them to be filled with the enemy's fleets. Samos they thought as remote from them as the Pillars of Hercules. A like feeling prevailed on both sides, for while the fears of the Barbarians prevented their advancing westward of Samos, the Greeks, though entreated by the Chians, moved not eastward of Delos. Thus it was that Dread guarded the midway between them.

While the Greeks sailed to Delos, Mardonius, who had wintered in Thessaly, set out on his march thence; but first despatched a person named Mys, of Europus (*of Caria*) to consult the oracles. He enjoined him to proceed in all directions, to take the advice of every oracle that could be had recourse to. What it was precisely that he wished to learn by these inquiries, I am unable to say; for it has not been related. But I suppose it was nothing else than the issue of the impending contest. This person, it appears, came to Lebadéa, and having by a gift gained an inhabitant of the place, he descended to (*the cave of*) Trophonius. He also visited the oracle of Abas, of the Phocians, and came to Thebes, where he not only first consulted the Ismenian Apollo, whose responses are obtained in the same manner nearly as at Olympia, by observing the flame of the burning victim; but also, having bribed some stranger- not a

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Theban, he slept* in the temple of Amphiaraus. It is not permitted to any Theban to inquire at this oracle, for the following reason:—Amphiaraus had by responses proposed to them to choose whether they would avail themselves of his services as a diviner, or as an ally in arms, and required them, after making their choice, to abstain from the other. They chose him as their ally in arms, and therefore it is unlawful for any Theban to sleep in this temple.

A circumstance which to me seems highly extraordinary, is related by the Thebans;—they say that this Mys, the European, in the course of his circuit among all the oracles, came to the temple of Apollo Ptous, so called, which belongs to the Thebans, and stands above the Copaic lake, at the foot of the mountain (*of that name*), and near the city Acræphia. When this man, say they, entered the temple, three citizens, chosen by the people for the purpose, attended him to write down whatever response might be given him. But instantly the priestess uttered her response in a foreign tongue. The Thebans who were in attendance, amazed to hear a foreign tongue instead of Greek, were at a loss what to do in their actual circumstances. But Mys, the European, snatching from them the tablet they had brought, wrote upon it what the prophet had said, which it appeared was in the Carian language. After himself taking a copy, he departed for Thessaly.

After perusing the answers of the oracles, Mardonius sent to Athens the Macedonian (*king*) Alexander, son of Amyntas, who was allied to the Persians; for his sister, named Gygæa, the daughter of Amyntas, was the wife of Bubares, a Persian (p. 358), and had borne him in Asia a son, named Amyntas, after his maternal grandfather. To this Amyntas, son of Bubares, the king had

* The customary mode of consulting this oracle.

granted Alabanda, a large city of Phrygia. Mardonius sent Alexander to the Athenians, because he understood that the Macedonian king was on terms of friendship with them, and was regarded by them as their benefactor, and he hoped by this means to gain over to his interests a people whom he heard of as numerous and valiant, and whom he knew to have been, more than any others, the authors of the defeat the Persians had lately met with at sea. He reckoned moreover, and truly, that if he gained them over, he should with ease hold the dominion of the seas, and on land he thought himself superior to the Greeks, and thus he calculated upon obtaining the advantage over them. Perhaps also the oracles had given him this advice, and had counselled him to form alliance with the Athenians. Influenced by such motives he sent the embassy.

[This Alexander was the seventh* in descent from Perdiccas, who in the manner I shall now relate, obtained the sovereignty of Macedonia. Three brothers, Gavanes, Aëropus, and Perdiccas, the descendants of Temenus, fled from Argos into Illyria, from thence they came into the upper Macedonia, and arrived at Lebæa, where they engaged themselves in the service of the king for hire. The elder of them engaging to mind the horses, the second to feed the kine, while the youngest, Perdiccas, was to attend the smaller cattle. In ancient times, even princes, and not merely the common people, were scanty in their possessions, and therefore the very wife of the king cooked the food for the family; now as often as she baked a loaf for the hiring lad, Perdiccas, it became twice as large as at first. As this happened constantly, she related the fact to her husband, who on hearing it, instantly conceived that it was a portent, and boded something of consequence. He forthwith summoned the hirelings, and commanded them to

* The two extremes included.

depart from his dominions. They said they would depart, but ought first to receive their pay. When they spoke of their pay, the king, as if infatuated,* thus replied—the sun then shining into the house through the chimney (*hole in the roof*):—“ I give you this as your pay, which is equal to your deserts;” and as he spoke he pointed to the sun. The two elder, Gavanes and Aëropus, stood in amazement on hearing this answer; but the youngest, who happened to have in his hand a carver, said:—“ O king, we accept what you grant;” and with his carver he drew a circle on the floor of the house, around the (*light of the*) sun. This done, he three times admitted the rays into his bosom, and then with his brothers departed. They went their way; but one of the assessors (*senators*) explained to the king what sort of thing the youth had done; and that it was with a deliberate intention that the youngest had accepted what was given. On hearing this, he in a rage despatched horsemen to kill them. There is a river in that country, to which the descendants of these Argives perform sacrifices, as to a deliverer; for this river, when the sons of Temenus had passed over it, ran with such a current that the horsemen were unable to ford it. They, arriving in another district of Macedonia, settled near the gardens said to have belonged to Midas, son of Gordius: in these gardens grow spontaneously the roses, each of which has sixty petals, and of uncommon fragrance; and it was in these gardens, as the Macedonians affirm, that Silenus was taken. Above them is the mountain named Bermion—inaccessible from its wintry climate. The three brothers having established themselves in this spot, made excursions until they had subdued the rest of Macedonia. From this Perdiccas, Alexander was descended; thus he was son of Amyntas, and he of Alcetas, whose father was Aëropus, the son of Philip, the son of Argæus, the son of Perdiccas, who acquired the sovereignty.]

* Θεοβλαβης, hurt by the gods.

Alexander, sent by Mardonius, reached Athens, and thus addressed the people: — ‘ Athenians! Mardonius says,—“ A message has come to me from the king, to the following purport—“ I pass by all the offences which the Athenians have committed against me; now therefore Mardonius do thus:—In the first place surrender to them their lands; then let them select some other lands, at their pleasure; let them observe their own laws; and if they will form an alliance with me, rebuild all the temples which I have burned.’ ” Having then received these commands, I can do no otherwise than execute them, unless you, on your part, make opposition. And now I (*Mardonius*) address you myself. Why be so mad as to wage war with the king? For even might you obtain an advantage over him, you are not in condition to resist him for ever. You have seen the innumerable hosts of Xerxes, and his achievements, and you are informed of the force now at my command; and you know that, even should you prevail and gain a victory—of which indeed you can entertain no hope, if you think soberly—even then other armies, much more numerous, will come forwards. Do not then, in balancing yourselves against the king, deprive yourselves of your country, and be always in peril of your lives. But end the war: you may now do so with honour, seeing that the king takes these steps to effect a peace. Be free, and form an alliance with us, apart from guile and deceit.” This, Athenians, is what Mardonius has enjoined me to say to you: and I for myself shall say nothing of the good-will I bear towards you; for this is not the first occasion on which you have been made acquainted with it. But I implore you to yield to Mardonius, for I see that you will not be able to maintain war perpetually with Xerxes. If I had perceived any thing else to be practicable for you, I would not have come among you with these propositions. For indeed the power of the king is more than human,

and his arm long beyond measure. Unless therefore you immediately come to terms, when conditions so advantageous are proposed, on which they (*the Persians*) are willing to make peace, I greatly fear for you, especially as you, more than any others, occupy the very highway between all the belligerents, and must, again and again, be left alone exposed to destruction; for the soil you possess lies in the very centre of war. Ah, but yield! and truly, when the great king offers to you alone of all the Greeks, pardon for past injuries, and his willing friendship, you may well deem the proposition of high consequence.'

The Lacedæmonians having learned that Alexander had arrived at Athens, in order to bring the Athenians into alliance with the Barbarian, called to remembrance the oracles which predicted that they, with the other Dorians, were fated to be expelled from Peloponnesus by the Medes and the Athenians, and were in great fear lest the Athenians should make terms with the Persian. They thought fit therefore instantly to despatch ambassadors, and it so happened that they appeared at the same time before the assembly. In fact, the Athenians had used delays, well knowing that when the Lacedæmonians heard of the arrival of an ambassador from the Barbarian to treat for peace, they would instantly despatch ambassadors also. They had therefore purposely postponed (*holding the assembly*) in order, more fully, to set forth their intentions before the Lacedæmonians. When Alexander ceased, the messengers from Sparta took the word, and thus spoke:—"We have been sent by the Lacedæmonians to entreat you neither to adopt any measures contrary to the interests of Greece, nor to admit any propositions coming from the Barbarian. Such a course would be by no means just in itself, nor honourable in any of the Greeks, and least of all in you; and that for many reasons.—It was you who excited this

war—and that without our concurrence; and the contest in its commencement related to your interests, though now it involves the fate of all Greece. Besides, would it not be insufferable that, after being the authors of all these ills, the Athenians should become the agents in reducing the other Greeks to slavery? And they too who always, and from the most remote times, have shown themselves the liberators of nations. Afflicted as you are, we do indeed sympathize with you, who have now been deprived of two harvests, and have had your homes a long time laid in ruins. On account of these losses the Lacedæmonians and the confederates engage to receive and sustain your wives, and as many of your domestics as are unfit to serve in the war, so long as it shall continue. But let not Alexander the Macedonian prevail with you—glossing as he does the message of Mardonius. Such a part is indeed proper enough for him—himself a tyrant, he toils for a tyrant. But a different course becomes you, if indeed you are wise; knowing well as you do, that with Barbarians there is neither faith nor truth.” Thus spoke the ambassadors.

The Athenians replied to Alexander in the following terms:—“We do indeed well know that the power of the Medes very far surpasses our own; nor was there any need that you should aggravate to our view that fact. And yet so eagerly do we cling to our liberty, that, be our powers what they may, we will use them to the uttermost in its defence. Attempt not to induce us to make terms with the Barbarian; never shall we be persuaded to do so. Go therefore, and tell Mardonius that the Athenians declare that, so long as the sun holds the same course as now, we will never make peace with Xerxes; but trusting to the aid of the gods, we shall resolutely oppose him; and we confide in the heroes, whose dwelling places and whose statues he, without

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dread, has burned.—As for yourself, never again come to make propositions like these to the Athenians; nor think to recommend a course so abhorrent as if you would promote our best interests; for we are unwilling that you should receive at the hands of the Athenians any ungracious treatment, being as you are, our guest and friend.” Thus did they answer Alexander: and then the Spartan deputies, as follows—“That the Lacedæmonians should fear our making terms with the Barbarian was, on ordinary principles, natural; and yet it seems on your part a most unworthy fear—knowing perfectly as you do the mind of the Athenians. The earth no where holds a treasure so large, nor is there on its surface a land so fair and so fertile as could induce us to take part with the Medes, and bring Greece into bondage. Great and many are the reasons which must forbid our thus acting, even if we were inclined so to do.—First and chief are the statues and the abodes of the gods, burned and laid in ruins, whom we are bound to the utmost of our power to avenge; nor could we possibly form friendship with him who has perpetrated these outrages. Then again the Grecian community being of one blood, and of one language, and having in common the same sacred structures, and the same sacrifices, and using the same manners, the Athenians would deem it a most nefarious thing to become the betrayers of Greece. Know then, now, if indeed you have never known it before, that while one Athenian survives, we will never make peace with Xerxes. We take in good part your concern and forethought for us, whose ruined fortunes you so far consider as to be willing to maintain our households: your benevolence has done its part. But we will so economize such means as we have, as shall prevent our being burdensome to you. Now therefore, things being as they are, do you despatch your army with

all possible haste, for, as we conjecture, the Barbarian will present himself, and invade our territory instantly when he shall receive tidings of our refusal to comply with any of his proposals. And it will be for us, before he shall reach Attica, to meet him in Boeotia." On receiving this answer from the Athenians, the Spartans returned home.

BOOK IX.

CALLIOPE.

SECTION I.

SECOND ABANDONMENT OF ATHENS. RETURN OF THE PERSIANS TO BŒOTIA.

WHEN on the return of Alexander, Mardonius learned the reply of the Athenians, he set out from Thessaly, and led the army by rapid marches towards Athens, and on his way took up all the forces of the countries through which he passed. The Thessalian chiefs, far from repenting of what they had already done, more than ever urged the Persian to proceed. And Thorax of Larissa, who had attended Xerxes on his flight, now openly aided Mardonius in the invasion of Greece. But the Thebans, while the army was proceeding through Bœotia, endeavoured to arrest his progress, and gave it as their opinion that there was no region so fit for his encampment as that in which he then halted, and that he should not advance further, but that fixing his station there, he might vanquish all Greece without fighting a battle. "To conquer Greece," said they, "by force of arms, while it continues united, as at present, would be a difficult matter, even were all nations to attempt it. But if you adopt the measures we recommend, you may without toil over-reach all their plans. Send gold to the most powerful

individuals in the several states; in so doing you will split Greece into parties, and then, with great ease you may, with the aid of the factious, overpower those who are disinclined to submit."

Such was their advice; but Mardonius, inspired with the desire of again taking Athens, would not yield to it. His foolish arrogance made him impatient to see the signal-torches kindled from isle to isle, announcing to the king at Sardis that he possessed Athens. On his arrival at Athens, he again found it deserted by the Athenians, who, as he learned, had, for the most part, retired to Salamis, or to the other islands. He therefore took the empty city: this second capture by Mardonius took place ten months after the first by the king.

From Athens Mardonius despatched to Salamis a Hellespontine, named Murichides, bearing to the Athenians the same proposals which Alexander of Macedon had conveyed to them. He sent this message a second time to them, though well knowing their inimical feelings; yet he hoped that as they now saw the whole of Attica captured and in his power, they might recede somewhat from their obstinacy. It was with this expectation that he sent Murichides to Salamis. On his arrival, he addressed to the council the message of Mardonius. On this occasion Lycidas, one of the senators, gave it as his opinion—"That it would be better to admit the proposition which Murichides had brought, and to report it to the people." In giving this advice, it might be that he had accepted money from Mardonius; or perhaps he really wished what he proposed. But the Athenians, moved instantly with deep indignation—those of the council, and those without, who learned what had taken place, surrounded Lycidas, and stoned him to death; but Murichides the Hellespontine, they sent away unhurt. In the tumult which took place in Salamis at the death of Lycidas, the Athenian women, who had gained

intelligence of the affair, inciting one another by cheers, went, unauthorized, and attacked his house, and stoned his wife and his children.

The circumstances under which the Athenians had passed over to Salamis were these:—So long as they were in expectation that an army from Peloponnesus would come to their support, they remained in Attica. But as the Peloponnesians used every delay, and moved with extreme tardiness, and as the Barbarian was said to be advancing, and even already in Bœotia, they transported all their effects, and themselves passed over to Salamis; at the same time they despatched messengers to Lacedæmon, to upbraid their allies for witnessing the invasion of Attica by the Barbarian, without joining them to oppose him in Bœotia. They moreover reminded the Lacedæmonians of the promises made to them by the Persian, if they would change sides; and they gave them warning that unless succoured, the Athenians would find for themselves a way of escape from impending evils.

The Lacedæmonians were at this time celebrating a festival—the Hyacinthia, and were very seriously intent upon acquitting themselves towards the divinity. At the same time they busied themselves in completing the wall at the Isthmus, which was now receiving its breast-work. With the Athenian deputies came those of Megara and Plataea, who together appearing before the Ephors, thus addressed them:—

“The Athenians have sent us to tell you that the king of the Medes not only would restore to us our country, but would treat us as friends, on terms of equality, and form an alliance without fraud or deceit. He is willing also to grant us any country we shall choose in addition to our own.—But we, in reverence of the Grecian Jove, and abhorring to betray Greece, do not consent to his offers, but repel them, although injured and betrayed by

the Greeks, and although, to form friendship with the Persian were, as we well know, vastly more advantageous to us than to carry on the war against him; and yet we will never of free will make peace. Thus sincerely have we acted towards the Greeks. But you, who came to Athens in so much alarm, fearing that we should make our peace with the Persian, now, since you have perfectly learned our dispositions, and are assured that we will never betray Greece, and now, moreover, that the wall you have been raising across the Isthmus is on the point of completion, now, forsooth, you utterly disregard the Athenians! And although you had agreed with us to oppose the Persian in Bœotia, you have proved false to us, and winked at the invasion of Attica by the Barbarian. The Athenians are therefore at the present moment enraged against you, for you have altogether failed in your part. Yet they insist upon your instantly sending out an army to join them, that they may meet the Barbarian in Attica, and though we have fallen short of Bœotia, the Thriasian plain, in our own territory, is a very fit place for engaging the enemy."

Having listened to this address, the Ephors deferred till the next day to give their answer. And on the next day they again named the morrow; and so from day to day, until ten days were passed. Meanwhile the Peloponnesians, with their utmost efforts united, were finishing the wall at the Isthmus—and it was now just completed. Why it was that the Lacedæmonians, when Alexander came to Athens, used so much diligence to prevent the Athenians from joining the Medes, and why, at this time, they were quite indifferent on that head, I cannot otherwise explain, than by the fact that now the Isthmus was fortified, and therefore they thought they had no more need of the Athenians. But at the period when Alexander arrived in Attica, they were far from having raised the

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wall to a sufficient height, though working at it in great dread of the Persians.

But at length an answer, and the despatch of troops were obtained from the Spartans by the following means. The day preceding that on which the last assembly was to be held on the subject, Chileus, a citizen of Tegea, and possessed beyond any other stranger of influence among the Lacedæmonians, having learned from the Ephors the whole purport of what the Athenian deputies had said, expressed himself to the following effect:—"Ephors, the state of affairs is this—let but the Athenians withdraw themselves from our alliance, and join the Barbarian, and though the wall at the Isthmus were as strong or as high as may be, wide doors into the Peloponnesus would stand open to the Persian. But rather listen to the Athenians, ere they adopt some course which shall be ruinous to Greece."

The Ephors upon taking this advice into consideration, instantly, and without giving any notice to the deputies from the states, despatched, during the night, five thousand Spartans, each of whom was attended by seven helots. They were commanded by Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus. The command belonged to Plistarchus, son of Leonidas; but he was yet a youth, and under the tutelage of his cousin, Pausanias. For Cleombrotus, father of Pausanias, and son of Anaxandrides, no longer survived, but had died shortly after leading back the army that had been employed in constructing the wall. Cleombrotus led back the army from the Isthmus, because, while performing a sacrifice to know if he should attack the Persian, the sun became black in the heavens. Pausanias chose as his colleague Euryanax, son of Dorieus, a member of his own family.

The forces under Pausanias had left Sparta, when, on the following morning, the deputies, knowing nothing

of their departure, presented themselves before the Ephors: they had resolved to depart severally to their homes. They thus spoke:—"You Lacedæmonians remain here celebrating the Hyacinthia, and playing like boys, while you are betraying your allies. Meanwhile the Athenians, so much injured by you, and destitute of allies, will make peace with the Persian on the best terms they can; and having done so, it is evident that, being numbered with the king's confederates, they must fight under his orders, in whatever country he may direct, and then you will have to learn what the consequence will be to yourselves." When they had thus spoken, the Ephors said, with an oath, that they believed the troops sent against the foreigners had reached Oresteum—they called the Barbarians foreigners. The messengers, ignorant of the fact, asked what they meant, and in answer learned the whole truth. In great surprise they set out with all speed to follow the army, and with them went five thousand select and heavy-armed Lacedæmonians, drawn from the vicinity. These hastened towards the Isthmus.

The Argives no sooner heard of the march of the Spartans under Pausanias, than they despatched a herald—the most accomplished courier they could find, to Attica; for they had before promised Mardonius to prevent the Spartans from leaving Peloponnesus. This courier arriving at Athens thus spoke:—"Mardonius! the Argives have sent me to tell you that the Lacedæmonian youth are come out, and to say that the Argives are not able to obstruct their progress: consider well, therefore, what you are to do." So saying he retired. And Mardonius after receiving this intelligence, was by no means eager to stay any longer in Attica. Hitherto indeed he had lingered there, wishing to know what part the Athenians would take, and during this time he neither wasted nor damaged the Attic territory; for he still

hoped, in the end, to make terms with them. But as he could not prevail with them, and had learned their mind, he departed before the forces with Pausanias should reach the Isthmus: but first he burned Athens; and whatever of the walls, of the houses, or of the temples was still standing, he threw down, and laid in heaps. His reasons for leaving Attica were that the country was not fit for the movements of horse, and that in the event of his being defeated, he had no other way of escape than by a narrow space, where a small force might prevent his passing. He therefore determined to return to Thebes, and to meet the enemy near a friendly city, and in a country proper for cavalry.

Mardonius, we say, withdrew from Attica, and while on the march there met him a messenger in all haste, announcing that another body of a thousand Lacedæmonians was advancing through Megara. On learning this, he formed the wish, if possible, to attack them separately, and with this view he turned his march towards Megara, and an advanced body of horse actually rode upon the Megarean territory; this was the furthest point of European ground, towards the west, which was attained by this Persian army. Presently afterward news reached Mardonius that the Greeks were collected in numbers at the Isthmus; he therefore retraced his steps by Decelea; for the Boeotian chiefs had sent with him, as guides, persons bordering upon the Asopians, who led him the way to Sphendale, and thence to Tanagra, where he halted for the night, and the next day he bent his course towards Scolus, in the Theban territory, and these lands he cleared of trees, though the Thebans were in his interests: this he did not with any inimical intention towards them; but under the compulsion of extreme necessity: for he thought proper to construct a fortified camp, that in the event of an unlooked-for defeat, it might serve as an asylum. This encampment commenced

on the lands of Erythræ, near Hysiæ, and extended to the territory of the Plateæans, along the banks of the Asopus. Not indeed that the fence was of this extent, for the space inclosed measured not more than about ten furlongs on each side.

While the Barbarians were employed in this labour, Attaginus, son of Phrynon, a Theban, having made vast preparations, invited to an entertainment Mardonius himself, and fifty of the most distinguished Persians who were in his train. The feast was held at Thebes. The particulars of what occurred, which have been handed down, I heard from Thersander of Orchomenus, one of the most respectable citizens of that place. This Thersander related that he himself was invited by Attaginus to the supper, as one of fifty Thebans who were present. The Thebans and Persians were not placed apart; but each couch was occupied by a Theban and a Persian. After supper, as they were drinking one against another, the Persian on the same couch with Thersander, asked him in Greek of what country he was, and when he replied—of Orchomenus, he said:—"Since now you are my companion at table and at the cup, I wish to leave with you a memorial of my opinion, and which may also serve to guide you in directing your own course of conduct for the best. Do you behold these Persians who are feasting here, and the army we have left encamped on the banks of the river? Of all these whom you see, there will survive, after a certain short time has elapsed, only some few individuals." As the Persian spoke these words, he shed an abundance of tears. Thersander, in amazement at what he had uttered, said to him:—"Ought you not then to communicate to Mardonius and to the Persians in his favour what you have advanced?" To this he replied:—"My friend, what God has determined to happen, may by no device of man be averted. Nor will any one (*Mardonius*) be persuaded by those who

speaking what truly deserves attention.* Many of these Persians are well assured of the same fact; but we follow our leader, bound by necessity. The bitterest anguish to which humanity is liable, is for a man to know well what ought to be done, without having the least power to use that knowledge." Such is the relation I heard from Thersander of Orchomenus, and as he himself said, he had told the same thing to several persons before the battle had taken place at Plataea.

While Mardonius was encamped (*the first time*) in Boeotia, all the Greeks of that region who favoured the Medes furnished troops and attended in his attack upon Athens:—the Phocians only excepted, for if they had taken that part it was not willingly, but by necessity. Not many days after the arrival of the Persians at Thebes, there came a body of their heavy armed troops, a thousand strong, under the command of Harmocydes, a man of the very highest reputation among the citizens. When these Phocians reached Thebes, Mardonius sent out horsemen, commanding them to fix their station by themselves on the plain, apart from the army. When they had done so, the cavalry came up to them in full force, and the report spread through the camp of the Greeks on the side of the Medes, that they were about to despatch them with javelins; and the same belief was entertained by the Phocians themselves. Upon this, Harmocydes their general encouraged them in the following words:—"Phocians! it is quite evident that these men have devoted us to an inevitable death, in consequence, as I conjecture, of the calumnies of the Thessalians. Now, therefore, there is need that each man of you should be valiant; for it is better that we should meet our end in action, and defending ourselves to the last, than offer ourselves to perish by an inglorious fate.

* *πίστα*—assertions worthy of faith—agreeable to right reason.

Rather let each of them learn that it is men of Greece whose slaughter they—Barbarians as they are—have compassed.”

Such was his animating address ; but the horse only formed a circle around them, and charged towards them as if to destroy them, and extended their javelins as if about to let fly, and here and there, one actually threw his dart. But the Phocians presented an opposing front in every direction, closing their ranks as much as possible ; and at length the cavalry turned away and retired. I am unable with certainty to say whether they really advanced at the request of the Thessalians to destroy the Phocians, but seeing them put themselves in a posture of defence, feared lest the slaughter should be on their own side, and so retired—as Mardonius had instructed them to do ; or whether they only wished to make trial of the prowess of the Phocians. When the cavalry had retired, Mardonius sent a herald to them with this message—“ Be of good heart Phocians ! you have proved yourselves brave men, and I see that you are not such as I had been informed. Now therefore lend your aid zealously in this war, and you shall not vanquish either me or the king in benefits.

SECTION II.

ENCAMPMENT OF THE TWO ARMIES AT THE ASOPUS.

DISPUTES AMONG THE GREEKS.

The Lacedæmonians arriving at the Isthmus, formed their camp there. The other Peloponnesians hearing of it—those of them who took the better part—and seeing

the Spartans issuing forth, would not be left behind while the Lacedæmonians were advancing. The auspices being favourable, they all marched forwards from the Isthmus, and arrived at Eleusis:—there again they consulted the victims, and the presages being still favourable, they proceeded onwards. Meanwhile the Athenians had passed over from Salamis, and had joined their forces to those of the allies at Eleusis. When they reached Erythræ in Bœotia, they learned that the Barbarians were encamped upon the Asopus. After holding a conference upon this news, they formed themselves opposite at the foot of Mount Cithæron.

As the Greeks did not descend into the plain, Mardonius sent against them the entire body of the cavalry under its commander Masistius—called by the Greeks Makistius, who was in high repute among the Persians: he rode a Nisæan horse, with a golden bridle, and otherwise gorgeously caparisoned. In advancing towards the Greeks, the Persians charged them in squadrons, and inflicted upon them a considerable loss, at the same time calling them women. The Megareans happened to be stationed on that part of the ground which was the most exposed to the enemy, and where chiefly the cavalry made their attack. Thus pressed upon, they sent a herald to the Greek generals, who thus addressed them—"The Megareans say—Confederates! we are not able alone to receive the Persian horse, in this station where we were at first placed. Nevertheless, hitherto we have with assiduity and valour stood our ground, although hardly pressed. But now, unless you send some other troops to take our place, know that we shall quit our post."

On receiving this message, Pausanias inquired of the Greeks if there were any of them who would volunteer to proceed to the spot, and take up the position of the Megareans. None of the others being willing to do so, the Athenians undertook the service:—it was a band of

three hundred Athenians, commanded by Olympiodorus, son of Lampon, who before all the other Greeks posted at Erythræ, engaged to take this station.—They took with them some archers. After the fight had continued some time it ended in the following manner:—As the cavalry were charging in squadrons, the horse of Masistius, who rode in front of the line, received an arrow in the flank, and rearing with the anguish, threw his rider: it was just as he fell that the Athenians came up; they seized the horse, and while he defended himself slew him. At first indeed they were unable to do so, for he was provided with a golden coat of mail, within a corselet, over which he wore a purple cloak. In vain they dealt their blows upon this corselet: at length some one understanding the reason, smote him in the eye, and he fell dead. This transaction was unperceived by the cavalry, who had neither seen his fall nor death; for just at the moment they had turned and were wheeling off the ground, and therefore knew nothing of what had happened; but on making a halt, they presently found the want of a leader to marshal the array. Then learning the fact, they cheered, and all charged together to recover the corpse.

The Athenians seeing that the enemy was now advancing, not in squadrons (*as before*) but all together, loudly called upon the rest of the army, and while the infantry was advancing to their aid, a sharp contest took place for the body of the general; hitherto the three hundred were alone, and being greatly outnumbered, they lost possession of the corpse; but when the other Greeks came up in force, the cavalry no longer stood their ground, and instead of carrying off the corpse, many of them fell slain around it. Retiring to the distance of about two furlongs, they consulted about what ought to be done, and being without a commander, they thought proper to return to Mardonius. On the arrival of the cavalry at

the camp, the whole army uttered their grief for Masistius, and especially Mardonius. All cut off their own hair, and that of their horses and beasts of carriage, and gave themselves up to unbounded lamentations: — all Boeotia resounded with their woe. For next to Mardonius there was no man so highly esteemed by the Persians and the king as he who had perished. Thus the Barbarians, according to their manner, honoured Masistius.

The Greeks having in this manner sustained, and even repulsed the charge of the cavalry, were very greatly enheartened. In the first place, putting the corpse of Masistius on a car, they carried it through the ranks, and truly the body was worthy of admiration, for the size and beauty of his person; and in fact, the men, leaving their ranks, came forwards to contemplate the dead Masistius: and with this intention it was carried about. In the next place they determined to descend towards Plataea, for the grounds around that city appeared to them far more commodious for encamping than the neighbourhood of Erythræ, on several accounts; especially because there was a better supply of water. They therefore thought it best to remove, and proceed to that district, and to fix their camp near the Gargaphian spring, which rises there. Assuming their arms, they marched, along the foot of Cithæron, and near Hysiaë, into the Platæan territory. When arrived, they formed in order, nation by nation, in the immediate vicinity of the Gargaphian spring, and of the temple of the hero Androcrates, on the slight elevations, and on the levels.

When the army was to be marshalled in this station, a long dispute took place between the Tegeans and the Athenians, each thinking themselves entitled to occupy the other* wing, and in support of their claims advanced

* To the Lacedæmonians was conceded the right of choosing which wing they would occupy.

severally their recent and their ancient exploits. First spoke the Tegeans as follows:—"This station has ever been deemed our right by all our confederates of Peloponnesus, as often as we have been associated in expeditions, both in ancient times and of late. When, after the death of Eurystheus, the Heraclids endeavoured to return to Peloponnesus, we obtained this honour on the following occasion—With the Achæans and Ionians, who then dwelt in Peloponnesus, we marched to the Isthmus, and posted ourselves opposite to the invaders: then Hyllus is said to have proposed that, instead of hazarding the two armies in a battle, the Peloponnesians should fix upon the man among themselves whom they judged the most valiant, to engage in a single combat with himself, on conditions to be agreed upon. The Peloponnesians thought the proposition eligible, and oaths were taken to this effect, that if Hyllus vanquished the Peloponnesian chief, the Heraclids should be suffered to return to their paternal lands; but if he was vanquished, they should retire with their army, and not, during a hundred years, seek to return to Peloponnesus. By the common consent of all the confederates, Echemus, son of Aëropus, son of Phageus (*or Cepheus*), and who was our general and king, was adjudged to fight this single combat, and he slew Hyllus. On account of this achievement we obtained, among the Peloponnesians, then many signal distinctions which we still retain, and among them the honour of occupying the other wing in all expeditions in which the Peloponnesians are confederated. With you, Lacedæmonians, we do not contend; but concede to you the right of choosing which you please of the two wings to command. But of the other, the command, as on all former occasions, comes to us. But besides the claim founded on the achievement we have mentioned, we are more worthy to hold this station than the Athenians, on account of the many well fought contests we

have had with (*for*) you Spartans, and with others. It is therefore just that we, rather than they, should have the command of the other wing, for their exploits—neither of late nor in ancient times, are to be compared with ours.”

To this speech the Athenians replied in the following terms:—“ We understand that this assembly is drawn together for the purpose of fighting the Barbarian, not of uttering speeches. But since the Tegean has proposed to adduce glorious actions of both people in all times, we are necessitated to make known to you whence is derived our ancient right—ever brave as we are—to take precedence of the Arcadians (*the Tegeans included*). In the first place—the Heraclids, whose chief they affirm themselves to have slain at the Isthmus, having been expelled in turn by all the Greeks, among whom they sought refuge when, escaping from servitude under the Mycenæans, we alone received, and ended the outrages of Eurystheus, when with them we vanquished those who then held Peloponnesus. In the next place, when the Argives, under Polynices, made an incursion upon the Thebans, and were slain, and lay unburied on the field, we, as we are wont to affirm, attacked the Cadmæans, bore away the bodies, and buried them in our own territory at Eleusis. Then again, we achieved a signal victory over the Amazons, who, from the river Thermodon, once made an irruption into Attica. Nor were we inferior to others in the Trojan war. But what purpose can it serve to recal these events? for those who once were brave, may now be the most cowardly; while those who then were cowardly, may now be more than others valiant. Enough then of ancient exploits! Had we nothing else to adduce—though indeed we have as many and as brilliant exploits as any other people of Greece to mention—yet alone, on account of what we accomplished at Marathon, are we worthy of holding this honour, and indeed of

other honours too—we alone of the Greeks, engaged, in our single strength, the Persian; and though the enterprize was so great to attempt, we were successful, and actually vanquished six and forty nations. Are we not therefore worthy, on the sole account of this action, to obtain the post in question? And yet, as on an occasion like this, it is most unfit to be factiously contending for precedence, we are prepared to yield obedience to you, Lacedæmonians, in whatever post it shall seem to you best to place us, and to engage with whatever foe. Wherever stationed, we shall endeavour to acquit ourselves as brave men. Lead on then, and we obey.” Thus answered the Athenians, and the whole army of the Lacedæmonians, with loud acclamation, declared that the Athenians were more worthy than the Arcadians to command the other wing. Thus the Athenians held it, and the Tegeans were overcome.

After this had passed, the Greeks, as well those who had come up as those who arrived first, formed their line in the following order. The Lacedæmonians, ten thousand strong, occupied the right wing: of these, five thousand were Spartans, attended by thirty-five thousand light armed helots—seven to each Spartan. Next to themselves the Spartans stationed the Tegeans, both for honour and valour: they had one thousand five hundred heavy armed troops. Then came the Corinthians, five thousand strong; and next to them, at their request, Pausanias placed the three hundred Potidæans, who had come from Pallené. Then six hundred Arcadian Orchomenians; then six thousand Sicyonians, and eight hundred Epidaurians. Next to them were placed one thousand Troezenians, and two hundred Lepreates, and four hundred Mycenæans and Tirynthians. After these stood one thousand Phliasians; and then three hundred Hermionians. These had next them six hundred Eretrians and Styrians, and four hundred Chalcidians; beyond whom

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were five hundred Ampracians; then eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, and two hundred Palians from Cephalenia. After these were placed five hundred Æginetans, and next three thousand Megareans; near to whom were six hundred Plateæans, and lastly, though first on the left wing, the Athenians, eight thousand strong, commanded by Aristides, son of Lysimachus.

All these, excepting the helots, seven to each Spartan, were heavy armed troops, and amounted to thirty-eight thousand seven hundred, which was the entire number of the heavy armed troops collected on this occasion to oppose the Barbarian. The light armed troops were these: the thirty-five thousand helots, seven to a man, attending upon the Spartans; and these were all able-bodied men for the war. The light armed troops attendant upon the other Lacedæmonians, and the rest of the Greeks, were thirty-four thousand five hundred, one man to each of the heavy armed, and making the whole number of the light armed sixty-nine thousand five hundred. Thus then the Greek army assembled at Plataea consisted, altogether, of a hundred and eight thousand two hundred fighting men, heavy and light armed. Or, including the Thespians, who also were there, the numbers would be completed to a hundred and ten thousand. In fact, one thousand eight hundred Thespians who had survived (*the slaughter at Thermopylæ*), were present; but not heavily armed. Such was the army that encamped in their ranks on the borders of the Asopus.

SECTION III.

INAUSPICIOUS OMENS ON BOTH SIDES. EMBARRAS-
MENTS AND MOVEMENTS OF THE GREEKS.

The Barbarians with Mardonius having ceased to lament Masistius, and being informed that the Greeks were at Plataea, themselves advanced to the Asopus, which passes through the territory of that city. Mardonius ranged the Persians opposite to the Lacedæmonians; but as they greatly exceeded them in numbers, he formed them many ranks deep, and extended them so as to include the Tegeans; and at the suggestion, and under the direction of the Thebans, he made a selection even among the Persians, placing the most powerful of them opposite to the Lacedæmonians, and the more infirm against the Tegeans. Next to the Persians he ranged the Medes, who stood opposed to the Corinthians, the Potidæans, the Orchomenians, and the Sicyonians. Next to the Medes were the Bactrians, who faced the Epidaurians, the Troezenians, the Lepreates, the Tirynthians, the Mycenæans, and the Phliasians. Beyond the Bactrians were the Indians, who extended in front of the Hermionians, the Eretrians, the Styrians, and the Chalcidians. The Saces were posted next, and opposed the Amphiurians, the Anactorians, the Leucadians, the Palians, and the Æginetans. Next to the Saces, and opposite to the Athenians, the Plataeans, and the Megareans, Mardonius stationed the Boeotians, the Locrians, the Melians, the Thessalians, and the thousand Phocians; for it was not all the Phocians that took part with the Medes, some of them being collected about Parnassus, aided the Greeks by making sorties thence as occasion

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offered, harassing the army of Mardonius, and the Greeks under him. He placed also opposite to the Athenians the Macedonians, and the people bordering upon Thessaly.

The troops of the nations above-mentioned, as thus marshalled by Mardonius, were those that were the most noted and had the highest reputation for valour. Among them there were mingled some few of other nations, as of the Phrygians and the Thracians, the Mysians, the Pæonians, and some of the others. And also some Æthiopians, and those Egyptians called Hermotybies and Calasiries (p. 177) who alone follow the profession of arms. These had manned the fleet, nor had formed part of the army under Xerxes that entered Attica ; but while stationed at Phalerum, they had been drawn from their ships. The Barbarians were, as I have already said, three hundred thousand strong. The numbers of the Greeks in alliance with Mardonius I cannot state; for they were never accurately reckoned, yet one might guess them at fifty thousand. Such was the array of the infantry. The cavalry were marshalled apart.

The two armies being thus arranged by nations and battalions, the next day both performed sacrifices. The sacrificer for the Greeks was Tisamenus, son of Antiochus, who was the seer that attended this army.

[He was an Elian, and by extraction a Clytiad of the Jamidian stock, and had been received as a citizen by the Lacedæmonians:—Tisamenus having consulted the Delphic oracle concerning progeny, was told by the Pythian that he should be victor in five signal combats, and he, mistaking the meaning of the response, addicted himself to gymnastic exercises, as if in expectation of being victor in those combats; and after training himself in the five exercises, he contended in the Olympic games with Hieronymus of Andros, and was victor in all except wrestling. But the Lacedæmonians understanding that it was not to gymnastic exercises, but to martial

contests that the oracle addressed to Tisamenus really referred, endeavoured to induce him by rewards to accompany the kings—the descendants of the Heraclids, as guide in their wars. But he, perceiving that the Spartans considered it as a matter of great importance to gain him as their friend, raised the price of his services, and signified to them that “if they would admit him among them as a citizen, and grant him a full participation of all privileges, he would comply with their wishes; but for no other consideration.” On first hearing this demand, the Spartans were extremely indignant, and dismissed altogether the thought of employing his services. But at length, while under lively fear of the impending Persian invasion, they sent for him, and offered him his terms. Then seeing them come round to his proposition, he declared he could not be satisfied with that alone; but must have his brother Hegias also made a Spartan citizen, with the same privileges as himself. In so doing he imitated Melampus—if one might compare the regal dignity with the right of citizenship. For on an occasion when the women of Argos were afflicted with madness, the Argives offered him a reward to come from Pylos and heal their women of this disease; but Melampus demanded the half of the kingdom. This demand they rejected, and went away; but afterwards a still greater number of their women becoming insane, they determined to yield to the terms of Melampus, and went to Pylos to grant him what he asked. But then, seeing them changed in purpose, Melampus stretched his desires, and said that, “unless to his brother Bias they granted a third part of the kingdom, he would not do what they wished. The Argives, reduced as they were to extreme distress, consented even to this. And thus the Spartans, having urgent need of the services of Tisamenus, granted him fully his own terms—and he and his brother are the only strangers ever admitted among the citizens of Sparta. This Tisamenus the Elian, become a Spartan—in quality of seer, took part with them in five signal victories. The first of which was that at Plataea;—next, that obtained over the Tegeans and Argives at Tegea; next that at Dipaea, over all the Arcadians, except the Man-

tineans ; then that over the Messenians, at the Isthmus (or at *Ithoma*) and lastly that at Tanagra, over the Athenians and Argives.]

This Tisamenus, brought by the Spartans, performed the rites of divination for the Greeks at Plataea. The auspices were fair for the Greeks while they remained on the defensive ; but not so if they passed the Asopus, and commenced the fight. And thus also, though Mardonius eagerly desired to bring on a battle, the victims gave no encouragement to his doing so ; but were favourable to his acting on the defensive. He practised the Grecian modes of divination, having for his seer Hegesistratus, an Elian, and the most renowned of the Telliads.*

[This Hegesistratus, having some time before inflicted many atrocities upon the Lacedæmonians, they had seized and bound him for death ; but he on this occasion, having not only to sustain the loss of life, but before death to endure many grievous torments, accomplished an ineffable achievement :— he was confined in stocks, lined with iron : having by chance got possession of a knife, he formed a plan requiring more courage than we have known ever before to be displayed :— after measuring how he might withdraw the rest (*the heel*) of the foot, he, with own hand, cut off the tarsus ; this done, the prison being guarded, he dug through the wall, and so escaped, and proceeded towards Tegea, travelling only by night, and keeping close in the woods during the day : in this manner, while the whole Lacedæmonian people were out in quest of him, he actually reached Tegea on the third night. The Spartans were in amazement at the audacity of the man, whose amputated foot they saw lying in the prison, though him they could not discover. Having in this manner escaped, he took refuge at Tegea, because at that time the Lacedæmonians were not in friendship with the Tegeans. When healed of his

* A family of soothsayers—the descendants of Tellias.

wound, Hegesistratus made use of a wooden foot, and openly declared himself the enemy of the Lacedæmonians. And yet in the end, this animosity did not fall to his advantage; for being taken prisoner by them in Zacynthus, while performing his function as a soothsayer, they put him to death. But this happened (*long*) after the battle of Plataea. At the time we are speaking of, he acted as seer to Mardonius at the Asopus, for no inconsiderable hire, and discharged his function with a forward zeal, incited both by his enmity to the Lacedæmonians, and by the love of lucre.]

The auspices were, we have said, unfavourable to fighting, both to the Persians and to the Greeks under the Barbarian, who had a diviner apart to themselves—Hippomachus, a Leucadian. Meanwhile recruits were constantly flocking in to the Grecian army, and Mardonius was advised by Timagenides, son of Herpys, a Theban, to guard the passes of Mount Cithæron; for, as he said, the Greeks were pouring through them daily, and he might capture great numbers.

Already the two armies had remained opposed to each other eight days, when Mardonius received this advice, and he, perceiving the propriety of it, sent the cavalry the same evening to the passes of Mount Cithæron, on the road to Plataea:—they are called by the Bœotians the Three Heads; but by the Athenians the Heads of Oak. This detachment did not arrive in vain, for making an incursion upon the plain, they seized five hundred sumpter beasts, bringing corn for the army from Peloponnesus: the drivers also were taken, and the Persians who fell upon this prey put to the sword without mercy both man and beast; and when they had had enough of slaughter, they drove what remained before them, and making a circuit, returned to Mardonius in the camp.

Two more days passed after this exploit—neither army being willing to commence the attack: during this time the

Barbarians advanced to the banks of the Asopus, to tempt the Greeks ; but neither would cross it. Still the cavalry of Mardonius approached the Greeks, and distressed them ; for the Thebans who very zealously affected the interests of the Medes, acted with great forwardness in the war, and constantly led on to the attack, and were succeeded by the Persians, and they by the Medes, who gave signal proofs of valour.

Yet during these ten days, in which the armies had opposed each other at Plataea, nothing more than what has been mentioned had taken place ; but on the eleventh, as the Greeks were now greatly reinforced, and Mardonius fretted under this state of inaction, he conferred with Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, who was one of the few Persians especially in the favour of Xerxes. These offered two opposite opinions. Artabazus thought “ it would be best to break up the camp as speedily as possible, and to proceed to the walls of Thebes, in which city there was laid up a large store of grain, and hay for the cattle, and where they might remain quietly : meanwhile, as they possessed a large quantity of gold, both coined and uncoined, and much silver, and many goblets, these treasures should, without spare, be sent among the Greeks, and particularly to the persons of most distinction in the several states : if this were done, they would presently surrender the liberties of Greece, nor would be inclined to hazard a battle.” The Thebans approved of the advice of Artabazus, thinking that he had more foresight than Mardonius. But the inclination of Mardonius was more vehement and more rash ; nor would he by any means give way to others. His army was, he said, in his opinion, vastly superior to that of the Greeks ; battle ought therefore to be given immediately : nor should they wait till the enemy was augmented by new reinforcements. The divinations of Hegesistratus were therefore to be disregarded, and not their own customs

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violated, which required that battle should be given. As he thus decided, no one contradicted, and his opinion prevailed; for it was to Mardonius, not to Artabazus, that the king had entrusted the command of the army. He therefore convoked the commanders of battalions, and the generals of the Greeks in his service, and inquired of them if they had knowledge of any oracle relating to the Persians, which predicted that they should be destroyed in Greece.

Those convoked kept silence;—some because they were ignorant of any such oracles, and others, who knew of them, because they thought it unsafe to speak. Mardonius then himself spoke thus:—"Since you either know of none such, or have not courage to speak, I will say that I am well aware there is an oracle predicting that the Persians should arrive in Greece, and pillage the temple of Delphi, and after sacking it, should all perish. We therefore, being well informed of this same prediction, have neither approached that temple, nor have attempted to plunder it; and because we have not done so, we shall not perish. Wherefore as many of you as are well affected to the Persian interests, be of good cheer on this account, and be sure that we shall vanquish the Greeks." So said; he, in the next place, issued orders that all should be put in readiness, and every proper arrangement made in expectation of a battle on the ensuing morning.

This oracle which Mardonius affirmed to relate to the Persians, I am assured had reference to the Illyrians, and the army of the Enchelians, and not to the Persians. The oracle of Bacis concerning this battle is as follows:

"Greeks with Barbarians, on your grassy banks—
Asopus and Thermodon—close their ranks:
They fall in death, amid the din of fight;
And bow-skilled Medes there last behold the light."

These, and many others of a like kind of Musæus, I know to have related to the Persians. The Thermodon runs between Tanagra and Glissas.

After the inquiry concerning the oracles, and the exhortation given by Mardonius to the commanders, night was come, and the watch set. And now, some hours of darkness having passed—stillness seemed to reign through the camp, and men were in their deepest sleep;—at that hour Alexander, son of Amyntas, the general and king of the Macedonians, rode towards the watches of the Athenians, and demanded to confer with the chiefs. While most of the watch remained at their post, some ran to the generals, and told them that “a man had come up on horseback from the camp of the Medes, who uttered no other words than to name the generals, and to say he wished to confer with them.” They, on hearing this, followed to the station of the watch, and when arrived there, were thus addressed by Alexander.

“Athenians! I am about to impart to you a communication not to be divulged to any but Pausanias, lest you cause my destruction. Nor would I utter it, were I not in a high degree solicitous for the Grecian community; for I indeed am, by ancient derivation, a Greek, nor would I see Greece exchange its freedom for slavery. I therefore tell you that Mardonius and his army are unable to obtain from the victims auspices such as they desire; otherwise you had fought long ago. But now Mardonius has resolved to disregard the auspices, and at dawn of day to give battle; for he fears, as I conjecture, lest you should receive new reinforcements. Hold yourselves therefore in readiness, and should he again defer the battle, remain at your post steadfastly, for in a few days provisions will fail them. And if this war should terminate as you wish, it will be just that you should bear it in mind to effect my freedom, who in zeal for the Greeks,

have performed so hazardous a part, that I might make known to you the intentions of Mardonius, lest the Barbarians should happen to fall upon you unexpectedly. I am Alexander of Macedon." Having thus spoken, he retired, and returned to his post in the camp.

The Athenian generals, going to the right wing of the army, repeated to Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander, and he, on receiving this intelligence, being filled with dread of the Persians, thus spoke:—"Since then battle is to be given at dawn, it will be proper that you Athenians should be stationed opposite to the Persians, and we opposite to the Boeotians, and those other Greeks who are now ranged against you:—and for this reason, that you know the Medes and their manner of fighting, having fought them at Marathon; whereas we have made no trial of them, and know nothing of them by experience, for none of the Spartans (*now in the army*) have tried their strength with the Medes. But of the Boeotians and Thessalians we have made trial. Therefore it is needful that, on taking up our arms, you should come over to this wing, and we go to the left." To this the Athenians replied:—"We from the very first, when we saw the Persians ranged opposite to you, had in mind what you yourself now propose; and should have said what we thought, had we not feared that the proposition might displease you. But as you have mentioned it, and as it is agreeable to us, we hold ourselves ready to do so."

Both parties being pleased with this arrangement, at day-break the stations were changed; and this being perceived by the Boeotians, they made it known to Mardonius. He no sooner heard it, than he set about changing his own line—leading the Persians over against the Lacedæmonians. When Pausanias perceived what was taking place, and found that his own movements were not hidden, he led back the Spartans to the right wing;

as did Mardonius the Persians, to the left. When the original order was restored, Mardonius sent a herald to the Spartans, who thus spoke—"Ah Lacedæmonians! you are spoken of by the people of these parts as the bravest of men, who admire you exceedingly, because you never flee from the field of battle, nor leave your ranks; but stand at your post, and either destroy your enemies, or yourselves perish. But not a word of all this is true; for even before we have engaged you, or have come to blows, we behold you retreating, and leaving your post, and giving it to the Athenians to make the first trial of us; while you range yourselves opposite to our slaves. This is by no means the conduct of brave men; what has been said of you is then utterly false. Judging by your celebrity, we had expected that you would send a herald to challenge us, and to declare your willingness alone to fight the Persians. But while we held ourselves prepared for this, we find you, far from making any such offer, skulking away. Yet since you are not forward to make this offer, we will be the first to propose it. Shall not we (*Persians and Lacedæmonians*) fight—you for the Greeks, as you are famed to be the bravest; and we for the Barbarians;—the numbers being the same on both sides? or if it shall please you that the others should fight also, let them fight afterwards; but if not, and if it shall suffice for us alone to contend together, then, whichever shall conquer shall be held to have conquered for the whole army."

The herald after pronouncing these words, waited awhile, and then, as no one replied to him, he returned and made his report to Mardonius, who in great glee, and elated with his cold victory, sent the cavalry against the Greeks. These coming up, troubled the whole line of the Greeks, by throwing their javelins, and discharging their arrows; for they were cavalry trained to this method of fighting; nor was it practicable to bring them to close

quarters. They also approached the Gargaphian spring, whence alone the Greeks derived their water; and this they disturbed and embanked. The Lacedæmonians only were stationed near the spring, and the other Greeks, according to the arrangement of the several states, were distant from it, though all near the Asopus; but being repulsed from the river, they had hitherto had recourse to the spring; for it was impracticable to them to fetch water from the river on account of the discharges of arrows from the cavalry.

Under these circumstances, and as the army was suffering the want of water, and the whole line was incommoded by the cavalry, the Greek generals held a conference at the station of Pausanias on the right wing, concerning these and other matters. For however much annoyed in the way we have described, they were still more troubled on other accounts. Their provisions were exhausted, and their servants, whom they had despatched to Peloponnesus to collect stores, were shut out from returning to the camp by the enemy's cavalry. On consultation held among the generals, it was resolved that if the Persians did not pass the river and give battle that day, they would remove to the island. This island lies before Plataea, and is distant ten furlongs from the Gargaphian spring, and from (*that part of*) the Asopus where the army was then encamped: it may be called an island in the midland, for the river dividing into two streams when it descends from Cithæron upon the plain, leaves a space between them of about three furlongs, and then again unites: the branch is called Oeroë, and by the country people—the daughter of the Asopus. To this spot they resolved to remove the camp, both because they would there have an abundant supply of water, and because they would not be harassed by the cavalry, as when directly opposed to them. They fixed upon the second watch of the ensuing night for making this remove, lest the Persians seeing them, should

sally forth—follow and annoy them with their cavalry. They moreover resolved, that when arrived on this spot, encompassed by the Oeroë and the Asopus, dividing as it flows from Cithæron, they would, during the same night, send a half of the army to the mountain passes, to bring away the attendants who were coming with provisions, and who were shut up upon Mount Cithæron.

SECTION IV.

OBSTINACY OF AMOMPHARETUS. BATTLE AT PLATÆA. DESTRUCTION OF THE PERSIANS.

During the whole day, after these resolutions had been formed, they were kept under arms, with great difficulty sustaining the assaults of the cavalry. But as the day declined, the enemy ceased to assail them, and when the hour of the night arrived that had been agreed upon for taking their departure, they took up their baggage, and moved off; yet the greater part of them had no intention of proceeding to the place appointed; but being put in movement, they gladly retired out of the reach of the cavalry towards Plataea, and in their flight came to a temple of Juno which stands in front of that city, and distant twenty furlongs from the Gargaphian spring; and here they pitched their camp. These then stationed themselves around this temple. Meanwhile Pausanias, who witnessed their departure from the encampment, gave orders to the Lacedæmonians to take their arms, and to follow in the track of those who had preceded them; for he supposed them to have gone to the place agreed upon. Immediately all the commanders held themselves

ready to obey the order of Pausanias ;—all except Amompharetus, son of Poliades, captain of the cohort of Pitanians, who declared that “ he would not flee from the foreigners, nor willingly bring disgrace upon Sparta.” For not having been present at the late council, he was amazed at what he saw taking place. Pausanias and Euryanax, though greatly troubled at his disobedience to their commands, would have been still more troubled to abandon the Pitanian cohort on account of the resolution taken by its captain, lest, if so left behind by them, while accomplishing the movement agreed upon with the other Greeks, Amompharetus and all with him should perish. Influenced by these motives, they retained the Lacedæmonian forces in their position, and endeavoured to convince him of his error.

While arguing with Amompharetus, who alone of all the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans held back, the Athenians kept themselves unmoved on the ground where they had been stationed, well knowing the devices of the Lacedæmonians, and that it was their manner to say one thing and intend another. And when the army was actually in movement, they sent one of their horsemen to observe whether the Spartans were beginning to march, or whether in fact they were not intending to take themselves off altogether. The horseman was (*as a pretext*) to ask orders from Pausanias. When he came up to the Lacedæmonians, he beheld them yet at their station, and the chiefs in contention one with another. For then Euryanax and Pausanias were exhorting Amompharetus not to put his men in peril by remaining at his post alone: but they by no means prevailed with him: and their contention had become vehement when the Athenian herald arrived on the spot. Amompharetus in debating, took up a fragment of rock in both hands, and placing it at the feet of Pausanias, said, “ With this pebble I give my vote not to retreat from the foreigners;”—

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meaning the Barbarians. But Pausanias, after calling him a madman and insane, told the Athenian herald who asked for his commands, to report to the Athenians the present circumstances, and to say that he requested them to come, and to do in the matter of the retreat the same as the Lacedæmonians.

The herald returned to the Athenians; and the dawn found the Spartans still disputing in the same place where Pausanias had remained. At length, being of opinion that Amompharetus would not be left behind if the other Lacedæmonians actually withdrew—and so it happened—gave the signal for retiring, and led all the others away over the hills. The Tegeans followed them. But the Athenians marched in order of battle by a different route. For while the Lacedæmonians, from fear of the cavalry, held by the rising grounds, and along the base of Mount Cithæron, the Athenians took their course below through the plain.

Amompharetus, in the firm persuasion that Pausanias would not dare to abandon him and his men, had pertinaciously endeavoured, by himself remaining, to prevent the army leaving its station. But as the troops with Pausanias proceeded onwards, he, concluding that they were in very deed leaving him, made his cohort take up their arms, and led them at a slow march towards the main body. They, when they had advanced about ten furlongs, halted for the cohort of Amompharetus, on the banks of the Molœis, and at a place called Argiopium, where stands a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres. He waited here with the intention of returning to succour Amompharetus and his band, in case he actually remained with his men on the ground where he had been stationed. Scarcely had the cohort come up, when the entire cavalry of the Barbarians pressed upon them, and attacked them in the same manner as on every former occasion. The cavalry having found the place vacated

on which the Greek army had been encamped the preceding days, had pushed on further and further, until they overtook and attacked them.

When Mardonius learnt that the Greeks had withdrawn during the night, and when he beheld the deserted ground, he called to him Thorax of Larissa, and his brothers, Eurypylus and Thrasydeius, and said:—"You sons of Aleuas, what now say you in seeing this deserted ground! You, neighbours of the Lacedæmonians, who affirm that they never retreat from the combat, but are in martial conduct the very first of men! And yet you have lately seen them changing their station; and now we see that in the past night they have one and all fled. When the occasion required them to decide the fortune of war with men who are truly more brave than others, they have made it manifest that—worthless themselves, they are distinguished only among Greeks—worthless also. Unacquainted as you are with the Persians, and knowing something commendable of the Lacedæmonians, I have readily pardoned your praising them. But I have so much the more wondered that Artabazus should fear the Lacedæmonians, and that, smitten with such fears, he should have advanced an opinion so timid, as if it were necessary to break up our encampment, and to go to Thebes, there to be besieged—which opinion the king shall hear of from me; but of this anon. For the present, the Greeks are not to be suffered to escape, but are to be followed till we overtake and requite them for all the injuries they have done the Persians."

Having so spoken, Mardonius led the Persians forward, and crossing the Asopus, followed the track of the Greeks, as if they had been put to flight. It was the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans only that he followed, for the Athenians who had taken their course through the plain below the hills, he did not discern. The leaders of the rest of the Barbarian army seeing the Persians moving on, and

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pursuing the Greeks, immediately all took up their standards, and followed also—every one as he could, without any order or keeping of ranks; but moved on in a crowd with loud cries, as if about to make the Greeks their prey. When the Persian cavalry came up to the Greeks, Pausanias sent a horseman to the Athenians with this message:—"Athenians, now when the great contest is to be decided, which must issue in the emancipation or slavery of Greece, we Lacedæmonians, and you Athenians, have been betrayed by our allies, who in the past night have made their escape. But our resolution is taken—we will bravely defend ourselves to the utmost of our power, and support each other. If now the cavalry had first attacked you, it would have been our part with the Tegeans, who are not traitors to Greece, to aid you; but actually it has advanced in full force against us, and it is just that you should come to the defence of that portion of the army which is especially pressed upon. Yet if you are so circumstanced, that you cannot come to our aid, at least oblige us by sending us a body of archers. Knowing as we do your great zeal in prosecuting this war, and which we acknowledge, we confide that you will yield to this request."

The Athenians on hearing this, marched to aid the Lacedæmonians with the purpose of doing so to the utmost of their power; but while on their way, they were attacked by the Greeks in the king's service, who were stationed opposite to them. This prevented their affording any further aid to their allies, for they were themselves harassed by the attack. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans, with their light armed troops, were therefore left alone, the former amounting to fifty thousand, and the Tegeans, who ever kept close to them, to three thousand. They performed sacrifices at this time, as about to conflict with Mardonius and his army—now at hand; but the auspices were not good; meanwhile many of the Greeks

fell slain, and many more were wounded. For the Persians, forming as it were a fence with their osier bucklers, discharged their arrows so copiously, that the Spartans were oppressed by them: yet the sacrifices were unfavourable. At this moment Pausanias, looking up towards the temple of Juno near Platæa, invoked the goddess, and prayed her not to let them be disappointed in their hope.

While yet he was uttering this invocation, the Tegeans first standing up, advanced towards the Barbarians, and the Lacedæmonians immediately after the prayer of Pausanias, sacrificed and obtained auspicious omens, and forthwith themselves also moved forwards to attack the Persians, who leaving their bows, stood to sustain the assault. The first combat took place about the fence of bucklers.* When that was overthrown, again a fierce contest was maintained, and for a long time, near the temple of Ceres, until the moment when the combatants came to push close one upon another; for the Barbarians had seized the spears of their assailants and broken them, and on this occasion the Persians were not inferior to the Greeks in daring, and in personal vigour; but they were unprotected by defensive armour, and moreover in practised discipline and intelligence, were altogether unequal to their antagonists; and thus it was that, rushing forward singly or in tens—sometimes more sometimes fewer, they fell upon the Spartans, and perished. At the point where Mardonius himself, riding a white horse, fought at the head of a chosen band of a thousand of the bravest Persians, there especially the Greeks were hardly pressed: and so long as he survived, the Persians stood their ground, and defended their position, overthrowing many of the Lacedæmonians. But when Mar-

* It seems the Persians had planted their wicker shields on the ground, so as to form a fence, from behind which they discharged their arrows.

donius was slain, and the body of Persians around him, who were the best troops in the army, had fallen, then the others turned, and gave way before the Lacedæmonians. In fact, having to fight with men completely armed, they suffered great disadvantage from their loose dress, destitute as it was of defences.

And now the Lacedæmonians, according to the prediction of the oracle, obtained from Mardonius satisfaction for the death of Leonidas; and Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, son of Anaxandrides, won the most signal victory of which we have any knowledge.—We have recounted the ancestors of Pausanias when enumerating those of Leonidas;—for they are the same. Mardonius was slain by Aïmnestus, a Spartan of distinction, who some time after the Median war, having under his command three hundred men, fought at Stenyclerus, with all the Messenians, and perished with his three hundred.

When the Persians at Plataea were first put to flight by the Lacedæmonians, they retreated, in utter disorder, towards their camp, and to the wooden fortification they had constructed in the Theban territory.—It is to me a matter of wonder that, though the battle took place near the sacred grove of Ceres, not one of the Persians appears to have entered the sacred enclosure, or to have died there, but fell, for the most part, about the temple, and on unconsecrated ground, and I am of opinion—if indeed it be proper to form any opinion on matters relating to the gods, that the goddess would not admit them because they burned her own peculiar residence at Eleusis. Such was the issue of this battle.

Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, from the first had disapproved of Mardonius being left in Greece by the king, and had, at that time, though to no avail, opposed his giving battle. Unable either to prevail with Mardonius, or to assent to his measures, and having under his com-

mand no inconsiderable force—for it amounted to forty thousand men—as soon as the action commenced, he—well assured of what must be its issue, advanced to them, and commanded them to follow him in a compact body wherever he might lead them, when they saw him move at quick pace. After giving this order, he led them on as if into the fight. But being in advance of his troops, and seeing the Persians retreating, he no longer held the same course, but wheeled about to retire without delay;—not indeed towards the fortified camp, nor towards the walls of Thebes, but to Phocis, with the intention of reaching the Hellespont as quickly as possible: thus this body of troops turned off.

The Greeks in general who were in the king's service behaved remissly from design; but the Boeotians maintained a long contest with the Athenians. And those of the Thebans who took part with the Medes displayed no little zeal, but fought with heart until three hundred of the chiefs and of their bravest men fell by the hands of the Athenians. And when the battle turned, they fled to Thebes, yet not with the mob of Persians, nor with the other confederates, who, many of them, ran before they had struck a blow, or had given any display of valour. To me it is manifest that on the side of the Barbarians all depended on the Persians; and if the other parts of the army fled before they had met the enemy at all, it was because they saw the Persians retreating. And thus all fled except the cavalry; the Boeotian cavalry especially afforded important aid to the retreating host, by keeping constantly close upon the enemy, and so separating the pursuers from the pursued. Yet the victorious Greeks followed the army of Xerxes—still pursuing, and putting them to the sword. Meanwhile news came to the other Greeks, stationed about the temple of Juno, and who were absent from the battle, that a battle had taken place, and that the troops under Pausanias were vic-

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torious. Whereupon, without keeping any order, they hastened—the Corinthians along the foot of the mountain, and over the low hills, directly towards the temple of Ceres; while the Megareans and Phliasians took their course through the plain; that being the most even road; but when these came up near the combatants, the Theban cavalry, commanded by Asopodorus, son of Timander, seeing them hastening on in confusion, charged upon them at speed, and overthrew six hundred of them, and continued the pursuit of the remainder till they had driven them upon Mount Cithæron. Thus ingloriously did these perish.

The Persians and the rest of the confused host, when they had reached their asylum in the wooden fortification, ascended the towers in haste, before the Lacedæmonians should arrive, and then set themselves to fence the walls in the best manner they could. The Lacedæmonians coming up, a vigorous assault and defence took place, in which, before the Athenians arrived, the besieged had much the advantage over their assailants, who were unskilled in the attack of fortifications. But when the Athenians reached the place, a still more violent conflict ensued, which lasted a long time. At length, by valour and assiduity, the Athenians surmounted the wall, and demolished a part of it; and through the breach the Greeks poured in; the Tegeans were the first to enter, and it was they who pillaged the tent of Mardonius:—among other things, they took thence a crib (*φάρυγ*) for the horses, all of brass, and of admirable workmanship. This same crib of Mardonius the Tegeans dedicated at the fane of the Alean Minerva. The rest of the spoil taken by them they carried to the common stock of the other Greeks. Their defence having fallen, the Barbarians did not again rally in masses, nor did one of them recollect his prowess; but astounded and trembling with fear at finding so many thousands of men shut up within

a narrow space, they offered an easy slaughter to the Greeks; so that of the three hundred thousand men—after excepting the forty thousand that fled with Artabazus, there were not more than three thousand that survived. Among the Lacedæmonians the Spartans had in all, during the attack,* ninety-one slain, the Tegeans lost eighteen, and the Athenians fifty-two.

Among the Barbarians—of the infantry, the Persians behaved with the most valour;—of the cavalry—the Saces, and of individuals, Mardonius. On the side of the Greeks, though the Tegeans and the Athenians conducted themselves well, the Lacedæmonians surpassed both in valour; of which I can indeed bring no other proof than this—that while all vanquished those of the enemy opposite to whom they were stationed, these fought with and overcame the most powerful troops of the whole army. According to our opinion Aristodemus by far surpassed any other individual in bravery; it was the same who alone of the three hundred had survived the action at Thermopylæ, and on that account had drawn upon himself reproach and contempt. Next to him in valour were Posidonius, and Philocyon, and Amompharetus, the Spartan. And yet, when the question was discussed, which of these had shown himself the most valiant, the Spartans present on the occasion came to the conclusion, that, though Aristodemus—wishing to die in the sight of all, on account of the charge brought against him, had madly advanced from the line, and performed great exploits—Posidonius, having no such intention of dying, had behaved valiantly, and by so much was the better of the two. But perhaps envy had influence in this decision. Those whom I have mentioned

* *εν τη συνβολη*—I suppose Herodotus to refer to the attack upon the fortified camp only, not to the whole day's fighting, for his own account seems to imply a much greater loss, even among the Spartans only.

who fell in this battle, were held in honour, except Aristodemus, who because he died purposely, for the cause before related, was unhonoured.

These then are the persons who acquired most renown in the battle of Platæa. Callicrates died out of the fight; he was the most handsome man in the army, not only among the Lacedæmonians, but among all the Greeks. While Pausanias performed the sacrifices, he was wounded in the side by an arrow, as he sat in his place in the ranks, and during the combat was carried away: addressing himself to Arimnestus, a Platæan, he said "he died reluctantly, not that he regretted to die for Greece; but because he had not struck a blow, or achieved any action worthy of himself, though ardently desiring to do so."

Of the Athenians, Sophanes, son of Eutychides, of the township of Decelea, was much commended.

[The people of Decelea, as the Athenians affirm, once performed an action from which they have derived advantage ever since. For when, in a remote age, the Tyndarides (*Castor and Pollux*) invaded Attica with a numerous army for the recovery of Helen, not knowing whither she had been withdrawn, and when they had expelled the people from their habitations, then, say they, the Deceleans, or, as some affirm, Decelus himself, indignant at the violence committed by Theseus, and fearing for the whole Athenian territory, made known to them the whole affair, and guided them to Aphidna, which Titacus, a native of the place, delivered up to the Tyndarides. On account of this action the people of Decelea (*who may have settled*) at Sparta have, from that time to this, enjoyed an exemption from all tribute, and also a precedency in assemblies. And thus also, in the war which many years after the time of which we are speaking took place, between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, when the Lacedæmonians ravaged all the rest of Attica, they abstained from Decelea.

Two accounts are given of the way in which this Sophanes of Decelea obtained so much celebrity among the Athenians; the one is that he carried an iron hook (*anchor*) suspended by a chain of brass from the girdle of his corselet, which as often as he approached the enemy he threw out, so that when they sallied from their line, they might not be able to move him from his ground; and when they fled, he took it up again, and joined in the pursuit. This is one account: the other, widely different from this, is that without any actual anchor of iron suspended from his corselet, he bore the figure of an anchor on his shield, which ever and without rest he turned about. Another signal exploit of Sophanes is related—that when the Athenians invested Ægina, he challenged and slew Eurybates of Argos, who had been victor in the five exercises. But some time afterwards, this Sophanes himself was slain by the Edonians at Datus, while valiantly fighting, when with Leager, son of Glaucon, he commanded the Athenians in their war concerning the gold mines.]

SECTION V.

INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE BATTLE. SIEGE
OF THEBES. RETREAT OF ARTABAZUS.

After the Barbarians had been overthrown by the Greeks at Plataea, there arrived a woman who had left the camp of the enemy. She was the mistress of Pharrandates, son of Teaspes, a Persian, and when she learned that the Persians had perished, and that the Greeks were victorious, she came—herself and her female attendants, gorgeously decked with gold, and wearing the most sumptuous attire. Descending from her chariot, she approached the Lacedæmonians, who were still employed

in the slaughter of their foes. She recognized Pausanias, by seeing him in supreme command; and she had already become acquainted with his name and ancestry, which she had often heard spoken of. By this means, knowing Pausanias, she embraced his knees, and spoke as follows:—"King of Sparta! deliver me, your suppliant, from servitude and captivity;* so far you have already helped me in destroying these (*Persians*) who have no respect for either the dæmons or the gods. I am of Coos, and the daughter of Hegetorides, son of Antagoras. By force the Persian took me thence, and by force retained me." Pausanias thus replied:—"Woman, be of good heart, not merely because a suppliant; but more than that, if what you say is true, and if you are indeed the daughter of Hegetorides of Coos; for he, more than any other person of those parts, is my friend." Having thus spoken, he for the time committed her to the care of the Ephors, who were then present, and afterwards, at her own wish, sent her to Ægina.

Presently after this occurrence, and when the labour of the day was accomplished, the Mantineans arrived, and being informed that they came too late to take part in the battle, were in great sorrow, and professed themselves deserving of punishment; and hearing of the escape of the Medes under Artabazus, they offered to pursue them as far as Thessaly; but the Lacédæmonians would not give consent that the fugitives should be pursued. When they returned home, the generals were driven from their territory by the Mantineans. After these came the Elians, who also, like the Mantineans, were greatly afflicted, and like them departed, and on their return banished their generals. So much for the Mantineans and Elians.

At Plataea, and among the forces of Ægina, was an

* αιχμαλωτου δουλοσυνης —slavery in consequence of being made prisoner in war. This was often the fate of persons of high rank.

eminent citizen of that island, named Lampon, son of Pytheas. This man, coming up to Pausanias in great diligence, proposed to him a most iniquitous advice. He thus spoke:—"Son of Cleombrotus—an achievement has been accomplished by you that is altogether extraordinary, vast, and splendid. God has granted to you to be the deliverer of Greece, and so to obtain a renown surpassing that of any Greek whose name is known. Accomplish then what remains to be done, and your fame shall be still greater, and henceforth the Barbarians—one and all, will take care never again, in the superfluity of their arrogance, to offend the Greeks. When Leonidas was slain at Thermopylæ, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head, and affixed his body to a cross. Now in rendering to him the like, you will be commended, first by the Spartans, and then by the other Greeks; for by empaling Mardonius, you will avenge your uncle Leonidas." Thus he spoke, thinking to curry favour with Pausanias; but the Spartan king replied:—"My friend of Ægina! I admire your good intentions, and your foresight; but in the advice you offer you sin against propriety, for after having extolled me so highly—me, my country, and my achievements, you have cast me down to nothing, in advising me to violate the dead; and were I to do so, you say, my fame would be enhanced. But an act, such as you recommend, is more fitting in Barbarians than in Greeks, and on account of such deeds we hold them in abhorrence. Nor would I wish thus to win the favour of the Æginetans, or of any others who might take pleasure in an act of this kind. To me it is enough to approve myself to the Spartans, by virtuous deeds, and virtuous discourse. As for Leonidas, whom you exhort me to avenge, I affirm that he is amply avenged;—these countless multitudes of dead afford satisfaction enough for Leonidas, and the others who fell at Thermopylæ. And now for yourself, approach me no

more with language or advice like this, and be thankful that you go unhurt." With this reply he departed.

Pausanias made proclamation that no one should touch the booty, and commanded the helots to collect together all the treasures. They, dispersing themselves through the camp, found pavilions decked with gold and silver, couches embossed with the same, golden goblets and cups, and other drinking vessels. They found also waggons loaded with sacks, containing firkins filled with gold and silver. From the bodies of the dead also, they tore away bracelets, and twisted necklaces, and scymetars of gold :—as to the apparel of divers colours, it was made no account of. Much of this wealth the helots stole, and sold to the Æginetans ; and much also they produced—that is, so much as they were unable to conceal. This was the beginning of the great opulence of the Æginetans, who purchased gold of the helots, no doubt, as if it had been copper. When the spoil had been brought together, it was tithed, and to the Delphic god was consecrated the golden tripod, supported by a three-headed brazen serpent, and which stands near the altar. To the Olympic god was dedicated a brazen statue of Jupiter, ten cubits in height. For the Isthmian god also a tithe was taken, from which was made a brazen statue of Neptune, of seven cubits ; these dedications being made from the tenths, they divided the remainder according to their several claims ; this partition included the women in attendance on the Persians, and the gold and the silver, and other wealth, and the beasts of burden. What choice articles were presented to those who most signalized their valour at Plataea has not been reported ; yet I suppose some such presents were actually made. To Pausanias was granted a tenth, selected from the whole booty—women, horses, talents, camels, and all other articles.

The following incident has also been reported :—it is said that when Xerxes fled from Greece, he left to

Mardonius his own pavilion. Now Pausanias, on seeing the furniture and service of Mardonius, with its gold and silver, and the many-coloured hangings, commanded the confectioners and cooks to prepare a supper as if it were for Mardonius. They fulfilled these commands, and then Pausanias, seeing the couches embossed with gold and silver, and all laid in order, and the tables of gold and silver, and the magnificent preparations for the supper, was struck with wonder at the wealth before him, and in derision he ordered his own servants to make ready a supper in the Laconic fashion; and as the difference between the two suppers was extremely great, Pausanias, in mirth, sent for the Greek generals, and when they came together he said, pointing first to the one, then to the other preparation—"Greeks, the reason of my calling you together is, that I wished to display before you the folly of this chief of the Medes, who, master of such dainties as these, came to us to take away our miserable fare." Such, it is affirmed, was the speech addressed by Pausanias to the Greek generals.

Some long time after the battle of Plataea, there were found many coffers of gold and silver, and other precious articles; and moreover, after the bodies of the slain were bared of flesh, the Plataeans brought together on one spot all the bones: among the skulls was found one without any sutures, and consisting of a single bone. An upper and under jaw was also found, the teeth of which grew in one, being all of a single bone—as well the front teeth as the grinders; and there was the skeleton of a man five cubits high.

The day after the battle, the body of Mardonius disappeared; but by whom removed I cannot with any certainty relate. I have indeed heard many persons mentioned of various nations, who were said to have buried Mardonius; and I know that many, on pretext of having performed this service, received large gratuities from

Artontes, son of Mardonius; yet have I never been able to learn with certainty who it was that withdrew and buried it. The common report is that the corpse was interred by Dionysophanes, an Ephesian.

When the Greeks at Plataea had divided the booty, they buried their dead—each nation separately. The Lacedæmonians formed three repositories for their dead; in the first they placed the youths (*who had held command*) of whom were Posidonius, and Amompharetus, and Philocyon, and Callicrates;—these youths were buried in a grave apart. In the second were laid the other Spartans; and in the third the helots. The Tegeans in a grave to themselves buried all their dead together; as did the Athenians theirs. The Megareans and Phliasians buried those that had been destroyed by the cavalry: the sepulchral mounds of these were really filled with dead; but as for the other mounds that are seen at Plataea—these, as I am informed, are empty, and were piled up by those who, ashamed of having been absent from the battle, endeavoured by this means to impose on posterity. There is, for instance, on the field, a tumulus which is called that of the Æginetans; but which I am told was raised ten years after the battle, at the request of the Æginetans, by Cleades, son of Autodicus, a Plataean, who was on terms of friendship with them.

Having buried their dead at Plataea, the Greeks presently held a council in which it was determined to advance against Thebes, and to demand the persons who had espoused the interests of the Medes. The principal of these were Timagenides and Attaginus, who were the heads of that faction; and in case of their refusal to deliver them up, they resolved not to depart till they had taken the city. This resolution formed—on the eleventh day after the battle, they arrived, and laid siege to Thebes, and summoned the citizens to deliver up the persons named. They being unwilling to do so, the Greeks

cleared their lands of trees, and invested the walls. Nor did they cease their depredations during twenty days, when Timagenides thus addressed the citizens—"Thebans, since the Greeks have so resolved that they will not raise the siege until they have either taken the city or we have been given up to them—now therefore let not the Boeotian territory suffer further injury on our account; but if they demand us merely as a pretext for obtaining money, let us give them money from the public fund; for it is not we as individuals, but all the citizens who have taken part with the Medes. Yet if truly they besiege Thebes to obtain us, we hold ourselves ready to plead our own cause before them." This was thought to be well and seasonably spoken, and immediately the Thebans announced to Pausanias that they were willing to surrender the men.

Just as terms to this effect were agreed upon, Attaginus made his escape from the city:—his sons being brought to Pausanias were dismissed, for, said he, the children were not implicated in the crime of favouring the Medes. The other persons delivered up by the Thebans, imagined they should either make an available defence, or obtain their lives by giving money. But Pausanias suspecting that this might happen, no sooner got them in his power than he dismissed all the confederates, and then leading the prisoners to Corinth, put them to death. So much for what took place at Plataea and Thebes.

Meanwhile Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, continued to urge his retreat, and had advanced a considerable distance. Arriving in Thessaly, the people of that country received him hospitably, and being utterly ignorant of what had happened at Plataea, they inquired of him concerning the rest of the army. But Artabazus knew that if he were to relate truly and fully the issue of the contest, he should incur for himself and those with him the

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danger of destruction; for there were none of these nations that would not have attacked him, had they been informed of what had happened. Calculating upon this probability, he had not, even to the people of Phocis, communicated any news, and to the Thessalians he thus spoke—"Thessalians, I, as you see, am urging my march with all possible speed towards Thrace, and use diligence, having been sent from the army with these troops on an important business. And you have to expect Mardonius himself and his army who is following close upon my steps. Him receive hospitably, and make evident your good intentions; for in so doing you will never have reason to repent." So saying he led his army with the utmost haste through Thessaly and Macedonia, directly to Thrace. On reaching Thrace, he took the shortest road across the country towards Byzantium, where he arrived after losing many of his troops, who were cut in pieces by the Thracians on the road, or who died from famine and fatigue. From Byzantium he passed over in ships. Thus did he return home to Asia.

SECTION VI.

BATTLE AT MYCALÉ—DEFEAT OF THE PERSIANS.

September 22.
B. C.
479.

The same day in which the slaughter of the Persians took place at Plataea, a like calamity happened to them at Mycalé, in Ionia. For when the Grecian fleet under the command of Leotychides the Lacedæmonian were stationed at Delos, there came from Samos as messengers, Lampon, son of Thrasyclus, and Athenagoras, son

of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras, who had been despatched by the Samians without the knowledge of the Persians, or of Theomestor, son of Androdamas, whom they had constituted tyrant of the island. These deputies arriving in the fleet, Hegesistratus addressed the generals at great length, and with various arguments to this effect—"that if once the Ionians should see them, they would revolt from the Persians, nor would the Barbarians make a stand, or if they did so, the Greeks could never find a greater booty." Then he invoked the gods whom they worshipped in common, and implored them to rescue from slavery those who, like themselves, were Greeks, and to defend them from the Barbarian: and, said he, "nothing will be more easy than for you to do so;—their ships are bad sailers, and by no means in condition to fight those of the Greeks. Or if the Greeks suspected any fraud in this invitation to come over, they (*the deputies*) were willing to go on board the Greek fleet, there to remain as hostages." After the Samian had used many entreaties, Leotychides asked him his name—either because he wished to obtain an omen, or merely by a divinely-ordered fortuity—"Samian friend," said he, "what is your name?" "Hegesistratus," replied the Samian; on hearing this, Leotychides, cutting short what the other might have added, went on—"Samian friend! I accept the omen—Hegesistratus (*leader of an army*) only see that ere you depart, you, and those with you, pledge yourselves that the Samians shall become our zealous allies."

Thus having spoken, forthwith the business was put in progress. The Samians instantly gave their word, and ratified it by oath, for forming an alliance between the Samians and the Greeks, and then the two set sail, while Hegesistratus, whose name had served as an omen, sailed at the command of Leotychides with the Greeks. They remained at their station that day, and on the next sacri-

ficed with auspicious omens. Their diviner was Deïphonus, son of Evenius—from Apollonia, on the Ionian gulph.

[To this Evenius, the father, happened the following incidents. In Apollonia there are certain sheep, sacred to the sun, which by day feed on the banks of the river that flows from Mount Lacmon through the Apollonian territory, and empties itself into the sea near the port Oricus. At night they are taken charge of by some one of the most opulent and noble of the citizens, who is elected to guard them—each for a year. For the people of Apollonia, at the instigation of an oracle, attach high importance to these sheep. They pass the night in a cavern, remote from the city. It came to the turn of this Evenius to be chosen to guard the sheep; but he sleeping during the time of his watch, some wolves entered the cavern, and destroyed about sixty of the sheep. On observing what had happened, he kept silence, nor mentioned it to any one, intending to purchase other sheep, with which to replace those that were lost. But the matter was not concealed from the Apollonians, who on becoming acquainted with it, brought him before the tribunals, where, for having slept during the time of his watch, he was condemned to be deprived of sight. But presently, after Evenius had lost his eyes, the cattle neither produced young, nor did the earth yield its increase. This had been predicted to them at Dodona and at Delphi. When they inquired of the prophets the cause of the present calamity, they were answered that “They had unjustly deprived Evenius, keeper of the sacred sheep, of his sight; for themselves (*the gods*) had sent the wolves, nor would cease to avenge him until they had made him such reparation for the injuries the Apollonians had inflicted, as he himself should choose, and deem sufficient. Moreover after they had fulfilled their part, the gods would confer upon Evenius such a boon as should make most men bless him.” The Apollonians upon receiving this response, divulged it not; but deputed certain of their citizens

to manage the affair, which they effected in the following manner:—finding Evenius sitting on a bench, they sat themselves down with him, and began conversation on some other matters, and at length proceeded to commiserate his misfortune, and having by this means wheedled him, they inquired—“What reparation he would name, supposing the Apollonians were willing to make him amends for what they had done.” He, having heard nothing of the response of the oracle, mentioned, as his choice, that if they would grant him the lands of two citizens—whom he named, and whose possessions he knew to be the best in Apollonia;—and besides, a certain mansion which he knew to be the most superb in the city;—then, if possessed of these, he would ever after be placated, and deem himself to have obtained reparation. Thus speaking, the persons who sat with him caught up his words, and said:—“Evenius, the Apollonians will make to you this reparation for the loss of your eyes, in obedience to a response they have received.” On hearing the whole truth, he was highly indignant at having been so deceived. But they, after purchasing the possessions of their owners, gave him what he had chosen. Presently afterwards Evenius became gifted with skill in divination, so as to acquire great celebrity.]

Deïphonus, son of this Evenius, having been brought by the Corinthians, discharged the function of diviner to the fleet. Yet I have heard it said that this Deïphonus was not the son of Evenius; but that having usurped the name, he traversed Greece, and let out his services. The auspices obtained by the ministration of this person being favourable, the Greeks removed their fleet from Delos towards Samos, and when they came off Calamus, in that island, they anchored near the temple of Juno, and made preparations for an engagement. The Persians, informed of their approach, moved towards the continent, and allowed the Phœnicians to depart; for after holding a consultation they determined not to fight the Greeks at sea, as they deemed themselves unequal

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to the contest with such a foe ; and they drew to shore on the continent, that they might be under the protection of their army, which was at Mycalé. This force being a part of the main army, had been left here by the order of Xerxes to guard Ionia : it mustered sixty thousand strong, and was under the command of Tigranes, a Persian, surpassing all his countrymen in height and beauty of person. It was under the protection of this army that the commanders of the fleet resolved to take refuge ; and to haul their ships ashore, and surround them with a fence, to serve as a fortified asylum, both for the ships and themselves.

Having therefore resolved on their plan, they weighed, and passing a temple of the Eumenides, on the territory of Mycalé came to (*the mouths of the*) Gæson and Scolopœis, where is a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, reared by Philistus, son of Pasicles, who followed Neleus, son of Codrus, when he founded Miletus. There they drew up their ships on the beach, and surrounded them with a defence, formed of stones and timber, which they procured by cutting down the fruit trees : in front of this wall they formed a palisado of stakes. In fact they made every preparation which, on deliberation, seemed proper for both kinds of warfare—either for sustaining a siege, or attacking the enemy.

When the Greeks were informed that the Barbarians had retired to the continent, they were chagrined, as they supposed them to have escaped their hands, and they were in doubt what course to take, whether to return the way they came, or to sail to the Hellespont. In the end, they resolved to do neither ; but to proceed to the continent. Accordingly they made preparations for an engagement, and taking with them planks for disembarking, and other necessary articles, sailed to Mycalé. When they drew near to the fortification, instead of an enemy advancing to meet them, they saw

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the ships drawn up within the wall, and a numerous army ranged on the beach. Then Leotychides moving forwards from the line as near as possible to the shore, caused a herald to make proclamation, addressed to the Ionians, to this effect—"Ionians! as many of you as may now be within hearing, mark what I say; for the Persians will understand nothing of the injunction I address to you:—when we join battle, then let each of you think first of all of liberty; and next of the watch word—Hebè. And let those who have not heard this proclamation, learn it from those that hear it." This he did with an intention similar to that of Themistocles at Artemisium (p. 591) for he thought that if the meaning of the address was not understood by the Barbarians, it might avail with the Ionians; or if it came to their knowledge, it would render the Ionians suspected by them.

Leotychides having made this suggestion, the Greeks immediately drawing their ships close to the shore, landed on the beach, and ranged themselves in order of battle. Then the Persians, seeing the Greeks prepared for battle, and knowing them to have given advice to the Ionians, in the first place disarmed the Samians, whom they suspected of wishing well to the Greeks:—for it had happened that some Athenians who were left in Attica, and who had been made prisoners by the army of Xerxes, were brought as captives on board the Barbarian fleet; all these the Samians had redeemed and sent to Athens, furnished with provisions for the voyage. There was therefore no small reason for suspecting those who had redeemed five hundred of the enemies of Xerxes. In the next place, the Persians appointed the Milesians to guard the roads leading to the heights of Mycalé—apparently because they, better than others, were acquainted with the country; but in fact in order to remove them from the army. It was thus that the Persians endea-

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voured to secure themselves against those of the Ionians who, in their opinion, might attempt some revolution, should they find the means of doing so. They then brought their bucklers together to form a wall of defence.

The Greeks having formed themselves in order of battle, advanced towards the Barbarians, and while moving forwards, a rumour flew through the whole army, and the wand of a herald (*Caduceus*) was seen lying by the water's edge:—the report that came among the troops was that the Greeks had fought and conquered the army of Mardonius in Bœotia. Interpositions of the divine providence are manifested by many proofs. And thus the same day on which the Persians were defeated at Plataea, and just when they were about to be overthrown at Mycalé, the rumour reached the Greeks, at the latter place, of what had happened at the other; by which means this army was inspired with greater courage, and became willing to encounter every peril. And another coincidence may be mentioned, namely, that both battles were fought near a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres. For, as I have already said, the battle of Plataea took place about the temple of Ceres; so also it was to be at Mycalé. And most opportunely came this rumour of the victory obtained by the Greeks under Pausanias, for it was yet early in the day when the battle at Plataea took place; but that at Mycalé, not till evening. That the two battles actually happened on the same day of the month, was ascertained not long afterwards by mutual inquiries. Before the arrival of the rumour, great fear prevailed among the Greeks, not so much for themselves, as for the Greeks (*at home*), lest Greece should fall and be broken under Mardonius; but when this auspicious rumour flew from rank to rank, they so much the more urged their advance against the enemy. Indeed both Greeks and Barbarians hastened to join battle, feeling that the

islands and the Hellespont were proposed as the prize of the combat.

The Athenians, who with those that had been ranged near them, formed nearly a half of the army, held their way along the shore, and over an even ground, while the Lacedæmonians and the troops joined with them, proceeded by a ravine (*channel of a winter stream*), and over the hills, and while these were making a circuit, those of the other wing were already engaged with the enemy. So long as the fence of bucklers remained standing, the Persians defended themselves well, nor were at all inferior to the Greeks. But the Athenians and those with them wishing to achieve the victory by themselves, without the Lacedæmonians, cheered each other with shouts, and urged their efforts with redoubled zeal; then the fortune of the day changed, and the hedge of bucklers being overthrown, the Greeks fell upon the Persians in a body;—these sustained the shock, and a long time kept their ground; but at length fled to the fortified inclosure. The Athenians, and Corinthians, and Sicyonians, and Troezenians—for in this order they were marshalled, followed hard and rushed with them into the fortification; and when this was in the power of the enemy, the Barbarians no more made a stand, but all except the Persians, retreated precipitately. These, though reduced to a small number, continued to oppose the Greeks who were entering the defence. Of the Persian generals, two fled, and two were slain:—Artayntes and Ithamitres, who commanded the fleet, made their escape, while Mardontes, and Tigranes the general of the army, were killed fighting.

The Persians were still maintaining the combat when the Lacedæmonians and those with them came up, and joined in the slaughter of such as survived. Nor was it a few of the Greeks that fell on this occasion;—among others many of the Sicyonians, with their leader Perilaus.

Those Samians who had formed part of the Median army, and had been deprived of their arms, no sooner saw the advantage preponderating on the side of the Greeks, than they used their utmost exertions to lend them aid, and then the other Ionians, seeing the part the Samians were taking, themselves revolted from the Persians, and attacked the Barbarians. To the Milesians had been committed the charge of guarding the passes, as a provision for the security of the Persians in case that—if what actually occurred should take place, they, having guides with them, might save themselves in the heights of Mycalé. Such was the part assigned to the Milesians; nor with this intention only, but also to prevent their being present in the army, where they might originate some mutiny. But in fact they acted in direct opposition to their orders; for they led those who fled from the field by roads that brought them upon their enemies, and in the end joined in the slaughter with more animosity than even the Greeks. Thus the second time Ionia revolted from the Persians.

In this battle the Athenians chiefly distinguished themselves by their bravery; and among the Athenians, Hermolycus, son of Euthynus, a man accomplished in the pancratium (*exercise of wrestling and boxing*). This Hermolycus, at a subsequent period, during the war between the Athenians and Carystians, died fighting at Cynus, in the Carystian territory, and was interred near Geræstus. Next to the Athenians, the Corinthians, the Troezenians, and the Sicyonians behaved with the greatest valour.

The Greeks having put to the sword, either in the battle or in the retreat, the greater part of the Barbarians, set fire to the ships and to the fortification, and collecting the booty on the beach, they found among it some coffers of money. When both the fleet and the wall were consumed, they sailed away, and arriving at

Samos, held a consultation relative to the removal of the Ionians, and inquired in what part of Greece which was under their control, they ought to be settled, so that Ionia might be abandoned to the Barbarians; for it appeared impracticable for them to keep the Ionians in possession of that country, or long to defend them in it. And unless they were so defended by the Greeks, the Ionians had little prospect of escaping punishment from the Persians. Under these circumstances, the chiefs of the Peloponnesians were of opinion, that those of the Greek community who had favoured the Medes should be expelled from their cities, and that their lands should be given to the Ionians. But the Athenians were by no means willing that any such removal of the Ionians should take place; nor would they consent that the Peloponnesians should concert measures involving the interests of states deriving their origin from Athens. As this opposition was made by the Athenians, the Peloponnesians readily withdrew their proposition. And thus the Samians, the Chians, the Lesbians, and the other islanders, who happened to take part in this enterprize, were brought into alliance with the Greeks, and engaged their honour, sanctioned by oaths, to remain faithful to this treaty, nor ever to withdraw themselves from their allies. These engagements made, the Greeks sailed to the Hellespont, to break up the bridges, which they expected to find still entire.

Meanwhile those of the Barbarians who had escaped—few in number, and had been driven to the heights of Mycalé, made good their retreat to Sardis. On the way, Masistes, son of Darius, who was present at the late disaster, addressed many reproaches to Artayntes, the general, and among other taunts said that he had behaved in his command of the army worse than a woman, and was deserving of the heaviest punishment for having wrought so much mischief to the king's affairs. Among

the Persians, to say a man is more of a coward than a woman, is of all contumelies the greatest. Indignant at these reproaches, Artayntes drew his scymitar upon Masistes, and would have killed him; but Xenagoras, son of Praxilaus, a Halicarnassian, perceiving the assault as he stood behind Artayntes, caught him round the waist, and lifting him up, threw him to the ground. At this moment the guards of Masistes came up. For this service Xenagoras gained the thanks, both of Masistes and of Xerxes, whose own brother he had thus rescued, and in recompense he received from the king the government of all Cilicia. Nothing else remarkable occurred in their further progress towards Sardis, where the king had remained ever since his flight from Athens, after the destruction of his fleet.

SECTION VII.

DEATH OF MASISTES. SIEGE OF SESTUS.

While Xerxes remained at Sardis, he formed an attachment to the wife of Masistes, who was there; but being restrained by respect for his brother, he took another course, and brought about a marriage between his own son Darius, and the daughter of Masistes. After celebrating these nuptials with the usual forms, he set out on his return to Susa. When arrived there he brought the wife of his son Darius to his palace, and thenceforward ceased to care for the wife of Masistes, who now was supplanted by her own daughter Artaynté, wife of Darius. In process of time this affair became notorious in the following manner. Amestris, the wife

of Xerxes, had woven a mantle of large dimensions and admirable workmanship, with divers colours, and had given it to the king, who, much delighted with it, wore it when he visited Artayntè. In his fondness for her he commanded her to ask of him whatever she pleased, promising that what she asked she should obtain:—and as calamities were destined to befall the family, she said—“And will you give me whatever I shall ask?” He thinking she would demand any thing rather than what she actually named, promised to do so, with an oath; no sooner had he sworn, than she boldly asked for the mantle. Xerxes most unwilling to give it, used every means to avoid doing so; for he dreaded nothing more than that by this means Amestris, who before had suspected his intrigue, should convict him of it. He offered her instead cities, and abundance of gold, and an army, to be under her sole command—for an army is a Persian gift in high esteem; but she would not yield, and he gave her the mantle. Extremely delighted with the gift, she wore it, and prided herself upon possessing it. Amestris was informed that she had it; but on learning what had taken place, she entertained a grudge, not against Artayntè, but against her mother, the wife of Masistes, whom she imagined to be the mover in the plot; and therefore resolved on accomplishing her destruction. With this view she awaited the time when Xerxes her husband gave the royal banquet, which takes place once every year, on the king’s birthday. The name of this banquet in the Persian language is Tycta, which in Greek signifies—the Perfect. On that occasion only the king anoints his head, and confers gifts on the Persians. This day Amestris waited for, and then asked of Xerxes that the wife of Masistes might be given up to her. To do so he deeply felt to be a most atrocious act; not only because it was his brother’s wife whom he was required to give up, but

because he knew her to be guiltless of the conduct imputed to her: for he understood on what account the request was made.

But at length as she was assiduous in urging her request, and he felt himself bound by the law; for the king has no power to refuse a request during the continuance of the royal banquet—he, though most reluctantly, gave the nod of assent. But in surrendering his brother's wife, while he told Amestris to do what she would, he sent for his brother, to whom he thus spoke:—"Masistes, you are the son of Darius, and my brother, and moreover a good man; yet live no longer with your present wife: instead of her I give you my own daughter; — with her live. But it is not my will that you should retain as your wife her whom you now have." Masistes utterly amazed at this, replied:—"My lord! what luckless words have you uttered? You command me to put away a wife by whom I have three sons—now youths, and daughters, one of whom you have given in marriage to your own son;—and a wife, moreover, who suits me well:—her you tell me to dismiss, and to marry your own daughter! I do indeed, O king, deem myself highly honoured that you think me worthy of your daughter; but shall comply with neither of these commands. Force me not when you ask from me conduct like this. A man not inferior to me will present himself as the husband of your daughter:—suffer me then still to live with my wife." Xerxes enraged by these words, thus replied:—"Thus, then, Masistes, your concerns are arranged: neither shall my daughter be given you in marriage; nor shall you live any longer with your wife. So may you learn to accept what is offered you." Masistes on hearing this went out, only saying, "My lord, yet you have not utterly destroyed me."

Meanwhile, and during the interval in which Xerxes was conversing with his brother, Amestris had sent for the guards of Xerxes, that she might mutilate the wife of Masistes. Her breasts she cut off, and threw to the dogs, together with her nose, ears, and lips. She also cut out her tongue, and then sent her, thus miserably mangled, to her home. Masistes knew indeed nothing of all this; but yet expecting some mischief, he ran with all haste to his house.—On seeing his wife thus mutilated, he instantly consulted with his sons, and proceeded with them and some other persons to Bactria, with the intention of raising a revolt in that province, and of doing the greatest mischief possible to the king; and in this I think he would have succeeded, had he actually arrived among the Bactrians and Saces, for he was governor of the Bactrians, and greatly beloved by them. But Xerxes having gained intelligence of the plan he had in hand, sent an armed force after him, which put him and his sons and his troops to the sword, as they were on their way. So much for the intrigues of Xerxes and the death of Masistes.

The Greeks leaving Mycalé, advanced towards the Hellespont, and first came to anchor about Lectum—the winds arresting their progress. Thence they advanced to Abydos, and found the bridges, which they had expected to see entire, completely broken up; though to destroy them had been the principal motive of their coming to the Hellespont. The Peloponnesians, with Leotychides, then thought proper to return to Greece; but the Athenians under Xantippus resolved to remain there, and to make an attempt upon the Chersonese. The former therefore departed, while the latter passing over from Abydos to the Chersonese, laid siege to Sestus. Sestus being the strongest place in all that country, the people of the neighbouring towns had flocked into it when they heard that the Greeks had reached the

Hellespont. From Cardia also came Œobazus, a Persian who had caused the supporters of the bridges to be laid up there. The city was held by the native Æolians, and there were in it also some Persians, and a numerous body of their allies.

The province was governed for Xerxes by Artayctes, a Persian, and a man of a cruel and outrageous temper. When the king was on his march towards Athens, this man, by practising a fraud upon him, had carried off the (*consecrated*) treasures of Protesilaus, son of Iphicus, from Elæus. For at Elæus, of the Chersonese, there was the sepulchre of Protesilaus, in the midst of a sacred enclosure, and within it were great treasures, with goblets of gold and silver, and brazen vessels, and vestments, and other dedications, all which Artayctes by grant of the king plundered. He imposed upon Xerxes by thus addressing him:—"My lord, there is in these parts the house of a Greek who, having invaded your territories, met his punishment and died. Give me then his house, and so shall all learn not to invade your territory." Xerxes having no suspicion of his real meaning, was easy to be persuaded to grant him the house. In affirming that Protesilaus had invaded the king's territory, his meaning was this—that the Persians deem the whole of Asia to be their own, (p. 3) and the property of the reigning king. Having obtained these treasures he transported them to Sestus, and the consecrated lands he converted into arable, and held as a farm, and as often as he visited Elæus, he profaned the sanctuary by making it the scene of his profligate excesses. At this time he was besieged by the Athenians, and without having made preparations to sustain a siege; for he had not expected the Greeks, and so they fell upon him off his guard.

The siege continued till the autumn, and the Athenians fretting at being so long absent from their homes,

and still unable to capture the city, entreated their generals to lead them back to Attica. But they refused to do so, until either they had taken the place, or were recalled by the assembly of the people; for they were eager to achieve the enterprize. Already the besieged were reduced to the last degree of misery; so much so that they stewed and eat the thongs of their couches; when even these were all consumed, the Persians with Artayctes and Œobazus made their escape at night by descending the wall at the back of the town, where fewest of the enemy were stationed. At day break the Chersonetans made signals of what had happened to the Athenians, from the towers, and opened the gates. While some of the besieging army took possession of the city, the greater part pursued the fugitives. Œobazus having fled into Thrace, was seized by the Absinthian Thracians, who, according to their manner, sacrificed him to their indigenous god, Pleistorus: his attendant they slaughtered in another manner. Artayctes and his company setting out on their retreat later, were overtaken when they had proceeded only a short distance beyond Ægos Potamos. For some length of time they defended themselves, until all were either put to the sword or taken prisoners. The Greeks binding these, led them to Sestus, and with them Artayctes, and his son bound also.

To one of those who guarded the prisoners there happened, as the Chersonetans affirm, a prodigy;—as the man was cooking corned fish, the fish as they lay over the fire quivered and palpitated, as if just caught. Those who stood about were amazed; but Artayctes beholding the prodigy, called the man who cooked the fish, and said — “Athenian friend, fear nothing on account of this prodigy: it regards not you: but to me—Protesilaus, deposited at Elæus, signifies that though corned (*embalmed*) he has power with the

(120)

gods to hurt him who has injured him. Now therefore I am willing to pay to him this forfeit-money.—As the price of the treasures which I took from the temple, I will lay down to the god one hundred talents, and for my own life and my son's I will give to the Athenians two hundred talents." To this offer Xantippus the Athenian general would not listen; for not only did the Elæans entreat that he might be destroyed, to avenge Protesilaus, but the general himself was thus minded also. They therefore led him to the point where Xerxes had fixed the bridge over the passage; or, as some say, to the rising ground above Madytus, and there nailing him to a balk, hung him up: the son of Artayctes they stoned to death before his eyes. Having thus accomplished their enterprize, the Athenians returned to Greece, taking with them, besides other treasures, the supporters (*cordages*) of the bridges, with the intention of dedicating them in their temples. Nothing more was effected in this year.

Artembares, the paternal grandfather of this Artayctes — hanged by the Athenians, was the person who drew up an address for the Persians, which they adopting, presented to Cyrus:—its purport was as follows.—“Since Jupiter has granted to the Persians the sovereign power, and among them to you, Cyrus;—Astyages being deposed—Come, and as we possess a territory of small extent, and rugged, let us take for ourselves a better; for there are many better around us, and many at a greater distance. If we occupy one of these, we shall acquire greater respect in the eyes of most men; for it is reasonable that those who rule others should adopt such a course. And when, better than now, can we do it, while we have under our command so many nations, and rule the whole of Asia?” Cyrus on hearing this address, though he admired not

the proposal, commanded that it should be put in execution; yet in doing so he advised the Persians to prepare themselves henceforward not to command but to obey; for, said he, it is the order of nature that delicious lands should produce delicate men. Nor is it given to the same soil to bear at once the most admirable fruits, and men valiant in war. The Persians, perceiving the truth of this assertion, acknowledged themselves vanquished by the opinion of Cyrus, and chose rather to govern, inhabiting a barren land, than to cultivate fertile plains, as the slaves of others.

GENERAL NOTICES.

THE reader of Herodotus will naturally seek information on some points relative to which little more can, with candour, be said, than that they are involved in obscurity. It would indeed be easy to repeat certain commonly received opinions, and it might seem safe to follow certain respectable authorities:—but when the justness of these opinions is known to be open to very strong suspicion, and when the most respectable writers are at variance, it would be a virtual imposition upon the simplicity of the unlearned reader to deal out to him such doubtful and controverted statements as if they were acknowledged truths. On the other hand, to adduce the reasons which support opposing opinions, would require treatises to be written, instead of brief notes. The only course that remains is to advertize him, that, on such and such topics, his wish for satisfactory and concise information cannot be gratified. There are questions connected with ancient history which, twenty years ago, might have been stated positively, but upon which it would now betray either ignorance or an absurd dogmatism, to speak in any such tone of assurance.

1. The first of these debated subjects is the chronology of the events recorded by Herodotus. I have placed in the margin of my translation the dates which I found attached to the Greek text of Schweighæuser's edition, and which are adopted by Prof. Gaisford;—in a few instances only admitting a correction on the authority of Larcher. But the reader is cautioned against supposing that they are absolutely certain and incontrovertible. He will however remember that the chronology of the Persian war is liable only to some lesser and unimportant diversities of opinion; while that of the more remote ages of Grecian and Asiatic history can scarcely be said to rest on any substantial basis. Learned ingenuity may indeed give a plausible appearance to this or that hypothesis, but still it remains—only an hypothesis. The reader who wishes to inform himself on this subject, will of course refer to Dr. Hale's *New Analysis of Chronology*, the most elaborate and *satisfactory* work extant on the difficult subject of which it treats. A system of chronology adapted to the history of Herodotus, is subjoined by Larcher to his translation.

2. Intimately connected with the subject of chronology, is that of the correspondence of profane and sacred history; a subject of great interest and some importance. I should have deemed it an indispensable part of my task—could it have been executed consistently with truth and candour—to give the reader a clue by which he might identify

the persons and events of the Persian history, as they occur in Herodotus, with those mentioned by the inspired writers. And if I had been contented to follow some one of such authorities as Prideaux, Usher, Shuckford, Hales, this might have been done. But very serious difficulties attend every explication that has hitherto been advanced, and though of late much of the light (or of the darkness) of Oriental learning has been brought to bear on these difficulties, very little, if any progress is made towards their solution. I shall therefore attempt nothing more than just to direct the reader's attention to a few points, in which the coincidence between the narrative of Herodotus and that of the Jewish historians and prophets may be traced with more or less of certainty.

i. The description of the extent, magnificence, and wealth of Babylon, and of the dissoluteness of its inhabitants, pp. 84—96, accords well with the allusions of the prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel.

ii. The story of Hercules, p. 124, will remind every reader of the history of Samson, though disguised in its circumstances, by the Egyptian priests.

iii. The capture of Jerusalem by Shishak, king of Egypt, in the reign of Rehoboam, 1 Kings xiv. 25. 2 Chron. xii. is certainly the same event as is mentioned by Herodotus, p. 145-6, and attributed by him to Sesostris. He says he had himself seen in the Syrian Palestine the columns erected by the Egyptian king in commemoration of his conquests; and that these bore the emblem of ignominy, indicating that little resistance had been made to the conqueror. This agrees with the manner in which the invasion is spoken of by the author of the Book of Chronicles.

iv. Herodotus mentions Sanacherib, p. 161, *Sennacherib*, and gives a corrupted account of his miraculous defeat, as reported to him by the Egyptian priests. See 2 Chron. xxxii. and Is. xxxvi.

v. The defeat of Josiah at Megiddo by Pharaoh Nechoh, as related 2 Kings xxiii. 29; and 2 Chron. xxxv. 20, is referred to by our author, p. 174: he misnames the place where the battle was fought, calling it Magdolus. In a note upon the passage the reader will find the evidence which proves that by Cadytis Herodotus intends Jerusalem.

vi. In adjusting the history of the Persian kings, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes, to the Scripture history, some disputable questions arise which could not fairly be stated within a narrow compass; the reader who wishes for information on the subject will consult the writers already mentioned; to which ought to be added, Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia: or he will find the subject treated in a compendious and lucid manner in that ably conducted work, the Modern Traveller—Persia, Part I. Those instances in which the testimony of Herodotus contains the fulfilment of prophecies, are adduced by Bishop Newton, or the reader may find the subject presented in a condensed but forcible manner, in Keith's Sketch of the Evidence from Prophecy.

3. A large proportion of those frequent digressions which interrupt our author's narrative, consists of geographical descriptions. These, with the exception of a few erroneous computations of distance, or state-

ments of relative position, are proved by modern researches to be in a high degree exact; and they afford a convincing proof of our author's care and industry in collecting information. In many instances his statements are more correct than those of the later geographical writers—Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pliny. This interesting subject has been very fully treated by Major Rennell, in his *Geographical System of Herodotus* examined and explained, &c. to which the reader is referred. And in Larcher's notes; and in his *Table of Geography*, almost every doubtful point is copiously and learnedly discussed.

4. Our author's notions of astronomy and of natural philosophy were not only very confined and erroneous, but inferior to those of the age in which he lived. He had evidently paid no attention to subjects of this class, and he betrays his ineptitude whenever he attempts to reason upon them. The reader will be liable to very little perplexity from this source, and will know what to understand when the historian informs him that "the sun was darkened at mid-day;" or when he reads that the force of the wintry storms is such, that "it drives the sun from the mid-heavens towards the remote regions of Libya," where he is detained in exile until the northern blasts have spent their rage. I have thought it better to translate passages of this kind in all their simplicity, than to dress them in the phraseology of modern science.

5. On the subject of natural history our author is tolerably exact, so far as his personal knowledge extended. He has however admitted—yet almost always with the distinct caution—"I report only what I heard"—some fabulous accounts. Thus he tells us of the phoenix, of griffins, of pigmies, of one-eyed, and of goat-footed men, &c. Yet in not a few instances some substantial truth is veiled under these fables.

6. The capital question of our author's historical authenticity, I have treated in a volume recently published,* to which I refer the reader. He will bear in mind the simple rule of holding his faith in suspense in what relates to remote ages; while he may rely with very little hazard upon the narrative of later events;—those I mean of the Persian invasion. A few incidents, derived from the testimony of interested priests, or of individuals not subject to be confronted by other evidence, are manifestly of no authority; but these exceptions make no important deduction from the credit of the history. The least authentic portions of the main narrative are the speeches and dialogues, which, with the exception of a few *repartees*, likely to have been remembered, are scarcely ever to be deemed genuine. They are embellishments with which the taste of the times made it necessary that an historian should relieve the story. The intelligent reader will not fail to observe, that in our author's descriptions of the conflicts between the Greeks and Persians, there is none of that vapouring and inflation of style, or exaggeration, which bring the narratives of some later historians under just suspicion. He does justice to the valour of the Persians; and attributes their defeats to the imperfection of their weapons—to their mistaken system of warfare, and to the errors and folly of their leaders. On the other hand,

* The Process of Historical Proof exemplified and explained.

he makes no scruple of mentioning the fears and trepidations which prevailed among the Greeks; nor conceals their childish contestations, and interested treasons. That a narrative so little complimentary to the vanity of the people at large, and so derogatory to the honour of several powerful states, should have been received and admired by the Greeks, gives high proof of the freedom, vigour, and integrity of public opinion among that people.

7. The religious opinions of Herodotus are not to be gathered with certainty from his mode of speaking on subjects of this kind. It may however be conjectured that he held the mythologies of the Greeks in contempt, yet without perceiving the superiority of the purer theology of which it is evident he had obtained some knowledge in the east. He seems to have held the doctrine so common to travellers—that the religious systems of nations are all equally absurd, and yet should all be treated with decorous respect. His sense of right and wrong, if not very acute, is rather more so than that of many of the Greek writers; and on the whole his history, like the poems of Homer, bears towards the side of good morals, and is far from being chargeable with any corrupting tendency. On the contrary, many powerful lessons of virtue are met with in the course of the narrative, and exclusively of a few objectionable phrases, which have been modified in the present translation, the whole work is eminently proper for the perusal of young persons.

8. Our author's political principles are much less obscure than his religious belief. As in early life he had signalized himself by his active opposition to the tyranny established in his native city, so on every proper occasion he holds up every form of absolute and irresponsible rule as an object of dread and abhorrence; and declares himself the friend of popular government. The evils of democracy had scarcely developed themselves in his time, and he seems very little aware of the impracticability which afterwards became so apparent in Greece, of conducting the business of state in a mob-like assembly.

There are some terms of frequent occurrence which demand a few words of explanation.

1. When Herodotus is speaking of Grecian affairs, or reporting the speeches of Greeks, he uses the word *θεός* *God*, almost always—perhaps invariably, in its mythological sense, to indicate this or that divinity of the popular superstition, and most often Apollo, who was the principal oracular personage in Greece. But when the sentiments of the Persians are reported, there seems reason, from the style of the context, to think that a purer and more elevated idea of the Maker and Ruler of the world was, in the author's intention, attached to the same word. I have therefore, though not always on absolutely satisfactory grounds of discrimination, marked this difference of sense by using or not using the definite article and the initial capital.

The word *δαίμων*—*dæmon*, is used rather indefinitely by Herodotus; most often to supply the want of an abstract term for the deity; and

may be translated—Providence. Sometimes it seems equivalent to the phrase—the god.

2. Βασιλευς—*king*, is used in several senses. “The king,” or “the Great King,” means the sovereign of Persia by eminence; as we say “the Grand Seignior”—*lord*. This word is not applied by Herodotus to rulers of any rank or sort who owned subjection to the “great king;” but is only employed when the nations lying beyond the bounds of the Persian empire are mentioned—as for example the (*ancient*) Egyptians, the Libyans, the Indians, the Scythians, and the Thracians. Not seldom the phrase “kings” means nothing more than nobles, or the class of land-proprietors.

3. Τυραννος—*tyrant*, an absolute ruler or despot—is applied by our author to the irresponsible petty sovereigns of Grecian cities;—never, I believe, to the native sovereigns of barbarian states. These tyrants were either enterprising individuals, who by management and force had usurped supreme power in particular cities, as the Pisistratids of Athens; or the hereditary monarchs of small states, as some of those of Magna Grecia; or they were the governors who held power under the Persian kings in the Grecian cities of Asia: such were Aristagoras, Histæus, Miltiades, &c. This title, which originally conveyed only the simple idea of office, gradually acquired an obnoxious sense, derived in part from the licentious ferocity which often attended its exercise; and in part from the heat of democratical declamations.

4. The word Πολις—*city*, though not seldom applied, by extension of meaning, to a collection of buildings included within walls, when used by Herodotus in its proper sense, means—commonwealth, or state; and I have in these instances so translated it. The town or collection of houses, &c. is signified by another word—αστυ, which in its special meaning belonged to Athens. To “found a city”—in the language of Herodotus, means to establish a colony; that is to say, to clear and enclose a tract of land on a foreign shore—to raise walls sufficiently extensive to afford a place of refuge to the colonists, when attacked by the aborigines, to establish a police, and to erect a temple or two.

5. The term—Barbarian, as every one knows, was applied by the Greeks to all people not of Greek extraction; and by the arrogance of national vanity, acquired a meaning of contumely. It is used as a term of haughty contempt frequently in the last three books.

6. The Hoplites—ὀπλιται, *heavy armed troops*, were those who wore the complete Grecian defensive armour, as well as being furnished with the weapons of offence—the long spear and sword. These formed the substantial part of the army, being free citizens, and thoroughly trained to military service. The light armed—ψιλοι—were unfurnished with defensive armour, carried bows or slings, and were considered as attendants upon the Hoplites. Thus the helots of Sparta were brought into the field; seven of these slaves being assigned to each citizen.

7. The ancient ships were either long ships—that is galleys, constructed only for war; or merchant vessels of a more cumbrous make. The war galleys were impelled—besides the occasional use of sails, by

rowers, arranged in galleries, one over the other, in two, three, or sometimes many stages. The prow was armed with one, two, or three brazen spikes, placed just between wind and water, and intended to pierce the sides of an enemy's ship; and by the united effect of the shock and rupture, to sink it. When the stroke of the galley upon its antagonist failed to send it to the bottom, a conflict took place between the armed men who were crowded in each vessel, and who fought with javelins, hatchets, and swords, until one of the ships was boarded and taken. The trireme was a galley having three banks, or galleries of rowers—thirty or fifty on each bench. The penteconter was a smaller vessel, impelled by fifty rowers. The triëconter had thirty rowers. The Greeks held the seas against the much superior numbers of the Persians, and at length utterly discomfited the invader, not only by their better discipline and higher spirit, but by the skill and boldness with which they used the trireme as an *engine of percussion*. The brawny arms of one or two hundred lusty fellows, giving their pull with the precision of musical time, imparted a momentum to the ponderous war boat, which, when skilfully directed against the side of a vessel at rest, infallibly sent it down. The crews of these vessels of war were, if possible, encamped on shore every night, while the ships were drawn upon the beach.

8. A table of the road measures mentioned by Herodotus, will enable the reader to make any calculations he may wish upon our author's statements; but a ready recollection of the *gross* value of terms of measurement is generally so important to the intelligence of historical narratives, that, in most instances throughout the translation, I have used an English term *nearly*, though not precisely equivalent to the Greek, rather than either employ the Greek word, or encumber the memory with fractions. The precise value of the principal term—the stadium, as employed by Herodotus, is not ascertained satisfactorily. It seems, either that he refers to a different measure under the same name, in speaking of different countries, or that his computations in some instances were founded on very inaccurate information. Or perhaps in some cases a corruption of the text has taken place. When giving measurements in Egypt, and the countries north of the Euxine, his stadium must be supposed much smaller than that by which he computes distances in Greece and Asia Minor. And even in some of his statements relative to Greece it seems, though he does not advertise the reader of his doing so, that he intends the smaller or Pythian, not the common or Olympic stadium. The mode in which he computes distances—whether inclusive or not of incurvations, is also undetermined. Under all these uncertainties, it would be altogether deceptive to affect precision: the reader who wishes to pursue particulars of this sort, will of course examine for himself the Greek text critically, and have recourse to the notes of the principal editions. The general reader, who cares only for so much information on this head as is necessary to understand the narrative, will bear in mind that the word *furlong* is used by accommodation for a measure always less than the eighth of an English mile; and sometimes for one less than the tenth.

The English furlong is equal to . . .	660 English feet.
The Olympic stadium, to . . .	630
The Pythian stadium, to . . .	504½
The Orgyia (<i>fathom</i>), to . . .	6 feet and half an inch.
The Pechys (<i>cubit</i>), to . . .	1 6½ inches.
The Grecian foot, to . . .	1 .0875 dec. of an inch.

The Plethron is a land measure, reckoned equal to 100 Grecian feet, or the sixth part of the stadium. Herodotus uses also some foreign terms of measurement, as the schœne, or line, equal, according to his statement, to sixty stades; though he seems to have overrated its real value. The term is used also for a measure of thirty stades, equivalent to the Persian parasang.

NOTES ON PARTICULAR PASSAGES.

PAGE 6.

This prediction was confirmed by the event.] This is the first of very many prophetic oracles which the reader will find gravely quoted by Herodotus, and to which, as appears from his own explicit assertion, he himself gave credit (p. 615) though evidently not without a degree of hesitation, probably arising from his knowledge of the frauds and managements perpetually carried on by the priests at the oracular temples. Yet there were, in his opinion, too many proofs of the possession of superhuman knowledge by those who delivered these oracles, to allow of his calling it in question, as some did, it seems, even in that age. So far as any importance attaches to the subject, it is to be regretted that he has not, even in a single instance, put his reader in possession of the proper historical proof of the existence of these predictions prior to the events to which they relate; nor shown on what ground he had reason to confide in the integrity and genuineness of the verses which he quotes, and which apparently he had received from the priests who were the interested ministers of the oracles. This entire absence of the very proof most necessary in such cases may well be held to deprive such predictions of all claim to serious attention. How far a superhuman knowledge was at the command of those who managed the oracles, is a question not to be discussed in a small space. However it might be decided, there are proofs enough, which the reader will not fail to observe, in Herodotus, that the responses were under the corrupt control of statesmen, and employed by them as an engine of policy.

PAGE 10.

Stretching a cord from her temple, &c.] A precaution not unusual among the ancients during a siege, and intended to prevent the escape of the tutelary deity in the hour of peril. For it was believed that the gods, when they foresaw that the capture of a city was inevitable, took

themselves off rather than witness the destruction of their votaries. Thus the Tyrians chained Apollo to his place when besieged by Alexander.

PAGE 14.

If we fix the term of human life, &c.] The entire passage is as follows—"I lay down seventy years as the limit of the life of man. These seventy years contain 25,200 days, exclusive of the intercalary months. But if you will make the alternate years longer by a month, (*By adding the intercalary months to the whole period,*) in order that the seasons may come round at the proper time; then these intercalary months, in the seventy years, will amount to thirty-five, and the days contained in them to 1,500. Now of all these days, making up the seventy years, and amounting to 26,250 days, not one brings with it events altogether like those of another," &c.

PAGE 21. *Note.*

The common Attic talent valued 56lb. 11oz. 17½grs. The mina—1lb. 2oz. 11dwts. 10 2-7th grs.

PAGE 22.

Amphiaraus son of Apollo, was swallowed up in his chariot by the earth, on his return from the Argive expedition against Thebes. He received divine honours after death, and was deemed to impart the knowledge of futurity. Those who consulted him were obliged, after long abstinence, to sleep in his temple; when they received in a dream the answer to their inquiry. Frequent mention is made of this oracle. The temple was situated at Oropus in Attica.

PAGE 33.

This eclipse of the sun recorded by Herodotus has been the subject of long and learned discussion; for could it, beyond question, be determined which, of several eclipses that may be ascertained to have happened about that period, is here intended, an important point would be gained for the solution of chronological difficulties. But this certainty seems not attainable. The knowledge of astronomy implied in the prediction of Thales was confined, at least in Greece, to so small a number of individuals, that the superstitious fears excited by this ordinary phenomenon continued in full force during the most enlightened periods of Grecian history. And many a time men who were not ashamed of slaughtering each other under the broad light of the sun, were stopped in the work of blood by their groundless fears, when, as if in horror, he withdrew his beams.

PAGE 46.

It has been supposed that the "three distinct accounts" of the exploits of Cyrus here referred to are—that given by our author—that adopted by Xenophon in his *Cyropædia*, and that related by Ctesias; but this is mere conjecture. If indeed there were in Persia, in our author's age—"three distinct accounts," of so illustrious a personage as

Cyrus, the last years of whose reign might be remembered by individuals alive at the time when Herodotus was in Asia, we may be assured that authentic and well attested memoirs of his exploits had either never existed, or were presently lost; otherwise the various and exaggerated rumours which national vanity on the one hand, or which the ill nature of detractors on the other, might originate, could not so far have prevailed as to leave an intelligent collector of historical facts in perplexity. We ought therefore to receive the narrative given us by the Greek historians, as of extremely uncertain authority. I have had occasion to advert to the difference between Herodotus and Xenophon in the "Process of Historical Proof," p. 100, and note p. 318.

PAGE 48.

I must request indulgence for stepping so far out of my province as to suggest an inquiry whether the description here given of Ecbatana—even though its correctness were doubted, might furnish any illustration of Revelation xxi. 10—21. The Median city was constructed on a conical hill, and consisted of seven diminishing circular platforms, each distinguished by the colour of its wall. May we understand the description of the New Jerusalem as meaning a *quadrangular* pyramid of *twelve* stages—or *foundations*, variously garnished with precious stones. No incongruity will then be implied in the measurement which affirms that "the length, and breadth, and height of the city are equal." Such *staged pyramids* were not unknown to the ancient architecture of Asia: and may it be presumed that this construction of the city that shall "descend from heaven," is intended to symbolize the towering hierarchy of thrones, dominions, powers, that shall take place under the Messiah's reign?

PAGE 85.

The considerable diversities in the measurements given by ancient authors of the walls of Babylon afford strong probability to the supposition that Herodotus and other Greeks used the word *stadium* in translating the Asiatic terms of measurement by accommodation, as being the nearest to the truth which their language offered; and that they are not to be understood as affirming that they had themselves measured the walls by the Greek stadium. This supposition removes the hope of obtaining certainty on the subject. The reader who wishes to pursue the inquiry, will peruse the notes of the translators; and especially the chapter on the site and remains of ancient Babylon, in Major Rennell's Geography of Herodotus; or that on the same subject by Sir W. Drummond in his "Origines." The greatest extent that has been affirmed need not seem to surpass the limits of probability; for Babylon was not properly a city—understanding the term in its modern sense—but a *walled province*, including, besides palaces, temples, and the houses of a vast population, large spaces of garden ground, arable land, and parks, which rendered the place in a great measure independent of the surrounding country, and enabled it to sustain a lengthened siege. Our ideas of ancient Babylon are perhaps best taken from descriptions of the modern capital

of China, and perhaps also we should approach nearer to the truth were we to derive from such a comparison a very considerable abatement of those ideas of magnificence and of architectural sublimity which we have been accustomed to attribute to—Babylon the Great.

PAGE 86.

“Filled with houses of three and four stories”—or, having many such houses; besides, no doubt, a large proportion of mere huts. The description given by Quintus Curtius, B. V. should be taken in explanation of that of our author. “The edifices do not approach the walls—a space of about an acre (intended probably for two hundred and forty feet) intervening; nor is the whole city occupied with habitations, but ninety stades; nor are the houses contiguous; it being thought, as I suppose, more safe to have them scattered—the rest of the ground is cultivated for the supply of the inhabitants in the event of a siege.”

PAGE 94.

The fruitfulness of the palm was believed to depend upon the presence of the fly, or rather worm, which occupies the bud. Various processes of impregnation are described by ancient and modern authors.

PAGE 97.

An error must be attributed to some part of our author's description of this river: he probably confounds the Araxes with the Ochus, which discharges itself on the eastern side of the Caspian; or perhaps with the Oxus or the Jaxartes.

PAGE 106, §.

Sixty furlongs.] In these measurements of Egypt, the lesser stadium must be understood.

PAGE 110, †.

The employment of swine for these purposes, though asserted by other authors, has appeared utterly incredible to modern annotators; and it has been supposed that oxen must be intended. These conjectural alterations of the text, merely to avoid a seeming difficulty, are to be shunned.—We can rarely affirm of foreign and ancient usages, that they are incredible.

PAGE 111, *

The reader must keep in mind that the Nile, not the Red Sea, was considered by the ancients as the boundary between Africa and Asia:—the country between the Nile and the Red Sea was assigned to Arabia. This notice may serve to explain several passages which the reader will presently meet with.

PAGE 113.

River ocean.] See foot notes to pages 271 and 282.

PAGE 114.

I conclude therefore that the sun.] Our author's account of his own hypothesis will not perhaps be immediately understood by the reader. The substance of what he means to say seems to be this—That the Nile during its inundation, after the summer solstice, is only at its *natural level*; and that it is less the rest of the year, because, unlike other rivers, it is exposed during the winter also to evaporation; while it is deprived of those replenishing rains which then fill other rivers. The storms of winter he thinks drive the sun from the mid heavens towards the south, where he employs the months of his exile in diminishing the sources of the Nile. Herodotus was no astronomer.

PAGE 118.

May be passed in five days.] Herodotus evidently underrates the width of the peninsular Asia; for he would not reckon so much as fifty-six miles as a day's journey, even to "a good traveller;" thirty-five miles being the distance usually calculated for the travelling of a courier on foot.

PAGE 130.

It is not permitted to me to say, &c.] Expressions of this sort frequently occur in our author:—in some of these, as that noted page 125, it seems that he excuses himself from the disagreeable task of describing the filthy obscenities of the Egyptian ceremonies. But more often, as there is reason to believe, from a religious scruple, he avoids mentioning names which he had learned by being initiated in sacred mysteries, and which it would have been a violation of his vows to disclose. See pages 138, 179.

PAGE 134.

The Phoenix.] In matters of natural history, even when correct in substance, Herodotus is to be heard with caution, and indeed he commonly himself suggests this caution by the phrase—"I report what I have been told." In this doubting style he relates the fable of the phoenix—a fable very generally believed by the ancients.

PAGE 137.

This ode of lamentation—"in use among the Egyptians from the most remote ages," and said to have been sung in honour of the only son of an Egyptian king, may just be conjectured to have commemorated that night of sorrow for Egypt, when there was not a house in which there was not one dead.

PAGE 138.

Not lawful to mention: see above.

PAGE 161.

For the death of Æsop.] This passage has been variously translated.—The sense to me seems clearly this, that as the Delphians had put Æsop

to death by throwing him from a rock, in revenge of his railleries, they were required to expatiate their crime by paying a fine to him who could establish his right to receive it. The grandson of Jadmon made the claim on the ground that the fabulist had been the property of his ancestor.

PAGE 164.

Sanacharib, king of the Arabians, &c.] The Sennacherib of scripture history. "Herodotus," says Prideaux, "gives us from the relation of the Egyptian priests, some kind of a disguised account of this deliverance from the Assyrians in a fabulous application of it to the city of Pelusium, instead of Jerusalem, and to Sethon, the Egyptian king, instead of Hezekiah: by whose piety he saith it was obtained, &c. . . . and it is particularly to be remarked that Herodotus calls the king of Assyria, to whom he saith this happened, by the same name of Sennacherib, as the scriptures do, and the time in both doth also well agree, which plainly shews that it is the same fact that is referred to by Herodotus, although much disguised in the relation; which may easily be accounted for when we consider that it comes to us through the hands of such as had the greatest aversion both to the nation and the religion of the Jews, and therefore would relate nothing in such manner as might give any reputation to either." Vol. I. an. 710.

PAGE 175.

Cadytis, a great city in Syria.] Though not without dissenting voices, the fact seems well established, that Herodotus here, and page 188, means Jerusalem: the reasons for thinking so are thus given by Prideaux.—"Herodotus making mention of this expedition of Necho's, and also of the battle which he fought at Megiddo—or Magdolum, as he calleth it, saith that after the victory there obtained by him, he took the great city Cadytis, which city he afterwards describes to be a mountainous city in Palestine, of the bigness of Sardis in Lydia, the chief city of all Lesser Asia, in those times. By which description, this city Cadytis could be none other than Jerusalem. For that is situated in the mountains of Palestine, and there was then no other city in those parts which could be equalled to Sardis, but that only; and it is certain from scripture that after this battle Necho did take Jerusalem; for he was there when he made Jehoiakim king. There is, I confess, no mention of this name, either in the scriptures or Josephus. But that it was however called so in the time of Herodotus, by the Syrians and Arabians, doth appear from this, that it is called by them, and all the eastern nations, by no other name but one of the same original, and the same signification, even to this day. For Jerusalem is a name now altogether as strange to them as Cadytis is to us. They all call it by the name, Alkuds (or rather *el Goutz* or *el Koudes*), which signifies the same that *Cadytis* doth; that is *Holy*; for from the time that Solomon built the temple at Jerusalem, and it was thereby made to all Israel the common place of their religious worship, this epithet of *the holy* was commonly given to it. . . . This name Kedushah, the holy, became current

among the nations; and by the Syrians who usually turned the Hebrew *sh* into *th*;—*Kedutha*. And the Syriac in the time of Herodotus being the only language that was then spoken in Palestine, he found it when he travelled through that country to be called there in the Syriac dialect *Kedutha*; from whence by giving it a Greek termination, he made it *Καδυτις*, *Cadytis*, in his history, which he wrote about the time that Nehemiah ended his twelve years' government at Jerusalem." Vol. I. an. 610. Major Rennell professes the same opinion, Section xi. From his error on the subject of circumcision, page 145, and his utter silence on the subject of the Jewish customs and worship, though so ready to report whatever is remarkable or unusual, it would seem that his visit to Jerusalem must have been very hasty;—some fortuity perhaps compelled him to pass through the city without making any stay. Had he held converse with the Jews, or even witnessed their worship, he would assuredly have made some mention of them.

PAGE 201.

Cambyzes as in a fit of frenzy.] Though the violence of a man of ungoverned passions seems to belong to this, and other parts of the conduct of the son of Cyrus, the language attributed to him by our author agrees well with other indications of the existence among the Persians of a comparatively pure religion. The description given of their notions and worship—page 64, is evidently distorted in the manner common to the Greeks, who could understand nothing that seemed altogether unlike their own usages. He however there makes a distinction between the ancient and the modern religion of the Persians, affirming that polytheism was but lately introduced among them. Their extensive conquests had probably led to the adoption of foreign superstitions. But the sentiments attributed by Herodotus to the Persian chiefs on several occasions—if they may be thought to have been at all in character, have much more of theism, and much less of a corrupt superstition than is commonly heard from the Greeks. The reader will not fail to notice some striking instances of this sort in the eighth and ninth books. This clearer light may be supposed to have been derived either by tradition from patriarchal times; or more lately from frequent intercourse with the Hebrew nation.

PAGE 225.

If a lie must be told, &c.] The bad morality which is here put into the mouth of Darius, neither accords with the Persian character, (see pp. 66, 67,) nor with the tone of sentiment which belongs generally to Herodotus. A scrap of corrupt casuistry, which he had somewhere met with, he here thrusts into his narrative. The reader will remember that the speeches attributed by our author to the personages of his story are rarely to be deemed authentic.

PAGE 235.

The Babylonian and Euboic talents.] The talent of Eubœa is believed to be nearly the same as the Attic, and valued about £193 15s. of English money. The Babylonian talent would be worth about £226.

The stated revenue of the empire, at this rate, amounts to no more than about £2,821,000, or, adding the probable value of the presents and gratuities, to £3,650,000, a sum very inconsiderable for so extensive a dominion. "As it cannot be supposed," says Major Rennell, "that the statements are generally wrong, although particular errors may be expected, it may be collected that the value of money was incredibly greater at that time than at present. The rich and trading kingdom of Egypt and its dependencies, which sent two hundred triremes to the fleet of Xerxes, paid only £320,000, including the corn furnished, and which amounted to half of the sum. Thus, if we suppose a population of three millions, it will be only about two shillings per head, and the people of Bengal at this time, who are not heavily taxed, pay about seven shillings per annum."

PAGE 237.

Such were these governments.] The foregoing description of the satrapies has undergone minute investigation by modern writers; the result of which has been to establish beyond doubt its general authenticity; and consequently the industry and fidelity of our author. For without actual and laborious researches so much accuracy on a subject so difficult would never have been attained. From a comparison of this description of countries with that of the army of Xerxes, pp. 504—513, many of those minor coincidences are obtained, which serve to authenticate both accounts, and so to prove indirectly the principal fact of the history—namely, the invasion of Greece, by an army drawn from many nations of Asia.

PAGE 238.

The Indians.] The mixture of a few facts with many extravagant errors in our author's account of India, proves that he had sought information from persons conversant with the countries beyond the Indus, though they to a great extent abused his confidence. The reader will remark in many instances that fables of a terrific kind are connected with the account of countries whence the precious metals, or other valuable productions were obtained:—griffins, flying serpents, &c. are ordinarily the guardians of such places. The origin of these scaring accounts is not hard to be imagined. The description presently following, of the mode of collecting the Arabian spices, contains several instances of this sort of interested exaggeration.

PAGE 243.

The river Eridanus.] Supposed to be the Rho-daune, emptying itself into the Vistula, near Dantzic, and on the banks of which amber is found.

PAGE 251.

The medical skill of Democedes.] If we want a significant and infallible criterion of the relative advancement of nations in real cultivation, we may take the particular circumstance of the employment of the phy-

sicians of one country by the people of the other. The people who send abroad for professors of the most necessary of the sciences, are barbarians, whatever may be their power or opulence. From this story it is evident, that an Egyptian or a Greek, skilled in the healing art, was then valued in Persia very much in the same way that the services of a Frank, if he calls himself a physician, are now prized in all parts of Asia.

PAGE 269.

Our author's description of Scythia, and of its wandering tribes is, in all its leading particulars, verified by the present condition of the same regions, and of their occupants. Herodotus had unquestionably witnessed much of what he describes. There is indeed a considerable error in his statements of the figure and extent of these countries, but that error may be accounted for without at all impeaching either his fidelity or general accuracy. The means of a true knowledge of distance and position were not in his power.

PAGE 284.

They had the sun (rising) on the right hand.] The mention of this circumstance which, to our author, seemed so incredible, is alone sufficient to authenticate the whole narrative: for it would never have been imagined by a fabricator of traveller's wonders. I do not think, as some suppose, that this refers to the sun *at noon*, which after passing the line would seem to have gone over to the other hand, if the progress of the voyagers was obliquely south-west; but rather to the sun *rising*, which after doubling the cape would be on the right. For in the first place, the line of coast is so nearly due south, that the voyagers would more probably have said the sun was *behind* them; and secondly, summer voyages in the southern ocean were unquestionably often extended below the tropic of Capricorn: to see the sun in the northern heavens was therefore not an extraordinary circumstance, and could hardly have been reported as such among the Phœnicians.

PAGE 287.

The Ister, &c.] The modern names of these rivers are as follow. The *Ister* is the Danube; the *Tyras*, the Niester; the *Hypanis*, the Bog; the *Borysthenes*, the Nieper; the *Panticapes*, probably, the Samara; the *Hypacyris*, probably, the Kalauczac; the *Gerrhus* has not been identified in modern geography, unless it be the Donec; the *Tanais* is the Don.

PAGE 328.

Found in Lybia a city.] This is one among several instances occurring in our author of the policy pursued by the managers of the Delphic oracle, which compelled individuals who were dangerous at home to banish themselves with their adherents. It is probable also that the system of colonization was thus steadily promoted by the Pythian with a view to the extension of her trade in responses; for it had become customary for the Greeks in the most remote settlements to visit

Delphi on occasions of difficulty. By spreading the Greeks over the countries surrounding the Mediterranean sea, the customers of the god were greatly multiplied.

PAGE 343.

There are seen serpents, &c.] Our author's enumeration of the Lybian animals on this, and the following page, is not in every instance intelligible to modern naturalists. In those cases that are doubtful, I have adopted the conjectural interpretation which seemed supported by the strongest reasons, and where conjecture fails, have, by necessity, admitted the word employed by Herodotus.

PAGE 345.

The Libyans and the Ethiopians are the aborigines.] The description, given by Herodotus of the native nations of Africa, like that which he gives of the Scythians, accords perfectly with the condition of the modern aboriginal occupants of the same regions, and serves therefore—first, to establish his character as an accurate observer and authentic writer; and in the second place to demonstrate, in a striking manner, the perpetuity of the modes of savage life. Until he has received the quickening of intellectual life, man is the creature of soil and atmosphere, and remains from age to age the passive slave of climate.

PAGE 348.

Darius gave them for their abode a town in Bactria.] And page 355. The reader will notice several instances mentioned by Herodotus of the plan pursued by the Asiatic monarchs for disposing of a vanquished people. The bulk of the inhabitants of a city or province were not unfrequently marched from one extremity of their extensive empire to the other, and there comfortably established, and allowed to follow their natural usages. This procedure, which seemed dictated by a spirit of mildness rather than of ferocity, afforded effectual security against renewed rebellions, and at the same time served to diffuse civilization among less polished tribes. There is reason to think that the philosophy and science of ancient India were not a little indebted to some such deportations of the Greeks to the East, by the Persian kings. The captivities of Israel and Judah were instances of the same policy, and probably diffused the rays of religious truth through many nations.

PAGE 350.

Sang the Pæon.] Pæan. The Greek word *παιωνίζω* presents the sameness of sound by which the mistake of the Pæonians was occasioned: this is lost in the word *Pæan*. The pæan was a hymn of thanksgiving addressed to Apollo.

PAGE 373.

The itinerary is as follows.] A mistake or omission exists in these computations as the reader will perceive; nor are the inns arranged in equal proportions through the road. Larcher supposes some errors of

the MSS. and therefore does not pretend to reconcile the apparent inconsistency. The fords of rivers and the passes of mountains were secured by forts and gates, held by the government. The inns seem to have been intended for the accommodation of the Persian king or his family, for they were more frequent than the common traveller could need, as well as more sumptuous than the eastern caravanserai is wont to be, where nothing more than shelter is commonly found.

PAGE 385.

A government which secures an equality of rights.] That is a government controlled by the people, in distinction from either a tyranny or oligarchy. A government, like our own, securing the benefits of law to all the people, was unknown in ancient times. For a very large majority in every community were in the condition of the most abject slavery.—At Sparta and at Athens the *citizens* were a comparatively small class.

PAGE 402.

Sardinia that large island.] Σαρδω stands in the text; it seems however a little improbable, that an island so remote from the Persian empire, and so little known, until afterwards, even by the Greeks, should have been chosen by the wily Greek as the subject of his cajoling promise. The name has perhaps been changed by the copyists. Yet the improbability is not absolute, for afterwards, page 408, Aristagoras proposes to his partizans to retire to Sardinia;—unless a corruption of the name is here also supposed.

PAGE 408.

Thus fell these cities.] The Greeks of Asia were evidently much inferior in military virtue to those of Greece. They had not only been broken in spirit by long subjugation, but seem to have been enervated by luxurious habits. Though in possession of the seas they could make no successful resistance to their oppressors. The story of these contests, in many of its circumstances, resembles that of the modern war between the Greeks and their barbarian masters.

PAGE 412.

The barbarians numbered six hundred ships.] The Persians were superstitiously averse to maritime warfare, and indeed only from compulsion ever went on board a ship. This prejudice naturally rendered them inferior to the Greeks on the sea. Thus in the present instance, though almost double in number of ships, they thought themselves unequal to the combat; and eventually succeeded only by detaching the Samians from the confederacy.

PAGE 450.

An island where the two gods were born.] This deference to the Grecian superstitions—if indeed it was rendered—by the Persian general, was either an act of policy intended to conciliate the Asiatic Greeks,

or it must be considered as evidencing a great corruption in the religious sentiments of the Persians to have taken place since the time of Cambyzes, who in his behaviour in Egypt exhibited, not merely the violence of an ungoverned temper, but the contempt and abhorrence of national feeling towards idolatry.

PAGE 454.

They would not violate the law.] The Lacedæmonians were indeed forbidden to undertake military expeditions in the early days of the moon, or during certain festivals; but it seems that when their leaders thought it necessary, they disregarded these superstitions, and on the other hand made a pretext of them when they wanted a pretext for delay, or for treachery towards their allies. Some notable instances of this paltry hypocrisy appear in the subsequent history. The principle of the Spartan government was a selfish and narrow-minded caution.

PAGE 458.

In the centre, &c.] It is not improbable that the genius of Miltiades prompted him to risque the defeat of the centre in the hope of accomplishing the movement which actually took place. He might think it probable that the best portion of the Barbarian army would succeed in driving in the Greeks opposed to them, in spite of their utmost efforts; he therefore conceded to them this first success, and then, with the strength of the Grecian army, closed upon them behind. Later writers have added a multitude of embellishments to the brief narrative given by Herodotus of this battle. But they are to be considered for the most part as pure inventions.

PAGE 467.

Whether to move those things, &c.] If this story is considered as authentic, it is probable that the intention of Miltiades was, at the suggestion of the priestess, to carry away some sacred bauble upon the presence of which the security of the island was believed to depend. The story of the palladium is an instance of this kind of superstition.

PAGE 479.

See you that God hurls his bolts.] Both the sentiments and the phraseology of this passage indicate derivation from the Hebrew Scriptures, and are very unlike what is heard from the lips of Greeks.

PAGE 485.

Thus did Xerxes draw together his forces none of these armies can be compared with that of Xerxes. For what people of Asia was there which Xerxes did not lead against Greece?] These expressions will bring to the reader's recollection the concise but significant prediction of Daniel xi. 2. "Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all, and by his strength, through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."

PAGE 501.

Addressing a prayer to the sun.] The worship of the sun and of fire was the predominant religion of the Persians; though they had admitted the mythologies of the conquered countries.

PAGES 503—511.

This description of the forces of Xerxes, when compared in particulars with that before given of the Satrapies, page 234, and with facts otherwise ascertained, affords too many minute coincidences to leave any reasonable doubt of the authenticity of the narrative. This description could not have been *fabricated*, without betraying the art or ignorance of the inventor.

PAGE 513.

There were Persians, Medes or Saces on board all the ships,]—to compel obedience. Nothing less than absolute necessity induced the Persians to violate the sanctity of the sea by furrowing its bosom with the keel of a ship. See page 67.

PAGE 534.

A wooden fort shall be impregnable.] A hint from Themistocles probably suggested this phrase to the Pythian. He availed himself of it and saved Greece.

PAGE 546.

We who alone have never been removed from our territory.] See page 23. The Athenians prided themselves on their immemorial occupation of the Attic territory, while the Doric races, including the Lacedæmonians, were known to have migrated frequently. Thucydides, (I. 2,) allows the justness of this pretension, but attributes the fact of the immobility of the people of Attica to the poverty of the soil which had not attracted intruders.

PAGE 554, and 563.

Thermopylæ.] The reader will no doubt be pleased to read a description of this celebrated spot in its present appearance, as given by a distinguished modern traveller. "On the 24th we pursued our journey. The road was near the sea, and the mountains rose about a quarter of a mile on our left. We crossed a small marsh and two streams, and had a view of the open Ægean sea, between Eubœa and the Thessalian shore, with the islands of Skopelos and Skiathos, towards the north-east. Turning to the south-west, the summits of Parnassos were distinguished, glittering with snow, over a dip of Mount Knemis. As we proceeded, the road was terminated by the interruption of rocks and bushes, and we rode for ten minutes through a shallow part of the sea. We pursued our journey, and after crossing two streams, observed a tumulus of stones to the right, upon an artificial bank that had

been elevated from a marsh. As we approached the pass of Thermopylæ, the scenery assumed at once an aspect of more beauty and sublimity. To our left were the lofty and shattered precipices of Cæta, covered with forests; while silver lines of descending springs sparkled in the shade. The luxuriant plain of Trachis, encircled by distant mountains, was expanded in our front; while on the right, the eye expatiated over the marshes of Thermopylæ, and the Malaic Gulph, reaching to the foot of the Thessalian heights. Our way led through a forest shade of various trees of stately growth, beneath which a dispersion of odoriferous and flowery shrubs scented the air, while the clustering vine hung its fantastic garlands from the wide-branching platanus. The scene was one of voluptuous blandishment. No gratification was wanting which the enraptured lover of landscape could desire. Nature here displayed all her multifarious charms. The exuberant soil teemed with a captivating wilderness of plants and flowers. The olive, the laurel, the oleander, and the arbutus; the terebinth, rosemary, agnos, yellow jasmine, and lentiscus, the christakanthos, tamarisk, and gummy cistus, luxuriated on all sides, and seemed to revel in the genial clime. We now approached the spot where the best blood of Greece and of other nations had so often been spilt. A few paces to the left of the road is a green hillock, with a house upon its summit, which was once a derbeni, or custom-house. Here the horizontal surface of the rock is cut into channels for the reception of the water which comes from the neighbouring springs. The marsh begins immediately on the right, extending about a mile to the sea; but the narrowest part of the pass is further on. The battle raged with the greatest fury in the widest part of the pass, where Leonidas so gloriously fell. After his death the surviving Spartans and Thespians, repassing their fortification, took post upon a hillock at the commencement of the defile, where they made a desperate defence till they were surrounded and destroyed. I conceive the derbeni hill to be the spot to which Herodotus alludes. It is probable also, that these devoted heroes were buried where they fell, and that this hill served as their common sepulchre. As the shades of night were enveloping the interesting scene, we had not time for a more minute investigation. We therefore continued our route, and about twenty-five minutes from the derbeni, crossed two streams, one of which was warm, the other cold: fifty minutes more brought us to the narrowest part of the pass, where we entered Thessaly. But as it was dark, we reserved till the next day the more attentive contemplation of a spot consecrated by historical recollections of the most lofty and animating kind. It is a locality that is peculiarly fitted to kindle the glow of classical enthusiasm in the breast. We passed the streams which issue from the hot springs, and crossing a bridge over the river at the northern extremity of the pass, arrived at a khan, a little before ten, after a very interesting though fatiguing day.

“Before I undertake a description of this place, it may be necessary to observe that if the traveller takes Herodotus and Strabo, for unerring guides in his examination of this celebrated spot, he will be liable to be misled at almost every step of his way. Nor will the dubious light they

afford enable him to identify scarcely any thing but the pass itself, and the thermal springs, which remain as they were in his time. It must however be understood, that I am by no means accusing the above-named authors of inaccuracy or negligence in their descriptions; and much less Herodotus, whose account was no doubt perfectly suitable to the place at the time he wrote. But the whole country has since experienced great physical as well as moral revolutions. The sea has retired, rivers have altered their courses, and towns, castles, and temples have been swept from the surface of the earth, or ingulphed in the marshes, and over-grown with reeds and bushes. Considering all these various changes and convulsions of nature, it is not surprising that out of six celebrated rivers which discharged themselves into the sea in the vicinity of Thermopylæ, only three can at present be identified with any degree of certainty: these are the Boagrius, the Asopos, and the Spercheios. We rode up a steep part of the mountain, in order to examine the ruins of an ancient town or castle: as the way was extremely bad and difficult we were an hour in reaching the place, though the distance is not more apparently than a mile and a half by the circuitous road, and in a straight line only a few hundred yards from the springs. The ruins consist of the lower parts of a wall which encompassed a long narrow hill that is difficult of access. These walls are of the fourth style of military architecture, composed of large blocks. Their general thickness is seven feet. In some parts they are composed of small stones and mortar, where their thickness is more considerable. The walls are carried up to the very edge of the precipices which rise above the pass to the north of the hot springs. Contiguous to the ridge on which the walls stand, and on the north side, is a small plain where there are a few imperfect traces, and a spring of excellent water. We enjoyed a view from this spot where the beauty of the scenery was illuminated by many reflections from the lustre of the classic page. Below us, towards the south, were the thermal springs, and the ever-memorable pass. In the middle of the gulph was the north-west extremity of Eubœa. The rich and even plain of Melis was dotted with villages, adorned with trees, and improved by cultivation. It is intersected by the Asopos and the Spercheios, that pursue their devious course through the Trachinian rocks, which environ the plain." Dodwell's Classical Tour through Greece. Vol. ii. pp. 65 - 73.

PAGE 556.

Leaving Artemisium, retired to Chalcis to defend the Euripus.] The very neck of the strait between Eubœa and Bœotia, where a small force might prohibit the advance of the most numerous fleet. The importance of this passage resulted almost entirely from the dangers that were apprehended in coasting the eastern shores of the island: see page 587.

PAGE 558.

5,283,220 men.] These numbers have been thought by most modern writers to surpass credibility: and it is certain that a considerable de-

duction may be made from them without impeaching the accuracy of Herodotus. I have considered this question in the Process of Historical Proof, p. 61, and Note.

PAGE 569.

The Pylagors of the Amphictyons.] The Amphictyonic council, or states-general of Greece, was composed of deputies from every city of the Union—two, sometimes more, from each: of these two, one was named—Hieromnemon, being charged with matters of religion; the other—Pylagor, and had no peculiar function. The former was chosen by lot; the latter by vote.

PAGE 615.

Bacis thus speaking.] There were many soothsayers of this name. The predictions attributed to them, and which in the time of Herodotus were orally current in Greece, had no doubt been manufactured or modified soon after the Persian invasion by those who made divination their trade. It is evident that even in our author's time there were many who knew too much of this trade to give any faith to such oracular verses.

PAGE 658

The furthest point of European ground towards the west.] The reader on inspecting the map of Greece will be perplexed by this assertion; for the Persians were considerably further towards the west when in Thesaly and Phocis, than when they penetrated to the territory of Megara. But the ancients referred to the bearings of places with much less accuracy than is usual among the moderns; and in the present instance, as the general course of the invaders was from east to west, Herodotus speaks of the furthest point of that course as if it were in fact the furthest westward.

PAGE 662.

When they reached Erythræ in Bæotia.] Erythræ was situated on the heights of the ridge which divides Attica from Bæotia, and which towards the west was called Cithæron, towards the east Parnes. On ascending this ridge, the Persian host—encamped beyond the Asopos, would be seen by the Greeks: the direct distance across the valley is not more than five miles. The wooden fort on the margin of the river, and which presented a front one mile in length, must have been conspicuous from the heights of Mount Cithæron.

PAGE 664.

They determined to descend towards Plataea.] Plataea stands in the narrow part of the valley, and near the source of the Asopos. In the vicinity of that city the Greeks were near the stream, and yet on the side of the mountain where they were out of the reach of the Persian cavalry.

PAGE 685.

The Tegeans first standing up.] While waiting in the presence of the enemy for the command to fight, the Greeks were accustomed to couch

on the ground, under shelter of their shields; see the account of the death of Callicrates, p. 690: in modern warfare the troops under similar circumstances lay extended to avoid the enemy's fire.

PAGE 686.

According to the prediction of the oracle.] Probably that mentioned above, pp. 634-635.

PAGE 696.

The youths who had held command.] τοὺς ἡγενας. This phrase has perplexed translators—a corruption of the text probably exists. I adopt the correction which seems the most plausible.

PAGE 714.

A territory of small extent and rugged.] This description is applied with great propriety to the mountainous country which runs parallel to the course of the Euphrates and Tigris, and separates the once fertile plains of Chaldea from the great salt deserts of central Persia. Upon these arid high lands were reared the warriors, who, by a series of rapid conquests, made the whole of Western Asia tributary to Cyrus and his successors, and kept them so until the progress of luxurious habits rendered the empire of Asia an easy prey to the Macedonians.

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